THE

KORAN,

Commonly called

The Alcoran *of* MOHAMMED,

Tranſlated into *Engliſh* immediately from the Original *Arabic*; with Explanatory NOTES, taken from the moſt approved COMMENTATORS.

To which is prefixed

A Preliminary Diſcourſe.

By GEORGE SALE, Gent.

Nulla falſa doctrina eſt, quæ non aliquid veri permiſceat.
Auguſtin. Quæſt. Evang. l. 2. c. 40.

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MDCCXXXIV.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN Lord *CARTERET*,

One of the LORDS of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council.

My LORD,

NOTWITHSTANDING the great honour and reſpect generally, and deſervedly, paid to the memories of thoſe who have founded ſtates, or obliged a people by the inſtitution of laws which have made them proſperous and conſiderable in the world, yet the legiſlator of the *Arabs* has been treated in ſo very different a manner by all who acknowledge not his claim to a divine miſſion, and by *Chriſtians* eſpecially, that were

not your Lordſhip's juſt diſcernment ſufficiently known, I ſhould think myſelf under a neceſſity of making an apology for preſenting the following tranſlation.

THE remembrance of the calamities brought on ſo many nations by the conqueſts of the *Arabians*, may poſſibly raiſe ſome indignation againſt him who formed them to empire; but this being equally applicable to all conquerors, could not, of itſelf, occaſion all the deteſtation with which the name of *Mohammed* is loaded. He has given a new ſyſtem of religion, which has had ſtill greater ſucceſs than the arms of his followers, and to eſtabliſh this religion made uſe of an impoſture; and on this account it is ſuppoſed that he muſt of neceſſity have been a moſt abandoned villain, and his memory is become infamous. But as *Mohammed* gave his *Arabs* the beſt religion he could, as well as the beſt laws, preferable, at leaſt, to thoſe of the ancient pagan lawgivers, I confeſs I cannot ſee why he deſerves not equal reſpect, tho' not with *Moſes* or *Jeſus Chriſt*, whoſe laws came really from heaven, yet with *Minos* or *Numa*, not-

notwithſtanding the diſtinction of a learned writer, who ſeems to think it a greater crime to make uſe of an impoſture to ſet up a *new* religion, founded on the acknowledgment of one true God, and to deſtroy idolatry, than to uſe the ſame means to gain reception to rules and regulations for the more orderly practice of heatheniſm already eſtabliſhed.

To be acquainted with the various laws and conſtitutions of civilized nations, eſpecially of thoſe who flouriſh in our own time, is, perhaps, the moſt uſeful part of knowledge: wherein tho' your Lordſhip, who ſhines with ſo much diſtinction in the nobleſt aſſembly in the world, peculiarly excels; yet as the law of *Mohammed*, by reaſon of the odium it lies under, and the ſtrangeneſs of the language in which it is written, has been ſo much neglected, I flatter myſelf ſome things in the following ſheets may be new even to a perſon of your Lordſhip's extenſive learning; and if what I have written may be any way entertaining or acceptable to your Lordſhip, I ſhall not regret the pains it has coſt me.

DEDICATION.

I join with the general voice in wiſhing your Lordſhip all the honour and happineſs your known virtues and merit deſerve, and am with perfect reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's Moſt Humble

And Moſt Obedient Servant,

GEORGE SALE.

TO THE READER.

I IMAGINE it almoſt needleſs either to make an apology for publiſhing the following Tranſlation, or to go about to prove it a work of uſe as well as curioſity. They muſt have a mean opinion of the Chriſtian *Religion, or be but ill grounded therein, who can apprehend any danger from ſo manifeſt a forgery: and if the religious and civil Inſtitutions of foreign nations are worth our knowledge, thoſe of* Mohammed, *the lawgiver of the* Arabians, *and founder of an empire which in leſs than a century ſpread itſelf over a greater part of the world than the* Romans *were ever maſters of, muſt needs be ſo; whether we conſider their extenſive obtaining, or our frequent intercourſe with thoſe who are governed thereby. I ſhall not here enquire into the reaſons why the law of* Mohammed *has met with ſo unexampled a reception in the world, (for they are greatly deceived who imagine it to have been propagated by the ſword alone,) or by what means it came to be embraced by nations which never felt the force of the* Mohammedan *arms, and even by thoſe which ſtripped the* Arabians *of their conqueſts, and put an end to the ſovereignty and very being of their* Khalîfs: *yet it ſeems as if there was ſomething more than what is vulgarly imagined, in a religion which has made ſo ſurprizing a progreſs. But whatever uſe an impartial verſion of the* Korân *may be of in other reſpects, it is abſolutely neceſſary to undeceive thoſe who, from the ignorant or unfair tranſlations which have appeared, have entertained too favourable an opinion of the original, and alſo to enable us effectually to expoſe the impoſture; none of thoſe who have hitherto undertaken that province, not excepting Dr.* Prideaux *himſelf, having ſucceeded to the ſatisfaction of the judicious, for want of being compleat maſters of the controverſy. The writers of the* Romiſh *communion, in particular, are ſo far from having done any ſervice in their refutations of* Mohammediſm, *that by endeavouring to defend their idolatry and other ſuperſti-*

tions, they have rather contributed to the encreaſe of that averſion which the Mohammedans *in general have to the* Chriſtian *Religion, and given them great advantages in the diſpute. The* Proteſtants *alone are able to attack the* Korân *with ſucceſs; and for them, I truſt, Providence has reſerved the glory of its overthrow. In the mean time, if I might preſume to lay down rules to be obſerved by thoſe who attempt the converſion of the* Mohammedans, *they ſhould be the ſame which the learned and worthy biſhop* Kidder * *has preſcribed for the converſion of the* Jews, *and which may,* mutatis mutandis, *be equally applied to the former, notwithſtanding the deſpicable opinion that writer, for want of being better acquainted with them, entertained of thoſe people, judging them ſcarce fit to be argued with. The firſt of theſe rules is,* To avoid compulſion; *which though it be not in our power to employ at preſent, I hope will not be made uſe of when it is. The ſecond is,* To avoid teaching doctrines againſt common ſenſe; *the* Mohammedans *not being ſuch fools (whatever we may think of them) as to be gained over in this caſe. The worſhipping of images, and the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation are great ſtumbling blocks to the* Mohammedans, *and the church which teacheth them is very unfit to bring thoſe people over. The third is,* To avoid weak arguments: *for the* Mohammedans *are not to be converted with theſe, or hard words. We muſt uſe them with humanity, and diſpute againſt them with arguments that are proper and cogent: It is certain that many* Chriſtians, *who have written againſt them, have been very defective this way: many have uſed arguments that have no force, and advanced propoſitions that are void of truth. This method is ſo far from convincing that it rather ſerves to harden them. The* Mohammedans *will be apt to conclude we have little to ſay, when we urge them with arguments that are trifling or untrue. We do but loſe ground when we do this; and inſtead of gaining them, we expoſe ourſelves and our cauſe alſo.* We muſt not give them ill words neither; *but muſt avoid all reproachful language, all that is ſarcaſtical and biting: this never did good from pulpit or preſs. The ſofteſt words will make the deepeſt impreſſion; and if we think it a fault in them to give ill language, we cannot be excuſed when we imitate them. The fourth rule is,* Not to quit any article of the *Chriſtian* faith to gain the *Mohammedans. It is a fond conceit of the* Socinians, *that we ſhall upon their principles be moſt like to prevail upon the* Mohammedans: *it is not true in matter of fact. We muſt not give up any article to gain them: but then the church of* Rome

* In his Demonſtr. of the *Meſſias*, part III. chap. 2.

ought

ought to part with many practices and some doctrines. We are not to design to gain the Mohammedans *over to a system of dogms, but to the ancient and primitive faith. I believe no body will deny but that the rules here laid down are just: the latter part of the third, which alone my design has given me occasion to practise, I think so reasonable, that I have not, in speaking of* Mohammed *or his* Korân, *allowed myself to use those opprobrious appellations, and unmannerly expressions, which seem to be the strongest arguments of several who have written against them. On the contrary, I have thought myself obliged to treat both with common decency, and even to approve such particulars as seemed to me to deserve approbation: for how criminal soever* Mohammed *may have been in imposing a false religion on mankind, the praises due to his real virtues ought not to be denied him; nor can I do otherwise than applaud the candour of the pious and learned* Spanhemius, *who, tho' he owned him to have been a wicked impostor, yet acknowledged him to have been* richly furnished with natural endowments, beautiful in his person, of a subtle wit, agreeable behaviour, shewing liberality to the poor, courtesy to every one, fortitude against his enemies, and above all a high reverence for the name of God; severe against the perjured, adulterers, murtherers, slanderers, prodigals, covetous, false witnesses, *&c.* a great preacher of patience, charity, mercy, beneficence, gratitude, honouring of parents and superiors, and a frequent celebrator of the divine praises *.

Of the several translations of the Korân *now extant, there is but one which tolerably represents the sense of the original; and that being in* Latin, *a new version became necessary, at least to an* English *reader. What* Bibliander *published for a* Latin *translation of that book deserves not the name of a translation; the unaccountable liberties therein taken, and the numberless faults, both of omission and commission, leaving scarce any resemblance of the original. It was made near six hundred years ago, being finished in* 1143, *by* Robertus Retenensis, *an* English-man, *with the assistance of* Hermannus Dalmata, *at the request of* Peter *abbot of* Clugny, *who paid them well for their pains.*

From this Latin *version was taken the* Italian *of* Andrea Arrivabene, *notwithstanding the pretences in his dedication of its being done*

* *Id certum, naturalibus egregiè dotibus instructum Muhammedem, forma præstanti, ingenio callido, moribus facetis, ac præ se ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in singulos, fortitudinem in hostes, ac præ cæteris reverentiam divini nominis. — Severus fuit in perjuros, adulteros, homicidas, obtrectatores, prodigos, avaros, falsos testes,* &c. *Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes ac superiores præco, ut & divinarum laudum.* Hist. Eccles. Sec. 7. c. 7. lem. 5, & 7.

immediately

immediately from the Arabic *; wherefore it is no wonder if the tranſcript be yet more faulty and abſurd than the copy* †.

About the end of the fifteenth century, Johannes Andreas, *a native of* Xativa *in the kingdom of* Valencia, *who from a* Mohammedan *doctor became a* Chriſtian *prieſt, tranſlated not only the* Korân, *but alſo its gloſſes, and the ſeven books of the* Sonna, *out of* Arabic *into the* Arragonian *tongue, at the command of* Martin Garcia ‡, *biſhop of* Barcelona, *and inquiſitor of* Arragon. *Whether this tranſlation were ever publiſhed or not I am wholly ignorant: but it may be preſumed to have been the better done for being the work of one bred up in the* Mohammedan *religion and learning; though his refutation of that religion, which has had ſeveral editions, gives no great idea of his abilities.*

Some years within the laſt century, Andrew du Ryer, *who had been conſul of the* French *nation in* Egypt, *and was tolerably skilled in the* Turkiſh *and* Arabic *languages, took the pains to tranſlate the* Korân *into his own tongue: but his performance, tho' it be beyond compariſon preferable to that of* Retenenſis, *is far from being a juſt tranſlation; there being miſtakes in every page, beſides frequent tranſpoſitions, omiſſions, and additions* §, *faults unpardonable in a work of this nature. And what renders it ſtill more incomplete is, the want of Notes to explain a vaſt number of paſſages, ſome of which are difficult, and others impoſſible to be underſtood, without proper explications, were they tranſlated ever ſo exactly; which the author is ſo ſenſible of that he often refers his reader to the* Arabic *commentators.*

The Engliſh *verſion is no other than a tranſlation of* Du Ryer's, *and that a very bad one; for* Alexander Roſs, *who did it, being utterly unacquainted with the* Arabic, *and no great maſter of the* French, *has added a number of freſh miſtakes of his own to thoſe of* Du Ryer; *not to mention the meanneſs of his language, which would make a better book ridiculous.*

In 1698, *a* Latin *tranſlation of the* Korân, *made by father* Lewis Marracci, *who had been confeſſor to pope* Innocent XI. *was publiſhed at* Padua, *together with the original text, accompanied by explanatory notes and a refutation. This tranſlation of* Marracci's, *generally ſpeaking, is very exact; but adheres to the* Arabic *idiom too literally to be eaſily underſtood, unleſs I am much deceived, by thoſe who are not verſed*

* His words are: — *Queſto libro, che già havevo à commune utilità di molti fatto dal proprio teſto Arabo tradurre nella noſtra volgar lingua Italiana,* &c. And afterwards; *Queſto è l'Alcorano di Macometto, il quale, come ho gia detto, ho fatto dal ſuo idioma tradurre,* &c. † V. Joſ. Scalig. Epiſt. 361, & 362; & Selden. de ſucceſſ. ad leges Ebræor. p. 9. ‡ J. Andreas, in Præf. ad Tractat. ſuum de Confuſione Sectæ Mahometanæ. § V. Windet. de vita functorum ſtatu, ſect. 9.

in

in the Mohammedan *learning. The notes he has added are indeed of great uſe; but his refutations, which ſwell the work to a large volume, are of little or none at all, being often unſatisfactory, and ſometimes impertinent. The work, however, with all its faults, is very valuable, and I ſhould be guilty of ingratitude, did I not acknowledge myſelf much obliged thereto; but ſtill, being in* Latin, *it can be of no uſe to thoſe who underſtand not that tongue.*

Having therefore undertaken a New Tranſlation, I have endeavoured to do the Original *impartial juſtice; not having, to the beſt of my knowledge, repreſented it, in any one inſtance, either better or worſe than it really is. I have thought myſelf obliged, indeed, in a piece which pretends to be the* Word of God, *to keep ſomewhat ſcrupulouſly cloſe to the text; by which means the language may, in ſome places, ſeem to expreſs the* Arabic *a little too literally to be elegant* Engliſh: *but this, I hope, has not happened often; and I flatter myſelf that the ſtile I have made uſe of will not only give a more genuine idea of the original than if I had taken more liberty (which would have been much more for my eaſe) but will ſoon become familiar: for we muſt not expect to read a verſion of ſo extraordinary a book with the ſame eaſe and pleaſure as a modern compoſition.*

In the Notes my view has been briefly to explain the Text, and eſpecially the difficult and obſcure paſſages, from the moſt approved commentators, and that generally in their own words, for whoſe opinions or expreſſions, where liable to cenſure, I am not anſwerable; my province being only fairly to repreſent their expoſitions, and the little I have added of my own, or from Europæan *writers, being eaſily diſcernable. Where I met with any circumſtance which I imagined might be curious or entertaining, I have not failed to produce it.*

The Preliminary Diſcourſe will acquaint the reader with the moſt material particulars proper to be known previouſly to the entring on the Korân *itſelf; and which could not ſo conveniently have been thrown into the Notes. And I have taken care, both in the Preliminary Diſcourſe and the Notes, conſtantly to quote my authorities and the writers to whom I have been beholden; but to none have I been more ſo, than to the learned Dr.* Pocock, *whoſe* Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum *is the moſt uſeful and accurate work that has been hitherto publiſhed concerning the antiquities of that nation, and ought to be read by every curious enquirer into them.*

As I have had no opportunity of conſulting public libraries, the manuſcripts of which I have made uſe throughout the whole work have been

ſuch

ſuch as I had in my own ſtudy, except only the Commentary of al Beidâwi, *and the Goſpel of S.* Barnabas. *The firſt belongs to the library of the* Dutch *church in* Auſtin Fryars, *and for the uſe of it I have been chiefly indebted to the reverend Dr.* Bolten, *one of the miniſters of that church: the other was very obligingly lent me by the reverend Dr.* Holme, *rector of* Hedley *in* Hampſhire; *and I take this opportunity of returning both thoſe gentlemen my thanks for their favours. The merit of* al Beidâwi's *commentary will appear from the frequent quotations I have made thence; but of the goſpel of S.* Barnabas, *(which I had not ſeen when the little I have ſaid of it in the Preliminary Diſcourſe*, and the extract I had borrowed from Mr.* de la Monnoye *and Mr.* Toland†, *were printed off) I muſt beg leave to give ſome further account.*

The book is a moderate Quarto, *in* Spaniſh, *written in a very legible hand, but a little damaged towards the latter end. It contains two hundred and twenty two chapters of unequal length, and four hundred and twenty pages; and is ſaid, in the front, to be tranſlated from the* Italian, *by an* Arragonian Moſlem, *named* Moſtafa de Aranda. *There is a preface prefixed to it, wherein the diſcoverer of the original MS. who was a* Chriſtian *monk, called* Fra Marino, *tells us, that having accidentally met with a writing of* Irenæus, *(among others,) wherein he ſpeaks againſt S.* Paul, *alledging, for his authority, the goſpel of S.* Barnabas, *he became exceeding deſirous to find this goſpel; and that God, of his mercy, having made him very intimate with pope* Sixtus V. *one day, as they were together in that pope's library, his holineſs fell aſleep, and he, to employ himſelf, reaching down a book to read, the firſt he laid his hand on proved to be the very goſpel he wanted: overjoyed at the diſcovery, he ſcrupled not to hide his prize in his ſleeve, and on the pope's awaking, took leave of him, carrying with him that* celeſtial treaſure, *by reading of which he became a convert to* Mohammediſm.

This goſpel of Barnabas *contains a complete hiſtory of* Jeſus Chriſt *from his birth to his aſcenſion; and moſt of the circumſtances in the four real goſpels are to be found therein, but many of them turned, and ſome artfully enough, to favour the* Mohammedan *ſyſtem. From the deſign of the whole, and the frequent interpolations of ſtories and paſſages wherein* Mohammed *is ſpoken of and foretold by name, as the meſſenger of* God, *and the great prophet who was to perfect the diſpenſation of* Jeſus, *it appears to be a moſt barefaced forgery. One particular I obſerve therein induces me to believe it to have been dreſſed up by a renegade* Chriſtian, *ſlightly inſtructed in his new religion, and not educated a*

* §. IV. p. 74. † In not. ad cap. 3. p. 43.

Mohammedan,

Mohammedan, *(unleſs the fault be imputed to the* Spaniſh, *or perhaps the* Italian *tranſlator, and not to the original compiler;) I mean the giving to* Mohammed *the title of* Meſſiah, *and that not once or twice only, but in ſeveral places; whereas the title of the* Meſſiah, *or, as the* Arabs *write it,* al Maſîh, *i. e.* Chriſt, *is appropriated to* Jeſus *in the* Korân, *and is conſtantly applied by the* Mohammedans *to him, and never to their own prophet. The paſſages produced from the* Italian *MS. by Mr.* de la Monnoye *are to be ſeen in this* Spaniſh *verſion almoſt word for word.*

But to return to the following work. Tho' I have freely cenſured the former tranſlations of the Korân, *I would not therefore be ſuſpected of a deſign to make my own paſs as free from faults: I am very ſenſible it is not; and I make no doubt but the few who are able to diſcern them, and know the difficulty of the undertaking, will give me fair quarter. I likewiſe flatter myſelf that they, and all conſiderate perſons, will excuſe the delay which has happened in the publication of this work; when they are informed, that it was carried on at leiſure times only, and amidſt the neceſſary avocations of a troubleſome profeſſion.*

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA.

IN the *Preliminary Diſcourſe.* Page 5. line 3. for *Thabir,* read *Air.* P. 7. in quot. 10. f. 25, r. 15. P. 18. ſtrike out the firſt note entirely. P. 21. l. 22, 23. f. *is forbidden by the Korân,* r. *was forbidden by Mohammed.* P. 45. l. 16. f. *Abd'al Motalleb,* r. *Al Motalleb.* P. 51. l. 3. f. *Oreitab,* r. *Oreikat.* P. 78. in quot. 4. ſtrike out the words *in Kor. c.* 79. P. 86. in quot. 1. f. 9. r. 14. P. 96, l. 35. f. *Tanſim,* r. *Taſnim.* P. 117. l. 2. f. *Yuſof ſurnamed al Hejâj,* r. *al Hejâj Ebn Yûſof.* P. 157. l. 5. after *Arabia,* add, *and Perſia.*

In the *Korân* and Notes. P. 10. in the notes, col. 2. line 15. add, *And from the heifer directed to be ſlain for the expiation of an uncertain murder.* See Deut. xxi. 1—9. P. 38. in the notes, col. 1. l. 14. f. *another daughter,* r. *a ſiſter.* P. 51. in the notes, col. 1. l. 1. and P. 55. in the notes, col. 1. the laſt line but one, f. *Abi,* r. *Obba.* P. 73. in the notes, col. 2. l. 3, 4. f. *What if I ſhould be blind?* r. *What tho' I be blind?* for he really was ſo. P. 86. text, l. 15, 16. f. *Without adding thereto the murder of another ſeul, or without committing,* r. *Without having ſlain a ſoul, or committed,* &c. P. 94. text, l. 10. ſtrike out the word *inconſiderate.* P. 95. in the notes, col. 2. l. 7, 8. f. *Ans Ebn Malec,* r. *Malec Ebn Ans.* P. 111. text, l. 9, 10. f. *by neceſſity eat of,* r. *eat of by neceſſity.* P. 128. text, l. 14. f. *and aſſemble the inhabitants that they may bring,* r. *perſons who may aſſemble and bring,* &c. P. 154. in note c. f. §. VIII. r. §. VII. P. 168. text, l. 24. f. *had,* r. *hath,* and f. *behaved,* r. *behave.* P. 182. text, l. 21. ſtrike out *alſo.* P. 189. in the notes, col. 2. l. 23. f. *Thoſe,* r. *They.* P. 213. in the notes, col. 1. l. 5. ſtrike out the words, *they being of the ſame tribe;* and add, *Abulfeda ſays theſe people dwelt near Tabûc,* and *that they were not of the ſame tribe with Shoaib.* See alſo *Geogr. Nub.* p. 110. P. 246. in the notes, col. 1. l. 5. add, *who reigned in Omân.* See Poc. Spec. p. 42. P. 257. text, l. the laſt, f. *beſtow,* r. *beſtowed.* P. 299. in the notes, col. 2. l. 9. ſtrike out the words, *the prophet.* See chap. 36. P. 342. in the quot. f. §. V. r. §. VI. P. 371. in the quot. f. 55. r. 32. P. 477. in the notes, col. 2. l. 7. f. *duſty,* r. *dusky.*

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PART OF Farsistân

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Lûrestân

Khûzestân

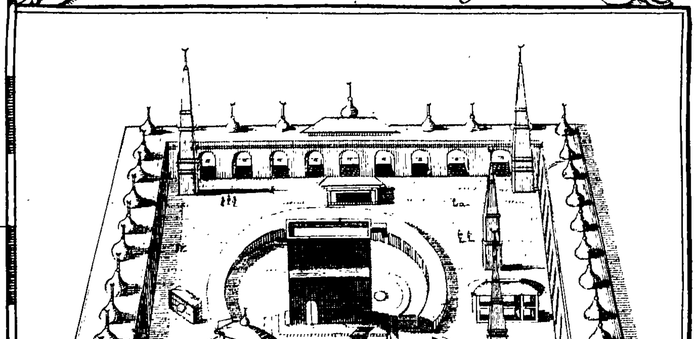
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THE RED SEA.

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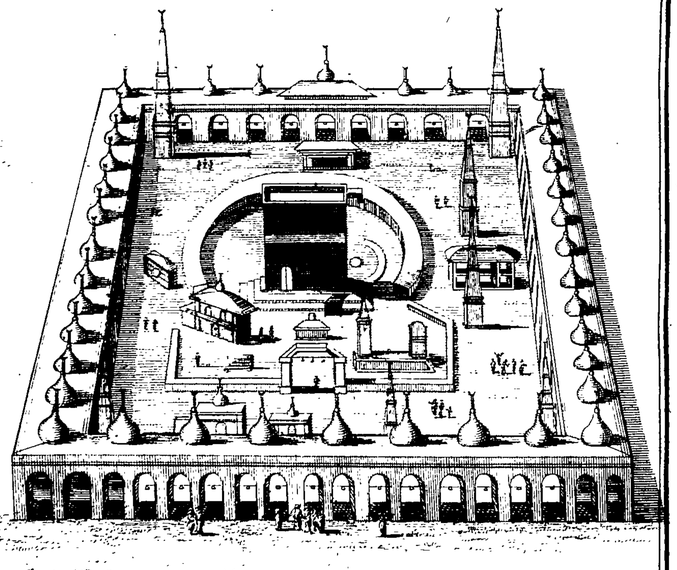
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50 100 150 200.
A Scale of Miles 60 to a Degree.

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R. W. Seale scul.

THE Preliminary Diſcourſe.

SECTION I.

Of the Arabs *before* Mohammed ; *or, as they expreſs it, in the* Time of Ignorance ; *their Hiſtory, Religion, Learning, and Cuſtoms.*

THE *Arabs*, and the country they inhabit, which themſelves call *Jezîrat al Arab*, or the *Peninſula of the Arabians*, but we *Arabia*, were ſo named from *Araba*, a ſmall territory in the province of *Tehâma* [1]; to which *Yarab* the ſon of *Kahtân*, the father of the ancient *Arabs* gave his name, and where, ſome ages after, dwelt *Iſmael* the ſon of *Abraham* by *Hagar*. The *Chriſtian* writers for ſeveral centuries ſpeak of them under the appellation of *Saracens*; the moſt certain derivation of which word is from *ſhark, the eaſt*, where the deſcendants of *Joctan*, the *Kahtân* of the *Arabs*, are placed by *Moſes* [2], and in which quarter they dwelt in reſpect to the *Jews* [3]. *Arabia*, whence named.

The name of *Arabia* (uſed in a more extenſive ſenſe) ſometimes comprehends all that large tract of land bounded by the river *Euphrates*, the *Perſian* gulph, the *Sindian*, *Indian*, and *Red* ſeas, and part of the *Mediterranean*: above two thirds of which country, that is, *Arabia* properly ſo called, the *Arabs* have poſſeſſed almoſt from the flood; and have made themſelves maſters of the reſt, either by ſettlements, or continual incurſions ; for which reaſon the *Turks* and *Perſians* at this day call the whole *Arabiſtân*, or *the country of the Arabs*. Its extent.

But the limits of *Arabia*, in its more uſual and proper ſenſe, are much narrower, as reaching no farther northward than the *Iſthmus*, which runs from *Aila* to the head of the *Perſian* gulph, and the bor-

[1] Pocock. Specim. Hiſt. Arab. 33. [2] Geneſ. x. 30. [3] See Pocock. Specim. 33. 34.

ders

ders of the territory of *Cûfa*; which tract of land the *Greeks* nearly comprehended under the name of *Arabia the Happy*. The eaſtern geographers make *Arabia Petræa* to belong partly to *Egypt*, and partly to *Shâm* or *Syria*, and the deſart *Arabia* they call the *deſarts* of *Syria* [1].

And diviſion.

Proper *Arabia* is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces [2], viz. *Yaman*, *Hejâz*, *Tehâma*, *Najd*, and *Yamâma*; to which ſome add *Bahrein*, as a ſixth, but this province the more exact make part of *Irâk* [3]: others reduce them all to two, *Yaman* and *Hejâz*, the laſt including the three other provinces of *Tehâma*, *Najd*, and *Yamâma*.

The province of *Yaman*.

The province of *Yaman*, ſo called either from its ſituation to the *right hand*, or ſouth of the temple of *Mecca*, or elſe from the *happineſs* and *verdure* of its ſoil, extends itſelf along the *Indian* ocean from *Aden* to cape *Raſalgat*; part of the *Red* ſea bounds it on the weſt and ſouth ſides, and the province of *Hejâz* on the north [4]. It is ſubdivided into ſeveral leſſer provinces, as *Hadramaut*, *Shihr*, *Omân*, *Najrân*, &c. of which *Shihr* alone produces the frankincenſe [5]. The metropolis of *Yaman* is *Sanaa*, a very ancient city, in former times called *Ozal*, and much celebrated for its delightful ſituation; but the prince at preſent reſides about five leagues northward from thence, at a place no leſs pleaſant, called *Hiſn almawâheb*, or the *Caſtle of delights* [6].

THIS country has been famous from all antiquity for the happineſs of its climate, its fertility and riches [7], which induced *Alexander the Great*, after his return from his *Indian* expedition, to form a deſign of conquering it, and fixing there his royal ſeat; but his death, which happened ſoon after, prevented the execution of this project [8]. Yet in reality, great part of the riches which the ancients imagined were the produce of *Arabia*, came really from the *Indies*, and the coaſts of *Africa*; for the *Egyptians*, who had engroſſed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the *Red* ſea, to themſelves, induſtriouſly concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports ſhut to prevent foreigners penetrating into thoſe countries, or receiving any information thence: and this precaution of theirs on the one ſide, and the deſarts, unpaſſable to ſtrangers, on the other, were the reaſon why *Arabia* was ſo little known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The delightfulneſs and plenty of *Yaman* are owing to its mountains;

[1] Golius ad Alfragan, 78. 79. [2] *Strabo* ſays *Arabia Felix* was in his time divided into five kingdoms. l. 16. p. 1129. [3] Gol. ad Alfragan. 79. [4] La Roque, Voyage de l'Arab. heur. 121. [5] Gol. ad Alfragan. 79. 87. [6] Voyage de l'Arab. heur. 232. [7] V. Dionyſ. Periegeſ. v. 927, &c. [8] Strabo. l. 16. p. 1132. Arrian. 161.

for

for all that part which lies along the *Red* ſea, is a dry, barren deſart, in ſome places 10 or 12 leagues over, but in return bounded by thoſe mountains, which being well watered, enjoy an almoſt continual ſpring, and beſides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and ſpices. There are no rivers of note in this country, for the ſtreams which at certain times of the year deſcend from the mountains, ſeldom reach the ſea, being for the moſt part drunk up and loſt in the burning ſands of that coaſt [1].

The ſoil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of *Yaman*; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry ſands, or riſing into rocks, interſperſed here and there with ſome fruitful ſpots, which receive their greateſt advantages from their water and palm trees.

The province of *Hejâz*. The province of *Hejâz*, ſo named becauſe it *divides Najd* from *Tehâma*, is bounded on the ſouth by *Yaman* and *Tehâma*, on the weſt by the *Red* ſea, on the north by the deſarts of *Syria*, and on the eaſt by the province of *Najd* [2]. This province is famous for its two chief cities *Mecca* and *Medina*, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to *Mohammed*; and the other for being the place of his reſidence, for the laſt ten years of his life, and of his interment.

Mecca deſcribed. *Mecca*, ſometimes alſo called *Becca*, which words are ſynonymous, and ſignify *a place of great concourſe*, is certainly one of the moſt ancient cities in the world: it is by ſome [3] thought to be the *Meſa* of the ſcripture [4], a name not unknown to the *Arabians*, and ſuppoſed to be taken from one of *Iſmael*'s ſons [5]. It is ſeated in a ſtony and barren valley, ſurrounded on all ſides with mountains [6]. The length of *Mecca* from ſouth to north is about two miles, and its breadth from the foot of the mountain *Ajyad*, to the top of another called *Koaikaân*, about a mile [7]. In the midſt of this ſpace ſtands the city, built of ſtone cut from the neighbouring mountains [8]. There being no ſprings at *Mecca* [9], at leaſt none but what are bitter and unfit to drink [10], except only the well *Zemzem*, the water of which, tho' far the beſt, yet cannot be drank for any continuance, being brackiſh, and cauſing eruptions in thoſe who drink plentifully of it [11], the inhabitants are obliged to uſe rain water which they catch

1 Voy. de l'Arab. heur. 121. 123. 153. 2 V. Gol. ad Alfrag. 98. Abulfeda Deſcr. Arab. p. 5. 3 R. Saadias in verſion. Arab. Pentat. Sefer Juchaſin. 135. b. 4 Gen x. 30. 5 Gol. ad Alfrag. 82. See Gen. xxv. 15. 6 Gol. ib. 98. See *Pitts*'s Account of the religion and manners of the *Mohammedans*. p. 96. 7 Sharif al Edriſi apud Poc. Specim. 122. 8 Ibid. 9 Gol. ad Alfragan. 99. 10 Sharif al Edriſi ubi ſupra, 124. 11 Ibid. & Pitts ubi ſupra. p. 107.

in ciſterns[1]. But this not being ſufficient, ſeveral attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about *Mohammed*'s time, *Zobair* one of the principal men of the tribe of *Koreiſh*, endeavoured at a great expence to ſupply the city with water from mount *Arafat*, but without ſucceſs; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of *Solimân* the *Turkiſh* Emperor[2]. But long before this, another aqueduct had been made from a ſpring at a conſiderable diſtance, which was, after ſeveral years labour, finiſhed by the *Khalîf al Moktader*[3].

The ſoil about *Mecca* is ſo very barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deſarts, tho' the prince or *Sharîf* has a garden well planted at his caſtle of *Marbaa*, about three miles weſtward from the city, where he uſually reſides. Having therefore no corn or grain of their own growth, they are obliged to fetch it from other places[4]; and *Haſhem*, *Mohammed*'s great-grandfather, then prince of his tribe, the more effectually to ſupply them with proviſions, appointed two caravans to ſet out yearly for that purpoſe, the one in ſummer, and the other in winter[5]: theſe caravans of purveyours are mentioned in the *Korân*. The proviſions brought by them were diſtributed alſo twice a year, *viz.* in the month of *Rajeb*, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. They are ſupply'd with dates in great plenty from the adjacent country, and with grapes from *Tayef*, about ſixty miles diſtant, very few growing at *Mecca*. The inhabitants of this city are generally very rich, being conſiderable gainers by the prodigious concourſe of people of almoſt all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandize. They have alſo great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however the poorer ſort cannot but live very indifferently, in a place where almoſt every neceſſary of life muſt be purchaſed with money. Notwithſtanding this great ſterility near *Mecca*, yet you are no ſooner out of its territory, than you meet on all ſides with plenty of good ſprings and ſtreams of running water, with a great many gardens and cultivated lands[6].

The temple of *Mecca*, and the reputed holineſs of this territory, will be treated of in a more proper place.

Medina. *Medîna*, which till *Mohammed*'s retreat thither was called *Yathreb*, is a walled city about half as big as *Mecca*[7], built in a plain, ſalt in

1 Gol. ad Alfrag. 99. 2 Ib. 3 Sharif al Edriſi ubi ſupr. 4 Idem ib. 5 Poc. Spec. 51.
6 Sharif al Edriſi ubi ſupra. 125. 7 Id. Vulgò Geogr. Nubienſis. 5.

many

many places, yet tolerably fruitful, particularly in dates, but more eſpecially near the mountains, two of which, *Ohod* on the north, and *Thabîr* on the ſouth, are about two leagues diſtant. Here lies *Mohammed* interred [1] in a magnificent building, covered with a *cupola*, and adjoining to the eaſt ſide of the great temple, which is built in the midſt of the city [2].

The province of *Tehâma* was ſo named from the *vehement heat* of its ſandy ſoil, and is alſo called *Gaur* from its *low* ſituation; it is bounded on the weſt by the *Red* ſea, and on the other ſides by *Hejâz* and *Yaman*, extending almoſt from *Mecca* to *Aden* [3]. The province of *Tehâma*.

The province of *Najd*, which word ſignifies a *riſing country*, lies between thoſe of *Yamâma*, *Yaman* and *Hejâz*, and is bounded on the eaſt by *Irak* [4]. The province of *Najd*.

The province of *Yamâma*, alſo called *Arûd* from its *oblique* ſituation, in reſpect of *Yaman*, is ſurrounded by the provinces of *Najd*, *Tehâma*, *Bahrein*, *Omân*, *Shihr*, *Hadramaut*, and *Saba*. The chief city is *Yamâma*, which gives name to the province: it was anciently called *Jaw*, and is particularly famous for being the reſidence of *Mohammed*'s competitor, the falſe prophet *Moſeilama* [5]. The province of *Yamâma*.

The *Arabians*, the inhabitants of this ſpacious country, which they have poſſeſſed from the moſt remote antiquity, are diſtinguiſhed by their own writers into two claſſes, viz. *the old loſt Arabians*, and *the preſent*. The *Arabs* divided into two claſſes.

The former were very numerous, and divided into ſeveral tribes, which are now all deſtroyed, or elſe loſt and ſwallowed up among the other tribes, nor are any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them [6]; tho' the memory of ſome very remarkable events, and the cataſtrophe of ſome tribes have been preſerved by tradition, and ſince confirmed by the authority of the *Korân*. The ancient *Arabs*.

[1] Tho' the notion of *Mohammed*'s being buried at *Mecca* has been ſo long exploded, yet ſeveral modern writers, whether thro' ignorance or negligence I will not determine, have fallen into it. I ſhall here take notice only of two; one is Dr. *Smith*, who having lived ſome time in *Turkey*, ſeems to be inexcuſable: that gentleman in his Epiſtles *de moribus ac inſtitutis Turcarum*, no leſs than thrice mentions the *Mohammedans* viſiting the tomb of their prophet at *Mecca*, and once his being born at *Medina*, the reverſe of which is true (See Ep. 1. pag. 22. Ep. 2. pag. 63 and 64.) The other is the publiſher of the laſt edition of Sir *J. Mandevile*'s travels, who on his author's ſaying very truly (p. 50.) that the ſaid tomb was at *Methone* (i. e. *Medina)*, undertakes to correct the name of the town, which is ſomething corrupted, by putting at the bottom of the page, *Mecca*. The Abbot *de Vertot* in his hiſtory of the order of *Malta* (vol. 1. p. 410. ed. 8vo.) ſeems alſo to have confounded theſe two cities together, tho' he had before mentioned *Mohammed*'s ſepulchre at *Medina*. However he is certainly miſtaken, when he ſays that one point of the religion, both of the *Chriſtians* and *Mohammedans*, was to viſit, at leaſt once in their lives, the tomb of the author of their reſpective faith. Whatever may be the opinion of ſome *Chriſtians*, I am well aſſured the *Mohammedans* think themſelves under no manner of obligation in that reſpect. [2] Gol. ad Alfragan. 97. Abulfeda Deſcr. Arab. p. 40. [3] Gol. ubi ſup. 95. [4] Ib. 94. [5] Ib. 95. [6] Abulfarag. p. 159.

The

The moſt famous tribes amongſt theſe ancient *Arabians* were *Ad*, *Thamûd*, *Taſm*, *Jadîs*, the former *Jorham*, and *Amalek*.

The tribe of *Ad*.

The tribe of *Ad* were deſcended from *Ad*, the ſon of *Aws* [1], the ſon of *Aram* [2], the ſon of *Sem*, the ſon of *Noah*, who after the confuſion of tongues ſettled in *al Ahkâf*, or *the winding ſands* in the province of *Hadramaut*, where his poſterity greatly multiplyed. Their firſt king was *Shedâd* the ſon of *Ad*, of whom the eaſtern writers deliver many fabulous things, particularly that he finiſhed the magnificent city his father had begun, wherein he built a fine palace, adorned with delicious gardens, to embelliſh which he ſpared neither coſt nor labour, propoſing thereby to create in his ſubjects a ſuperſtitious veneration of himſelf as a God [3]. This garden or paradiſe was called the garden of *Irem*, and is mentioned in the *Korân* [4], and often alluded to by the oriental writers. The city, they tell us, is ſtill ſtanding in the deſarts of *Aden*, being preſerved by providence as a monument of divine juſtice, tho' it be inviſible, unleſs very rarely, when God permits it to be ſeen, a favour one *Colabah* pretended to have received in the reign of the *Khalîf Moâwiyah*, who ſending for him to know the truth of the matter, *Colabah* related his whole adventure; that as he was ſeeking a camel he had loſt, he found himſelf on a ſudden at the gates of this city, and entering it ſaw not one inhabitant, at which being terrified, he ſtayed no longer than to take with him ſome fine ſtones which he ſhewed the *Khalîf* [5];

The deſcendants of *Ad* in proceſs of time falling from the worſhip of the true God into idolatry, God ſent the prophet *Hûd* (who is generally agreed to be *Heber* [6]) to preach to and reclaim them. But they refuſing to acknowledge his miſſion, or to obey him, God ſent a hot and ſuffocating wind, which blew ſeven nights and eight days together, and entring at their noſtrils paſt thro' their bodies [7], and deſtroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in *Hûd*, and retired with him to another place [8]. That prophet afterwards returned into *Hadramaut*, and was buried near *Haſec*, where there is a ſmall town now ſtanding called *Kabr Hûd*, or *the ſepulchre of Hûd*. Before the *Adites* were thus ſeverely puniſhed, God to humble them, and incline them to hearken to the preaching of his prophet, afflicted them with a drought for four years, ſo that all their cattle periſhed, and themſelves were very near it; upon which

[1] Or Uz. Gen. x. 22. 23. [2] V. Kor. c. 89. Some make *Ad* the ſon of *Amalek*, the ſon of *Ham*; but the other is the received opinion. See D'Herbel. 51. [3] V. Eund. 498. [4] Cap. 89. [5] D'Herbel. 51. [6] The *Jews* acknowledge *Heber* to have been a great prophet. *Seder Olam*. p. 2. [7] Al Beidâwi. [8] Poc. Spec. 35. &c.

they

they ſent *Lokmân* (different from one of the ſame name who lived in *David*'s time) with 60 others to *Mecca* to beg rain, which they not obtaining, *Lokmân* with ſome of his company ſtaid at *Mecca*, and thereby eſcaped deſtruction, giving riſe to a tribe called *the latter Ad*, who were afterward changed into monkeys. [1].

Some commentators on the *Korân* [2] tell us theſe old *Adites* were of prodigious ſtature, the largeſt being 100 cubits high, and the leaſt 60; which extraordinary ſize they pretend to prove by the teſtimony of the *Korân* [3].

The tribe of *Thamûd* were the poſterity of *Thamûd* the ſon of *Gather* [4] the ſon of *Aram*, who falling into idolatry, the prophet *Sâleh* was ſent to bring them back to the worſhip of the true God. This prophet lived between the time of *Hud* and of *Abraham*, and therefore cannot be the ſame with the patriarch *Selah*, as Mr. *d'Herbelot* imagines [5]. The learned *Bochart* with more probability takes him to be *Phaleg* [6]. A ſmall number of the people of *Thamûd* hearkened to the remonſtrances of *Sâleh*, but the reſt requiring, as a proof of his miſſion, that he ſhould cauſe a ſhe-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their preſence, he accordingly obtained it of God, and the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned; but they inſtead of believing, cut the hamſtrings of the camel and killed her; at which act of impiety God being highly diſpleaſed, three days after ſtruck them dead in their houſes by an earthquake and a terribe noiſe from heaven, which, ſome [7] ſay, was the voice of *Gabriel* the archangel crying aloud, *Die all of you*. *Sâleh* with thoſe who were reformed by him, were ſaved from this deſtruction; the prophet going into *Paleſtine*, and from thence to *Mecca* [8], where he ended his days. The tribe of *Thamûd*.

This tribe firſt dwelt in *Yaman*, but being expelled thence by *Hamyar* the ſon of *Saba* [9], they ſettled in the territory of *Hejr* in the province of *Hejâz*, where their habitations cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the *Korân* [10], are ſtill to be ſeen, and alſo the crack of the rock whence the camel iſſued, which as an eye witneſs [11] hath declared, is 60 cubits wide. Theſe houſes of the *Thamudites* being of the ordinary proportion, are uſed as an argument to convince thoſe of a miſtake who make this people to have been of a gigantic ſtature [12].

[1] Poc. Spec. 36. [2] Jallâlo'ddin & Zamakhſhari. [3] Kor. c. 7. [4] Or Gether. V. Gen. x. 23. [5] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. 740. [6] Bochart Geogr. Sac. [7] See D'Herbel. 366. [8] Ebn Shohnah. [9] Poc. Spec. 57. [10] Kor. cap. 15. [11] Abu Muſa al Aſhari. [12] V. Poc. Spec. 37.

The

The tragical deſtructions of theſe two potent tribes are often inſiſted on in the *Korân*, as inſtances of GOD's judgment on obſtinate unbelievers.

The tribes of *Taſm* and *Jadîs*.

The tribe of *Taſm* were the poſterity of *Lûd* the ſon of *Sem*, and *Jadîs* of the deſcendants of *Jether* [1]. Theſe two tribes dwelt promiſcuouſly together under the government of *Taſm*, till a certain tyrant made a law, that no maid of the tribe of *Jadîs* ſhould marry, unleſs firſt defloured by him [2]; which the *Jadiſians* not enduring, formed a conſpiracy, and inviting the king and chiefs of *Taſm* to an entertainment, privately hid their ſwords in the ſand, and in the midſt of their mirth fell on them and ſlew them all, and extirpated the greateſt part of that tribe; however the few who eſcaped obtaining aid of the king of *Yaman*, then (as is ſaid) *Dhu Habſhân Ebn Akrân* [3], aſſaulted *Jadîs* and utterly deſtroyed them, there being ſcarce any mention made from that time of either of thoſe tribes [4].

The tribes of *Jorham* and *Amalek*.

The former tribe of *Jorham* (whoſe anceſtor ſome pretend was one of the 80 perſons ſaved in the ark with *Noah*, according to a *Mohammedan* tradition [5]) was contemporary with *Ad*, and utterly periſhed [6]. The tribe of *Amalek* were deſcended from *Amalek* the ſon of *Eliphaz* the ſon of *Eſau* [7], tho' ſome of the oriental authors ſay *Amalek* was the ſon of *Ham* the ſon of *Noah* [8], and others the ſon of *Azd* the ſon of *Sem* [9]. The poſterity of this perſon rendered themſelves very powerful [10], and before the time of *Joſeph* conquered the lower *Egypt* under their king *Walîd*, the firſt who took the name of *Pharaoh*, as the eaſtern writers tell us [11]; ſeeming by theſe *Amalekites* to mean the ſame people which the *Egyptian* hiſtories call *Phœnician* ſhepherds [12]. But after they had poſſeſſed the throne of *Egypt* for ſome deſcents, they were expelled by the natives, and at length totally deſtroyed by the *Iſraelites* [13].

The preſent *Arabians*.

The preſent *Arabians*, according to their own hiſtorians, are ſprung from two ſtocks, *Kahtân*, the ſame with *Joctan* the ſon of *Eber* [14], and *Adnân* deſcended in a direct line from *Iſmael* the ſon of *Abraham* and *Hagar*; the poſterity of the former they call *al Arab al Ariba* [15], i. e. the *genuine* or *pure Arabs*, and thoſe of the latter *al A-*

[1] Abulfeda. [2] A like cuſtom is ſaid to have been in ſome mannors in *England*, and alſo in *Scotland*, where it was called Culliage or Cullage, having been eſtabliſhed by K. *Ewen* and aboliſhed by *Malcolm* III. See *Bayle*'s Dict. Art. Sixte IV. Rem. H. [3] Poc. Spec. 60. [4] Ib. 37. &c. [5] Ib. p. 38. [6] Ebn Shohnah. [7] Gen. xxxvi. 12. [8] V. D'Herbelot. p. 110. [9] Ebn Shohnah. [10] V. Numb. xxiv. 20. [11] Mirât Caïnât. [12] V. Joſeph. cont. Apion. l. i. [13] V. Exod. xvii. 18, &c. 1 Sam. xv. 2. &c. Ib. xxvii. 8, 9. 1 Chron. iv. 43. [14] R. Saad. in verſ. Arab. Pentat. Gen x. 25. Some writers make *Kahtân* a deſcendant of *Iſmael*, but againſt the current of oriental hiſtorians. See Poc. Spec. 39. [15] An expreſſion ſomething like that of St. *Paul* who calls himſelf *an Hebrew of the Hebrews*. Philipp. iii. 5.

rab

rab al moſtáreba, i. e. *naturalized* or *inſititious Arabs*, tho' ſome reckon the ancient loſt tribes to have been the only *pure Arabians*, and therefore call the poſterity of *Kahtân* alſo *Mótareba*, which word likewiſe ſignifies *inſititious Arabs*, tho' in a nearer degree than *Moſtareba*; the deſcendants of *Iſmael* being the more diſtant graff.

The poſterity of *Iſmael* have no claim to be admitted as pure *Arabs*; their anceſtor being by origin and language an *Hebrew*, but having made an alliance with the *Jorhamites*, by marrying a daughter of *Modad*, and accuſtomed himſelf to their manner of living and language, his deſcendants became blended with them into one nation. The uncertainty of the deſcents between *Iſmael* and *Adnân*, is the reaſon why they ſeldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they acknowledge as father of their tribes; the deſcents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted [1].

The genealogy of theſe tribes being of great uſe to illuſtrate the *Arabian* hiſtory, I have taken the pains to form a genealogical table from their moſt approved authors, to which I refer the curious.

Beſides theſe tribes of *Arabs*, mentioned by their own authors, who were all deſcended from the race of *Sem*, others of them were the poſterity of *Ham* by his ſon *Cuſh*, which name is in ſcripture conſtantly given to the *Arabs* and their country, tho' our verſion renders it *Ethiopia*; but ſtrictly ſpeaking, the *Cuſhites* did not inhabit *Arabia* properly ſo called, but the banks of the *Euphrates* and the *Perſian* gulph, whither they came from *Chuzeſtân* or *Suſiana*, the original ſettlement of their father [2]. They might probably mix themſelves in proceſs of time with the *Arabs* of the other race, but the eaſtern writers take little or no notice of them.

Their government.

The *Arabians* were for ſome centuries under the government of the deſcendants of *Kâhtan*; *Yárab*, one of his ſons, founding the kingdom of *Yaman*, and *Jorham*, another of them, that of *Hejâz*.

The kingdom of the *Hamyarites* in *Yaman*.

The province of *Yaman*, or the better part of it, particularly the provinces of *Saba* and *Hadramaut*, was governed by princes of the tribe of *Hamyar*, tho' at length the kingdom was tranſlated to the deſcendants of *Cahlân* his brother, who yet retained the title of king of *Hamyar*, and had all of them the general title of *Tobba*, which ſignifies *ſucceſſor*, and was affected to this race of princes, as that of *Cæſar* was to the *Roman* emperors, and *Khalîf* to the ſucceſſors of *Mohammed*. There were ſeveral leſſer princes who reigned in other parts of *Yaman*, and were moſtly, if not altogether, ſubject

[1] Poc. Spec. p. 40. [2] V. Hyde Hiſt. Rel. veter. Perſar. p. 37. &c.

to the king of *Hamyar* whom they called *the great king*, but of theſe hiſtory has recorded nothing remarkable or that may be depended upon [1].

The inundation of *Aram.*

The firſt great calamity that befell the tribes ſettled in *Yaman* was the inundation of *Aram*, which happened ſoon after the time of *Alexander the great*, and is famous in the *Arabian* hiſtory. No leſs than eight tribes were forced to abandon their dwellings upon this occaſion, ſome of which gave riſe to the two kingdoms of *Ghaſſan* and *Hira*. And this was probably the time of the migration of thoſe tribes or colonies which were led into *Meſopotamia* by three chiefs, *Becr*, *Modar*, and *Rabîa*, from whom the three provinces of that country are ſtill named *Diyar Becr*, *Diyar Modar*, and *Diyar Rabîa* [2]. *Abdſhems*, ſurnamed *Saba*, having built the city from him called *Saba*, and afterwards *Mareb*, made a vaſt mound or dam [3] to ſerve as a baſon or reſervoir to receive the water which came down from the mountains, not only for the uſe of the inhabitants, and watering their lands, but alſo to keep the country they had ſubjected in greater awe by being maſters of the water. This building ſtood like a mountain above their city, and was by them eſteemed ſo ſtrong, that they were in no apprehenſion of its ever failing. The water roſe to the height of almoſt 20 fathom, and was kept in on every ſide by a work ſo ſolid, that many of the inhabitants had their houſes built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water diſtributed by aqueducts. But at length GOD being highly diſpleaſed at their great pride and inſolence, and reſolving to humble and diſperſe them, ſent a mighty flood which broke down the mound by night while the inhabitants were aſleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people [4].

The tribes which remained in *Yaman* after this terrible devaſtation, ſtill continued under the obedience of the former princes, till about 70 years before *Mohammed*, when the king of *Ethiopia* ſent over forces to aſſiſt the *Chriſtians* of *Yaman* againſt the cruel perſecution of their king *Dhu Nowâs*, a bigotted *Jew*, whom they drove to that extremity, that he forced his horſe into the ſea, and ſo loſt his life and crown [5]; after which the country was governed by four *Ethiopian* princes ſucceſſively, till *Seif* the ſon of *Dhu Yazan* of the tribe of *Hamyar* obtaining ſuccours from *Khoſrû Anuſhirwân* king of *Perſia*, which had been denied him by the emperor *Heraclius*, recovered

[1] Poc. Spec. p. 65, 66. [2] V. Gol. ad Alfrag. p. 232. [3] Poc. Spec. p. 57. [4] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 52. [5] See *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet*, p. 61.

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the throne and drove out the *Ethiopians*, but was himſelf ſlain by ſome of them who were left behind. The *Perſians* appointed the ſucceeding princes till *Yaman* fell into the hands of *Mohammed*, to whom *Bazan*, or rather *Badhân*, the laſt of them, ſubmitted, and embraced his new religion [1].

This kingdom of the *Hamyarites* is ſaid to have laſted 2020 years [2], or as others ſay above 3000 [3]; the length of the reign of each prince being very uncertain.

The kingdoms of *Ghaſſân* and *Hira*.

It has been already obſerved that two kingdoms were founded by thoſe who left their country on occaſion of the inundation of *Aram*: they were both out of the proper limits of *Arabia*. One of them was the kingdom of *Ghaſſân*. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of *Azd*, who ſettling in *Syria Damaſcena* near a water called *Ghaſſân*, thence took their name, and drove out the *Dajaamian Arabs* of the tribe of *Salîh*, who before poſſeſſed the country [4]; where they maintained their kingdom 400 years, as others ſay 600, or as *Abulfeda* more exactly computes 616. Five of theſe princes were named *Hâreth*, which the *Greeks* write *Aretas*: and one of them it was whoſe governour ordered the gates of *Damaſcus* to be watched to take St. *Paul* [5]. This tribe were *Chriſtians*, their laſt king being *Jabalah* the ſon of *al Ayham*, who on the *Arabs* ſucceſſes in *Syria* profeſſed *Mohammediſm* under the *Khalîf Omar*; but receiving a diſguſt from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to *Conſtantinople* [6].

The other kingdom was that of *Hira* which was founded by *Malec* of the deſcendants of *Cahlân* [7] in *Chaldea* or *Irâk*; but after three deſcents the throne came by marriage to the *Lakhmians*, called alſo the *Mondars* (the general name of thoſe princes) who preſerved their dominion, notwithſtanding ſome ſmall interruption by the *Perſians*, till the *Khalîfat* of *Abubecr*, when *al Mondar al Maghrûr* the laſt of them loſt his life and crown by the arms of *Khaled Ebn al Walîd*. This kingdom laſted 622 years eight months [8]. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of *Perſia*, whoſe lieutenants they were over the *Arabs* of *Irâk*, as the kings of *Ghaſſân* were for the *Roman* emperors over thoſe of *Syria* [9].

Kingdom of the *Jorhamites* in *Hejâz*.

Jorham the ſon of *Kahtân* reigned in *Hejâz*, where his poſterity kept the throne till the time of *Iſmael*, but on his marrying the daughter of *Modad*, by whom he had twelve ſons, *Kidar*, one of them,

[1] Poc. Spec. p. 63, 64. [2] Abulfeda. [3] Al Jannâbi & Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [4] Poc. Spec. p. 76. [5] 2 Cor. xi. 32. Acts ix. 24. [6] V. *Ockley*'s Hiſt. of the *Saracens*. Vol. 1. p. 174. [7] Poc. Spec. p. 66. [8] Ib. p. 74. [9] Ib. & Procop. in Perſ. apud Photium. p. 71. &c.

had the crown reſigned to him by his uncles the *Jorhamites* [1], tho' others ſay the deſcendants of *Iſmael* expelled that tribe, who retiring to *Johainah*, were, after various fortune, at laſt all deſtroyed by an inundation [2].

Of the kings of *Hamyar*, *Hira*, *Ghaſſân*, and *Jorham*, Dr. *Pocock* has given us catalogues tolerably exact, to which I refer the curious [3].

The ſubſequent Government there to the time of *Mohammed.*

After the expulſion of the *Jorhamites*, the government of *Hejâz* ſeems not to have continued for many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes; almoſt in the ſame manner as the *Arabs* of the deſart are governed at this day. At *Mecca* an ariſtocracy prevailed, where the chief management of affairs till the time of *Mohammed* was in the tribe of *Koraiſh*; eſpecially after they had gotten the cuſtody of the *Caaba* from the tribe of *Khozâah* [4].

Beſides the kingdoms which have been taken notice of, there were ſome other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed ſtates of leſſer note; particularly the tribe of *Kenda* [5]: but as I am not writing a juſt hiſtory of the *Arabs*, and an account of them would be of no great uſe to my preſent purpoſe, I ſhall wave any further mention of them.

Of the Government of *Arabia* in ſucceeding times.

After the time of *Mohammed*, *Arabia* was for about three centuries under the *Khalîfs* his ſucceſſors. But in the year 325 of the *Hejra*, great part of that country was in the hands of the *Karmatians* [6], a new ſect who had committed great outrages and diſorders even in *Mecca*, and to whom the *Khalîfs* were obliged to pay tribute, that the pilgrimage thither might be performed: of this ſect I may have occaſion to ſpeak in another place. Afterwards *Yaman* was governed by the houſe of *Thabateba*, deſcended from *Ali* the ſon-in-law of *Mohammed*, whoſe ſovereignty in *Arabia* ſome place ſo high as the time of *Charlemagne*. However it was the poſterity of *Ali*, or pretenders to be ſuch, who reigned in *Yaman* and *Egypt* ſo early as the tenth century. The preſent reigning family in *Yaman* is probably that of *Ayub*; a branch of which reigned there in the 13th century, and took the title of *Khalif* and *Imâm*, which they ſtill retain [7]. They are not poſſeſſed of the whole province of *Yaman* [8], there being ſeveral other independent kingdoms there, particularly that of *Fartach*. The crown of *Yaman* deſcends not regularly from father to ſon, but the prince of the blood royal who is moſt in favour with the great ones, or has the ſtrongeſt intereſt, generally ſucceeds. [9].

[1] Poc. Spec. p. 45. [2] Ib. p. 79. [3] Ib. p. 55. ſeq. [4] V. Ib. p. 41. and *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet*. p. 2. [5] V. Poc. Spec. p. 79, &c. [6] V. Elmacin. in vita al Râdi. [7] Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 255. [8] Ib. 153. 273. [9] Ib. 254.

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The governors of *Mecca* and *Medina*, who have always been of the race of *Mohammed*, alſo threw off their ſubjection to the *Khalîfs*, ſince which time four principal families, all deſcended from *Haſan* the ſon of *Ali*, have reigned there under the title of *Sharîf*, which ſignifies *noble*, as they reckon themſelves to be on account of their deſcent. Theſe are *Banu Kâder*, *Banu Mûſa Thani*, *Banu Haſhem*, and *Banu Kitâda* [1]; which laſt family now is, or lately was in the throne of *Mecca*, where they have reigned above 500 years. The reigning family at *Medina* are the *Banu Haſhem*, who alſo reigned at *Mecca* before thoſe of *Kitâda* [2].

The kings of *Yaman*, as well as the princes of *Mecca* and *Medina*, are abſolutely independent [3] and not at all ſubject to the *Turk*, as ſome late authors have imagined [4]. Theſe princes often making cruel wars among themſelves, gave an opportunity to *Selim* I. and his ſon *Soliman*, to make themſelves maſters of the coaſts of *Arabia* on the *Red* ſea, and of part of *Yaman*, by means of a fleet built at *Sues*: but their ſucceſſors have not been able to maintain their conqueſts; for, except the port of *Jodda*, where they have a *Baſha* whoſe authority is very ſmall, they poſſeſs nothing conſiderable in *Arabia* [5].

Thus have the *Arabs* preſerved their liberty, of which few nations can produce ſo ancient monuments, with very little interruption from the very deluge; for tho' very great armies have been ſent againſt them, all attempts to ſubdue them were unſucceſsful. The *Aſſyrian* or *Median* empires never got footing among them [6]. The *Perſian* monarchs, tho' they were their friends, and ſo far reſpected by them as to have an annual preſent of frankincenſe [7], yet could never make them tributary [8]; and were ſo far from being their maſters, that *Cambyſes*, on his expedition againſt *Egypt*, was obliged to aſk their leave to paſs thro' their territories [9]; and when *Alexander* had ſubdued that mighty empire, yet the *Arabians* had ſo little apprehenſion of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, ſent no embaſſadors to him, either firſt or laſt; which, with a deſire of poſſeſſing ſo rich a country, made him form a deſign againſt it, and had he not died before he could put it in execution [10], this people might poſſibly have convinced him that he was not invincible: and I do not find that any of his ſucceſſors either in *Aſia* or *Egypt*, ever

The freedom of the *Arabs*.

[1] Ib. 143. [2] Ib. 145. [3] Ib. 143. 148. [4] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. orient. p. 477. [5] Voy. de l'Arab. heur. p. 148. [6] Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 131. [7] Herodot. l. 3. c. 97. [8] Idem ib. c. 91. Diodor. ubi ſup. [9] Herodot. l. 3. c. 8. & 98. [10] Strabo. l. 16. p. 1076. 1132.

made

made any attempt againſt them [1]. The *Romans* never conquered any part of *Arabia* properly ſo called; the moſt they did was to make ſome tribes in *Syria* tributary to them, as *Pompey* did one commanded by *Sampſiceramus* or *Shams'alkerâm* who reigned at *Hems* or *Emeſa* [2]; but none of the *Romans*, or any other nations that we know of, ever penetrated ſo far into *Arabia* as *Ælius Gallus* under *Auguſtus Cæſar* [3]; yet he was ſo far from ſubduing it, as ſome authors pretend [4], that he was ſoon obliged to return without effecting any thing conſiderable, having loſt the beſt part of his army by ſickneſs and other accidents [5]. This ill ſucceſs probably diſcouraged the *Romans* from attacking them any more; for *Trajan* notwithſtanding the flatteries of the hiſtorians, and orators of his time, and the medals ſtruck by him, did not ſubdue the *Arabs*; the province of *Arabia*, which it is ſaid he added to the *Roman* empire, ſcarce reaching farther than *Arabia Petræa*, or the very ſkirts of the country. And we are told by one author [6], that this prince marching againſt the *Agarens*, who had revolted, met with ſuch a reception that he was obliged to return without doing any thing.

Of the religion of the ancient *Arabs*.

The religion of the *Arabs* before *Mohammed*, which they call the *ſtate of ignorance*, in oppoſition to the knowledge of GOD's true worſhip revealed to them by their prophet, was chiefly groſs idolatry; the *Sabian* religion having almoſt overrun the whole nation, tho' there were alſo great numbers of *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, and *Magians*, among them.

I ſhall not here tranſcribe what Dr. *Prideaux* [7] has written of the original of the *Sabian* religion; but inſtead thereof inſert a brief account of the tenets and worſhip of that ſect. They do not only believe one GOD, but produce many ſtrong arguments for his unity; tho' they alſo pay an adoration to the ſtars, or the angels and intelligences which they ſuppoſe reſide in them, and govern the world under the ſupreme deity. They endeavour to perfect themſelves in the four intellectual virtues, and believe the ſouls of wicked men will be puniſhed for 9000 ages, but will afterwards be received to mercy. They are obliged to pray three times [8] a day; the firſt, half an hour or leſs before ſun-riſe, ordering it ſo that they may, juſt as the ſun riſes, finiſh eight adorations, each containing three proſtrations [9]: the ſecond prayer they end at noon, when the ſun begins

[1] V. Diodor. Sic. ubi ſupra. [2] Strabo. l. 16. p. 1092. [3] Dion Caſſius. l. 53. p. m. 516. [4] Huet Hiſt. du commerce & de la navigation des anciens. c. 50. [5] See the whole expedition deſcribed at large by *Strabo*. l. 16. p. 1126, *&c*. [6] Xiphilin. epit. [7] Connect. of the hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. p. 1. b. 3. [8] Some ſay ſeven. See D'Herbelot. p. 726. and Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 128. [9] Others ſay they uſe no incurvations or proſtrations at all. V. *Hyde* ib.

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to decline, in ſaying which they perform five ſuch adorations as the former: and the ſame they do the third time, ending juſt as the ſun ſets. They faſt three times a year, the firſt time 30 days, the next nine days, and the laſt ſeven. They offer many ſacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abſtain from beans, garlick, and ſome other pulſe and vegetables [1]. As to the *Sabian Kebla*, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ; one will have it to be the north [2], another the ſouth, a third *Mecca*, and a fourth the ſtar to which they pay their devotions [3]: and perhaps there may be ſome variety in their practiſe in this reſpect. They go on pilgrimage to a place near the city of *Harran* in *Meſopotamia*, where great numbers of them dwell, and they have alſo a great reſpect for the temple of *Mecca*, and the pyramids of *Egypt* [4]; fancying theſe laſt to be the ſepulchres of *Seth*, and of *Enoch* and *Sabi* his two ſons, whom they look on as the firſt propagators of their religion; at theſe ſtructures they ſacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incenſe [5]. Beſides the book of *Pſalms*, the only true ſcripture they read, they have other books which they eſteem equally ſacred, particularly one in the *Chaldee* tongue which they call the *book of Seth*, and is full of moral diſcourſes. This ſect ſay, they took the name of *Sabians* frem the above mentioned *Sabi*, tho' it ſeems rather to be derived from צבא *Saba* [6] or the *hoſt of heaven*, which they worſhip [7]. Travellers commonly call them *Chriſtians* of St. *John the Baptiſt*, whoſe diſciples alſo they pretend to be, uſing a kind of baptiſm, which is the greateſt mark they bear of *Chriſtianity*. This is one of the religions, the practice of which *Mohammed* tolerated (on paying tribute,) and the profeſſors of it are often included in that expreſſion of the *Korân*, *thoſe to whom the ſcriptures have been given*, or literally, *people of the book*.

The idolatry of the *Arabs* then, as *Sabians*, chiefly conſiſted in worſhipping the fixed ſtars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whoſe interceſſion they begged, as their mediators with GOD. For the *Arabs* acknowledged one ſupreme GOD, the Creator, and Lord of the univerſe, whom they called *Allah Taâla*, the moſt high GOD, and their

[1] Abulfarag. Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 281. &c. [2] Idem ib. [3] Hyde ubi ſupr. p. 124. &c. [4] D'Herbel. ubi ſupr. [5] See *Greave*'s Pyramidogr. p. 6, 7. [6] V. Poc. Spec. p. 138. [7] *Thabet Ebn Korrah*, a famous aſtronomer, and himſelf a *Sabian*, wrote a treatiſe in *Syriac*, concerning the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of this ſect; from which, if it could be recovered, we might expect much better information than any taken from the *Arabian* writers. V. Abulfarag. ubi ſup.

other

other deities, who were ſubordinate to him, they called ſimply *al Ilahât*, i. e. *the goddeſſes*; which words the *Grecians* not underſtanding, and it being their conſtant cuſtom to reſolve the religion of every other nation into their own, and find out gods of theirs to match the other's, they pretend the *Arabs* worſhipped only two deities, *Orotalt* and *Alilat*, as thoſe names are corruptly written, whom they will have to be the ſame with *Bacchus* and *Urania*; pitching on the former as one of the greateſt of their own gods, and educated in *Arabia*, and on the other, becauſe of the veneration ſhewn by the *Arabs* to the ſtars [1].

That they acknowledged one ſupreme GOD, appears, to omit other proof, from their uſual form of addreſſing themſelves to him, which was this, *I dedicate myſelf to thy ſervice, O* GOD! *I dedicate myſelf to thy ſervice, O* GOD! *Thou haſt no companion, except thy companion of whom thou art abſolute Maſter, and of whatever is his* [2]. So that they ſuppoſed the idols not to be *ſui juris*, tho' they offered ſacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to GOD, who was alſo often put off with the leaſt portion, as *Mohammed* upbraids them. Thus when they planted fruit trees, or ſowed a field, they divided it by a line into two parts, ſetting one apart for their idols, and the other for GOD; if any of the fruits happened to fall from the idol's part into GOD's, they made reſtitution; but if from GOD's part into the idol's, they made no reſtitution. So when they watered the idol's grounds, if the water broke over the channels made for that purpoſe, and ran on GOD's part, they dammed it up again; but if the contrary, they let it run on, ſaying, they wanted what was GOD's, but he wanted nothing [3]. In the ſame manner, if the offering deſigned for GOD happened to be better than that deſigned for the idol, they made an exchange, but not otherwiſe [4].

It was from this groſs idolatry, or the worſhip of inferior deities, or *companions of* GOD, as the *Arabs* continue to call them, that *Mohammed* reclaimed his countrymen, eſtabliſhing the ſole worſhip of the true GOD among them; ſo that how much ſoever the *Mohammedans* are to blame in other points, they are far from being idolaters, as ſome ignorant writers have pretended.

The worſhip of the ſtars the *Arabs* might eaſily be led into, from their obſerving the changes of weather to happen at the riſing or ſetting of certain of them [5], which after a long courſe of experience in-

[1] V. Herodot. l. 3. c. 8 Arrian. p. 161, 162. & Strab. l. 16. [2] Al Shahreſtani. [3] Nodhm al dorr. [4] Al Beidawi. [5] V. Poſt.

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duced them to aſcribe a divine power to thoſe ſtars, and to think themſelves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreſhment to their parched country: this ſuperſtition the *Korân* particularly takes notice of [1].

The ancient *Arabians* and *Indians*, between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had ſeven celebrated temples, dedicated to the ſeven planets; one of which in particular, called *Beit Ghomdân*, was built in *Sanaa* the metropolis of *Yaman*, by *Dahac*, to the honour of *al Zoharàh* or the planet *Venus*, and was demoliſhed by the *Khalîf Othman* [2]; by whoſe murder was fulfilled the prophetical inſcription ſet, as is reported, over this temple, *viz. Ghomdân, he who deſtroyeth thee, ſhall be ſlain* [3]. The temple of *Mecca* is alſo ſaid to have been conſecrated to *Zohal*, or *Saturn* [4].

Tho' theſe deities were generally reverenced by the whole nation, yet each tribe choſe ſome one as the more peculiar object of their worſhip.

Thus as to the ſtars and planets, the tribe of *Hamyar* chiefly worſhipped the ſun; *Miſam* [5], *al Debarân* or *the bull's eye*; *Lakhm* and *Jodâm*, *al Moſhtari* or *Jupiter*; *Tay*, *Sohail* or *Canopus*; *Kais*, *Sirius* or *the dog-ſtar*; and *Aſad*, *Otâred* or *Mercury* [6]. Among the worſhippers of *Sirius*, one *Abu Cabſha* was very famous; ſome will have him to be the ſame with *Waheb*, *Mohammed*'s grandfather by the mother, but others ſay he was of the tribe of *Khozâah*. This man uſed his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the *Koreiſh* to leave their images and worſhip this ſtar; for which reaſon *Mohammed*, who endeavoured alſo to make them leave their images, was by them nicknamed *the ſon of Abu Cabſha* [7]. The worſhip of this ſtar is particularly hinted at in the *Korân* [8].

Of the angels or intelligences which they worſhipped, the *Korân* [9], makes mention only of three, which were worſhipped under female names [10]; *Allat*, *al Uzza*, and *Manah*. Theſe were by them called *goddeſſes*, and the *daughters of* GOD; an appellation they gave not only to the angels, but alſo to their images, which they either believed to be inſpired with life by GOD, or elſe to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they gave them divine worſhip, becauſe they imagined they interceded for them with GOD.

[1] V. Poc. Spec. p. 163: [2] Shahreſtani. [3] Al Jannâbi. [4] Shahreſtani. [5] This name ſeems to be corrupted, there being no ſuch among the *Arab* tribes. Poc. Spec. p. 130. [6] Abulfarag. p. 160. [7] Poc. Spec. p. 132. [8] Cap. 53. [9] Ibid: [10] Ibid.

Allât was the idol of the tribe of *Thakîf* who dwelt at *Tayef*, and had a temple conſecrated to her in a place called *Nakhlah* [1]. This idol *al Mogheirah* deſtroyed by *Mohammed*'s order, who ſent him and *Abu Sofiân* on that commiſſion in the ninth year of the *Hejra* [2]. The inhabitants of *Tayef*, eſpecially the women, bitterly lamented the loſs of this their deity, which they were ſo fond of, that they begged of *Mohammed* as a condition of peace, that it might not be deſtroyed for three years, and not obtaining that, aſked only a month's reſpite; but he abſolutely denied it [3]. There are ſeveral derivations of this word which the curious may learn from Dr. *Pocock* [4]: it ſeems moſt probably to be derived from the ſame root with *Allah*, to which it may be a feminine, and will then ſignify *the goddeſs*.

Al Uzza, as ſome affirm, was the idol of the tribes of *Koreiſh* and *Kenânah* [5], and part of the tribe of *Salim* [6]: others [7] tell us it was a tree called the *Egyptian* thorn, or *Acacia*, worſhipped by the tribe of *Ghatfân*, firſt conſecrated by one *Dhâlem*, who built a chappel over it, called *Boſs*, ſo contrived as to give a ſound when any perſon entred. *Khâled Ebn Walîd* being ſent by *Mohammed* in the eighth year of the *Hejra* to deſtroy this idol, demoliſhed the chappel, and cutting down this tree or image, burnt it: he alſo ſlew the prieſteſs, who ran out with her hair diſhevelled, and her hands on her head as a ſuppliant. Yet the author who relates this, in another place ſays, the chappel was pulled down, and *Dhâlem* himſelf killed by one *Zohair*, becauſe he conſecrated this chappel with deſign to draw the pilgrims thither from *Mecca*, and leſſen the reputation of the *Caaba*. The name of this deity is derived from the root *azza*, and ſignifies *the moſt mighty*.

Manah was the object of worſhip of the tribes of *Hodhail* and *Khozâah* [8], who dwelt between *Mecca* and *Medina*, and, as ſome ſay [9], of the tribes of *Aws*, *Khazraj*, and *Thakîf* alſo. This idol was a large ſtone [10], demoliſhed by one *Saad* in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, a year ſo fatal to the idols of *Arabia*. The name ſeems derived from *mana* to *flow*, from the *flowing* of the blood of the victims ſacrificed to the deity; whence the valley of *Mina* [11] near *Mecca* had

[1] The word *Nakklah* ſignifying alſo a *palm-tree*, Dr. *Pocock* tranſlates a paſſage of *Abulfaragius*, which mentions this temple, thus; Thakîf *worſhipped a chappel on the top of a palm-tree, called* Allât. And he may poſſibly be in the right. ℸ V. Abulfarag. p. 160. [2] Dr. *Prideaux* mentions this expedition, but names only *Abu Sofiân*, and miſtaking the name of the idol for an appellative, ſuppoſes he went only to diſarm the *Tayefians* of their *weapons and inſtruments of war*. See his life of *Mahomet*. p. 98. [3] Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 127. [4] Spec. p. 90. [5] Al Jauhari, apud eund. p. 91. [6] Al Shahreſtani. ib. [7] Al Firauzabâdi. ib. [8] Al Jauhari. [9] Al Shahreſtani, Abulfeda. &c. [10] Al Beidâwi. al Zamakhſhari. [11] Poc. Spec. 91. &c.

alſo

alſo its name, where the pilgrims at this day ſlay their ſacrifices [1].

Before we proceed to the other idols, let us take notice of five more, which with the former three are all the *Korân* mentions by name, and they are *Wadd*, *Sawâ*, *Yaghûth*, *Yäûk*, and *Naſr*. Theſe are ſaid to have been antediluvian idols, which *Noah* preached againſt, and were afterwards taken by the *Arabs* for gods, having been men of great merit and piety in their time, whoſe ſtatues they reverenced at firſt with a civil honour only, which in proceſs of time became heightened to a divine worſhip [2].

Wadd was ſuppoſed to be the heaven, and was worſhipped under the form of a man by the tribe of *Calb* in *Daumat al Jandal* [3].

Sawâ was adored under the ſhape of a woman by the tribe of *Hamadan*, or, as others [4] write, of *Hodhail* in *Rohat*. This idol lying under water for ſome time after the deluge, was at length, it is ſaid, diſcovered by the devil, and was worſhipped by thoſe of *Hodhail*, who inſtituted pilgrimages to it [5].

Yaghûth was an idol in the ſhape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of *Madhaj* and others who dwelt in *Yaman* [6]. Its name ſeems to be derived from *ghatha*, which ſignifies to *help*.

Yäûk was worſhipped by the tribe of *Morâd*, or according to others, by that of *Hamadan* [7] under the figure of a horſe. It is ſaid he was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and undertaking to repreſent him to the life, perſuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and ſeven others of extraordinary merit had the ſame honours ſhewn them, till at length their poſterity made idols of them in earneſt [8]. The name *Yäûk* probably comes from the verb *âka* to *prevent* or *avert* [9].

Naſr was a Deity adored by the tribe of *Hamyar*, or at *Dhû'l Khalaah* in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name ſignifies.

There are, or were, two ſtatues at *Bamiyân*, a city of *Cabul* in the *Indies*, 50 cubits high, which ſome writers ſuppoſe to be the ſame with *Yaghûth* and *Yäûk*, or elſe with *Manah* and *Allât*; and they alſo ſpeak of a third ſtanding near the others, but ſomething leſs, in the ſhape of an old woman, called *Neſrem* or *Neſr*. Theſe ſtatues were hollow within for the ſecret giving of oracles [10]; but they ſeem to have been different from the *Arabian* idols. There was alſo an idol at *Sûmenat* in the *Indies*, called *Lât* or *al Lât*, whoſe ſtatue was 50 fathoms

[1] Poc. Spec. 91. &c. [2] Korân, c. 71. Comment. Perſic. V. Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 133. [3] Al Jauhari. al Shahreſtani. [4] Idem, al Firauzabâdi, & Safio'ddin. [5] Al Firauzab. [6] Shahreſtani. [7] Al Jauhari. [8] Al Firauzabad. [9] Poc. Spec. 94. [10] See Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 132.

high, of a ſingle ſtone, and placed in the midſt of a temple ſupported by 56 pillars of maſſy gold: this idol *Mahmûd Ebn Sebectegbin*, who conquered that part of *India*, broke to pieces with his own hands [1].

Beſides the idols we have mentioned, the *Arabs* worſhipped alſo great numbers of others, which would take up too much time to have diſtinct accounts given of them, and not being named in the *Korân*, are not ſo much to our preſent purpoſe: for beſides that every houſe-keeper had his houſe-hold god, or gods, which he laſt took leave of, and firſt ſaluted at his going abroad and returning home [2], there were no leſs than 360 idols [3], equalling in number the days of their year, in and about the *Caaba* of *Mecca*; the chief of whom was *Hobal* [4], brought from *Belka* in *Syria* into *Arabia* by *Amru Ebn Lohai*, pretending it would procure them rain when they wanted it [5]. It was the ſtatue of a man made of red agate, which having by ſome accident loſt a hand, the *Koreiſh* repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand ſeven arrows without heads or feathers, ſuch as the *Arabs* uſed in divination [6]. This idol is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the image of *Abraham* [7], found and deſtroyed by *Mohammed* in the *Caaba*, on his entring it, in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, when he took *Mecca* [8], and ſurrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferiour deities; among whom, as ſome ſay, was *Iſmael* with divining arrows in his hand alſo [9].

Aſâf and *Nayelah*, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were alſo two idols brought with *Hobal* from *Syria*, and placed the one on mount *Safâ*, and the other on mount *Merwa*. They tell us *Aſâf* was the ſon of *Amru*, and *Nayelah* the daughter of *Sahâl*, both of the tribe of *Jorham*, who committing whoredom together in the *Caaba*, were by GOD converted into ſtone [10], and afterwards worſhipped by the *Koreiſh*, and ſo much reverenced by them, that tho' this ſuperſtition was condemned by *Mohammed*, yet he was forced to allow them to viſit thoſe mountains as monuments of divine juſtice [11].

I ſhall mention but one idol more of this nation, and that was a lump of dough worſhipped by the tribe of *Hanîfa*; who uſed it with more reſpect than the *Papiſts* do theirs, preſuming not to eat it till they were compelled to it by famine [12].

Several of their idols, as *Manah* in particular, were no more than large rude ſtones, the worſhip of which the poſterity of *Iſmael* firſt

[1] D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. p. 512. [2] Al Moſtatraf. [3] Al Jannab. [4] Abulfed. Shahreſt. &c. [5] Poc. Spec. 95. [6] Safio'ddin. [7] Poc. Spec. 97. [8] Abulfeda. [9] Ebn al Athir. al Jannab. &c. [10] Poc. Spec. 98. [11] Korân. cap. 2. [12] Al Moſtatraf. al Jauhari.

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introduced; for as they multiplied, and the territory of *Mecca* grew too ſtrait for them, great numbers were obliged to ſeek new abodes; and on ſuch migrations it was uſual for them to take with them ſome of the ſtones of that reputed holy land, and ſet them up in the places where they fixed; and theſe ſtones they at firſt only compaſſed out of devotion, as they had accuſtomed to do the *Caaba*. But this at laſt ended in rank idolatry, the *Iſmaelites* forgetting the religion left them by their father ſo far, as to pay divine worſhip to any fine ſtone they met with [1].

Their notions of a future ſtate.

Some of the pagan *Arabs* believed neither a creation paſt, nor a reſurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their diſſolution to age. Others believed both; among whom were thoſe who when they died, had their camel tied by their ſepulchre, and ſo left without meat or drink to periſh, and accompany them to the other world, leſt they ſhould be obliged, at the reſurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very ſcandalous [2]. Some believed a *metempſychoſis*, and that of the blood near the dead perſon's brain, was formed a bird named *Hâmah*, which once in a hundred years viſited the ſepulchre; tho' others ſay, this bird is animated by the ſoul of him that is unjuſtly ſlain, and continually cries *Oſcûni*, *Oſcûni*, i. e. *give me to drink*, meaning of the murtherer's blood, till his death be revenged; and then it flies away. This is expreſly forbidden by the *Korân* to be believed [3].

Mohamed

I might here mention ſeveral ſuperſtitious rites and cuſtoms of the ancient *Arabs*, ſome of which were aboliſhed, and others retained by *Mohammed*; but I apprehend it will be more convenient to take notice of them hereafter, occaſionally, as the negative or poſitive precepts of the *Korân*, forbidding or allowing ſuch practices, ſhall be conſidered.

Let us now turn our view from the idolatrous *Arabs*, to thoſe among them, who had embraced more rational religions.

The *Magian* religion embraced by ſome of their tribes.

The *Perſians* had, by their vicinity and frequent intercourſe with the *Arabians*, introduced the *Magian* religion among ſome of their tribes, particularly that of *Tamim* [4], a long time before *Mohammed*, who was ſo far from being unacquainted with that religion, that he borrowed many of his own inſtitutions from it, as will be obſerved in the progreſs of this work. I refer thoſe who are deſirous to have ſome notion of *Magiſm*, to Dr. *Hyde*'s curious account of it [5]; a ſuccinct abridgement of which may be read with much pleaſure, in another learned performance [6].

[1] Al Moſtatarf. al Jannâbi. [2] Abulfarag. p. 160. [3] V. Poc. Spec. p. 135. [4] Al Moſtatraf. [5] In his Hiſt. relig. vet. Perſar. [6] Dr. *Prideaux*'s Connect. of the hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. Part I. Book 4.

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And alſo the *Jewiſh*.

The *Jews*, who fled in great numbers into *Arabia* from the fearful deſtruction of their country by the *Romans*, made proſelytes of ſeveral tribes, thoſe of *Kenânah*, *al Hareth Ebn Caaba*, and *Kendah*[1] in particular, and in time became very powerful, and poſſeſſed of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes there. But the *Jewiſh* religion was not unknown to the *Arabs*, at leaſt above a century before; *Abu Carb Aſad*, taken notice of in the *Korân*[2], who was king of *Yaman*, about 700 years before *Mohammed*, is ſaid to have introduced *Judaiſm* among the idolatrous *Hamyarites*. Some of his ſucceſſors alſo embraced the ſame religion, one of whom, *Yuſef*, ſurnamed *Dhu Nowâs*[3], was remarkable for his zeal, and terrible perſecution of all who would not turn *Jews*, putting them to death by various tortures, the moſt common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the *Lord of the pit*. This perſecution is alſo mentioned in the *Korân*[4].

And *Chriſtian*.

Chriſtianity had likewiſe made a very great progreſs among this nation, before *Mohammed*. Whether St. *Paul* preached in any part of *Arabia*, properly ſo called[5], is uncertain; but the perſecutions, and diſorders, which happened in the eaſtern church ſoon after the beginning of the third century, obliged great numbers of *Chriſtians* to ſeek for ſhelter in that county of liberty; who being for the moſt part of the *Jacobite* communion, that ſect generally prevailed among the *Arabs*[6]. The principal tribes that embraced *Chriſtianity*, were *Hamyar*, *Ghaſſân*, *Rabiâ*, *Taghlab*, *Bahrâ*, *Tonûch*[7], part of the tribes of *Tay* and *Kodâa*, the inhabitants of *Najrân*, and the *Arabs* of *Hira*[8]. As to the two laſt, it may be obſerved, that thoſe of *Najrân* became *Chriſtians* in the time of *Dhu Nowâs*[9]; and very probably, if the ſtory be true, were ſome of thoſe who were converted on the following occaſion, which happened about that time, or not long before. The *Jews* of *Hamyar*, challenged ſome neighbouring *Chriſtians*, to a publick diſputation, which was held *ſub dio* for three days, before the king and his nobility, and all the people; the diſputants being *Gregentius*, biſhop of *Tephra* (which I take to be *Dhafâr*) for the *Chriſtians*, and *Herbanus* for the *Jews*. On the third day, *Herbanus*, to end the diſpute, demanded that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worſhippers, ſhould appear from heaven in their ſight, and they would

[1] Al Moſtatraf. [2] Chap. 50. [3] See before p. 10. & Baronii annal. ad ſec. VI. [4] Chap. 85. [5] See Galat. i. 17. [6] Abulfarag. p. 149. [7] Al Moſtatraf. [8] V. Poc. Spec. p. 137. [9] Al Jannab. apud Poc. Spec. p. 63.

then

then believe on him; the *Jews* crying out with one voice, *Shew us your* Chriſt, *alas, and we will become* Chriſtians. Whereupon, after a terrible ſtorm of thunder and lightning, *Jeſus Chriſt* appeared in the air, ſurrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a ſword in his hand, and an ineſtimable diadem on his head, and ſpake theſe words over the heads of the aſſembly; *Behold I appear to you in your ſight, I, who was crucified by your fathers.* After which the cloud received him from their ſight. The *Chriſtians* cried out *Kyrie eleeſon*, i. e. *Lord, have mercy upon us*; but the *Jews* were ſtricken blind, and recovered not, till they were all baptized [1].

The *Chriſtians* at *Hira*, received a great acceſſion by ſeveral tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the perſecution of *Dhu Nowâs*. *Al Nooman*, ſurnamed *Abu Kabûs*, king of *Hira*, who was ſlain a few months before *Mohammed*'s birth, profeſſed himſelf a *Chriſtian* on the following occaſion. This prince, in a drunken fit, ordered two of his intimate companions, who overcome with liquor had fallen aſleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himſelf, he was extreamly concerned at what he had done, and to expiate his crime, not only raiſed a monument to the memory of his friends, but ſet apart two days, one of which he called the *unfortunate*, and the other the *fortunate day*; making it a perpetual rule to himſelf, that whoever met him on the former day, ſhould be ſlain, and his blood ſprinkled on the monument, but he that met him on the other day, ſhould be diſmiſſed in ſafety, with magnificent gifts. On one of thoſe unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an *Arab*, of the tribe of *Tay*, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and ſeparated from his attendants. The king, who could neither diſcharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, againſt the laws of hoſpitality, which the *Arabians* religiouſly obſerve, propoſed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's reſpite, and to ſend him home with rich gifts, for the ſupport of his family, on condition, that he found a ſurety for his returning at the year's end, to ſuffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compaſſion, offered himſelf as his ſurety, and the *Arab* was diſcharged. When the laſt day of the term came, and no news of the *Arab*, the king, not at all diſpleaſed to ſave his hoſt's life, ordered the ſurety to prepare himſelf to die. Thoſe who were by repreſented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening: but

[1] V. Gregentii diſput. cum Herbano Judæo.

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in the middle of their diſcourſe, the *Arab* appeared. The king, admiring the man's generoſity, in offering himſelf to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his ſurety ſuffer, aſked him, what was his motive for his ſo doing? to which he anſwered, that he had been taught to act in that manner, by the religion he profeſſed; and *al Nooman* demanding what religion that was, he replied the *Chriſtian.* Whereupon the king deſiring to have the doctrines of *Chriſtianity* explained to him, was baptized, he and his ſubjects; and not only pardoned the man and his ſurety, but aboliſhed his barbarous cuſtom [1]. This prince, however, was not the firſt king of *Hira* who embraced *Chriſtianity*; *al Mondar*, his grandfather, having alſo profeſſed the ſame faith, and built large churches in his capital [2].

Since *Chriſtianity* had made ſo great a progreſs in *Arabia*, we may conſequently ſuppoſe they had biſhops in ſeveral parts, for the more orderly governing of the churches. A biſhop of *Dhafâr* has been already named, and we are told that *Najrân* was alſo a biſhop's ſee [3]. The *Jacobites* (of which ſect we have obſerved the *Arabs* generally were) had two biſhops of the *Arabs* ſubject to their *Mafriân*, or *metropolitan of the eaſt*; one was called the *biſhop of the Arabs* abſolutely, whoſe ſeat was for the moſt part at *Akula*, which ſome authors make the ſame with *Cûfa* [4], others a different town near *Baghdâd* [5]. The other had the title of *biſhop of the Scenite Arabs*, of the tribe of *Thaalab* in *Hira*, or *Hirta*, as the *Syrians* call it, whoſe ſeat was in that city. The *Neſtorians* had but one biſhop, who preſided over both theſe dioceſſes, of *Hira* and *Akula*, and was immediately ſubject to their patriarch [6].

Theſe were the principal religions which obtained among the ancient *Arabs*; but as freedom of thought was the natural conſequence of their political liberty and independance, ſome of them fell into other different opinions. The *Koreiſh*, in particular, were infected with *Zendiciſm* [7], an error ſuppoſed to have very near affinity with that of the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*, and, perhaps, not greatly different from *Deiſm*; for there were ſeveral of that tribe, even before the time of *Mohammed*, who worſhipped one god, and were free from idolatry [8], and yet embraced none of the other religions of the country.

[1] Al Meidani, & Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, apud Poc. Spec. p. 72. [2] Abulfeda ap. eund. p. 74. [3] Safio'ddin apud Poc. Spec. p. 137. [4] Abulfarag. in Chron. Syriac, MS. [5] Abulfeda in deſcr. Iracæ. [6] Vid. Aſſemani Bibl. Orient. T. 2. in Diſſert. de Monophyſitis; & p. 459. [7] Al Moſtatraf, apud Poc. Spec. p. 136. [8] V. Reland. de Relig. Moham. p. 270. & Millium de Mohammediſmo ante Moham. p. 311.

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The *Arabians* before *Mohammed* were, as they yet are, divided into two ſorts, thoſe who dwell in cities, and towns, and thoſe who dwell in tents. The former lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exerciſe of all ſorts of trades [1], particularly merchandizing [2], wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of *Jacob*. The tribe of *Koreiſh* were much addicted to commerce, and *Mohammed*, in his younger years, was brought up to the ſame buſineſs; it being cuſtomary for the *Arabians* to exerciſe the ſame trade that their parents did [3]. The *Arabs* who dwelt in tents, employed themſelves in paſturage, and ſometimes in pillaging of paſſengers; they lived chiefly on the milk and fleſh of camels; they often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water and of paſture for their cattle invited them, ſtaying in a place no longer than that laſted, and then removing in ſearch of other [4]. They generally wintered in *Irâk*, and the confines of *Syria*. This way of life, is what the greater part of *Iſmael*'s poſterity have uſed, as more agreeable to the temper and way of life of their father; and is ſo well deſcribed by a late author [5], that I cannot do better than refer the reader to his account of them.

The *Arabs* different way of life.

The *Arabic* language is undoubtedly one of the moſt ancient in the world, and aroſe ſoon after, if not at, the confuſion of *Babel*. There were ſeveral dialects of it, very different from each other: the moſt remarkable were that ſpoken by the tribe of *Hamyar* and the other genuine *Arabs*, and that of the *Koreiſh*. The *Hamyaritic* ſeems to have approached nearer to the purity of the *Syriac*, than the dialect of any other tribe; for the *Arabs* acknowledge their father *Yarab* to have been the firſt, whoſe tongue deviated from the *Syriac* (which was his mother tongue, and is almoſt generally acknowledged by the *Aſiatics* to be the moſt ancient) to the *Arabic*. The dialect of the *Koreiſh* is uſually termed the *pure Arabic*, or, as the *Korân*, which is written in this dialect, calls it, *the perſpicuous* and *clear Arabic*; perhaps, ſays Dr. *Pocock*, becauſe *Iſmael*, their father, brought the *Arabic* he had learned of the *Jorhamites* nearer to the original *Hebrew*. But the politeneſs and elegance of the dialect of the *Koreiſh*, is rather to be attributed to their having the cuſtody of the *Caaba*, and dwelling in *Mecca*, the centre of *Arabia*, as well more remote from intercourſe with foreigners, who might corrupt their

Their language, learning, accompliſhments, &c. before *Mohammed*.

[1] Theſe ſeem to be the ſame whom Mr. *La Roque* calls *Moors*. Voy. dans la Paleſtine, p. 110
[2] See *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet*, p. 6. [3] Strabo. l. 16. p. 1129. [4] Idem, ibid. p. 1084. [5] La Roque, Voyage dans la Paleſtine, p. 109, &c.

language, as frequented by the *Arabs* from the country all around, not only on a religious account, but alſo for the compoſing of their differences, from whoſe diſcourſe and verſes, they took whatever words or phraſes they judged more pure and elegant; by which means, the beauties of the whole tongue became transfuſed into this dialect. The *Arabians* are full of the commendations of their language, and not altogether without reaſon; for it claims the preference of moſt others in many reſpects, as being very harmonious and expreſſive, and withal ſo copious, that they ſay, no man, without inſpiration, can be perfect maſter of it, in its utmoſt extent; and yet they tell us, at the ſame time, that the greateſt part of it has been loſt; which will not be thought ſtrange, if we conſider, how late the art of writing was practiſed among them. For tho' it was known to *Job* [1], their countryman, and alſo to the *Hamyarites* (who uſed a perplexed character called *al Moſnad*, wherein the letters were not diſtinctly ſeparate, and which was neither publickly taught, nor ſuffered to be uſed without permiſſion firſt obtained) many centuries before *Mohammed*, as appears from ſome ancient monuments, ſaid to be remaining in their character; yet the other *Arabs*, and thoſe of *Mecca* in particular, were, for many ages, perfectly ignorant of it, unleſs ſuch of them as were *Jews*, or *Chriſtians* [2]: *Morâmer Ebn Morra* of *Anbar*, a city of *Irâk*, who lived not many years before *Mohammed*, was the inventor of the *Arabic* character, which *Baſhar* the *Kendian* is ſaid to have learned from thoſe of *Anbar*, and to have introduced at *Mecca*, but a little while before the inſtitution of *Mohammediſm*. Theſe letters of *Morâmer* were different from the *Hamyaritic*; and tho' they were very rude, being either the ſame with, or very much like the *Cufic* [3], which character is ſtill found in inſcriptions, and ſome ancient books, yet they were thoſe which the *Arabs* uſed for many years, the *Korân* itſelf being at firſt written therein; for the beautiful character they now uſe, was firſt formed from the *Cufic* by *Ebn Moklah*, *Wazîr* (or *Viſir*) to the *Khalîfs al Moktader*, *al Kâher*, and *al Râdi*, who lived about 300 years after *Mohammed*, and was brought to great perfection, by *Ali Ebn Bowâb* [4], who flouriſhed in the following century, and whoſe name is yet famous among them, on that account; yet, it is ſaid, the perſon who compleated it, and reduced it

[1] Job xix. 23, 24. [2] See *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet*, p. 29, 30. [3] A ſpecimen of the *Cufic* character may be ſeen in Sr. *J. Chardin*'s travels, vol. III. p. 119. [4] Ebn Khalicân. Yet others attribute the honour of the invention of this character to *Ebn Moklah*'s brother, *Abdallah al Haſan*; and the perfecting of it to *Ebn Amîd al Kâteb*, after it had been reduced to near the preſent form by *Abd'alhamîd* V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 590. 108, & 194.

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to its preſent form, was *Yakût al Moſtáſemi*, ſecretary to *al Moſtáſem*, the laſt of the *Khalîfs* of the family of *Abbâs*, for which reaſon, he was ſurnamed *al Khattât*, or the *ſcribe*.

The accompliſhments the *Arabs* valued themſelves chiefly on, were, 1. Eloquence, and a perfect ſkill in their own tongue; 2. Expertneſs in the uſe of arms, and horſemanſhip; and, 3. Hoſpitality [1]. The firſt they exerciſed themſelves in, by compoſing of orations, and poems. Their orations were of two ſorts, metrical, or proſaic, the one being compared to pearls ſtrung, and the other to looſe ones. They endeavour'd to excel in both, and whoever was able, in an aſſembly, to perſuade the people to a great enterprize, or diſſuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholeſome advice, was honoured with the title of *Khâteb*, or *orator*, which is now given to the *Mohammedan* preachers. They purſued a method very different from that of the *Greek* and *Roman* orators; their ſentences being like looſe gems, without connection, ſo that this ſort of compoſition ſtruck the audience chiefly by the fulneſs of the periods, the elegance of the expreſſion, and the acuteneſs of the proverbial ſayings; and ſo perſuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to underſtand the art of ſpeaking in public, except themſelves, and the *Perſians*; which laſt were reckoned much inferiour in that reſpect to the *Arabians* [2]. Poetry was in ſo great eſteem among them, that it was a great accompliſhment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to expreſs one's ſelf in verſe with eaſe and elegance, on any extraordinary occurrence, and even in their common diſcourſe, they made frequent applications of celebrated paſſages of their famous poets. In their poems were preſerved the diſtinction of deſcents, the rights of tribes, the memory of great actions, and the propriety of their language; for which reaſons an excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe, ſo that as ſoon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes ſent publickly to congratulate them on the occaſion, and themſelves made entertainments, at which the women aſſiſted, dreſt in their nuptial ornaments, ſinging to the ſound of timbrels the happineſs of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preſerve their genealogies and the purity of their language, and to tranſmit their actions to poſterity [3]; for this was all performed by their poems, to which they were ſolely obliged for their knowledge and inſtructions, moral and œconomical, and to which

[1] Poc. Orat. ante Carmen Tograi. p. 10. [2] Poc. Spec. 161. [3] Ebn Raſhik, apud Poc. Spec. 160.

they had recourſe, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences [1]. No wonder then, that a public congratulation was made on this account, which honour they yet were ſo far from making cheap, that they never did it but on one of theſe three occaſions, which were reckoned great points of felicity; *viz.* on the birth of a boy, the riſe of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed. To keep up an emulation among their poets, the tribes had, once a year, a general aſſembly at *Ocadh* [2], a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our ſunday [3]. This annual meeting laſted a whole month, during which time they employed themſelves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compoſitions, contending and vying with each other for the prize; whence the place, it is ſaid, took its name [4]. The poems that were judged to excel, were laid up in their king's treaſuries, as were the ſeven celebrated poems, thence called *al Moallakât*, rather than from their being hung up on the *Caaba*, which honour they alſo had by public order, being written on *Egyptian* ſilk, and in letters of gold; for which reaſon they had alſo the name of *al Modhahabât*, or the *golden* verſes [5].

The fair and aſſembly at *Ocadh* were ſuppreſſed by *Mohammed*, in whoſe time, and for ſome years after, poetry ſeems to have been in ſome degree neglected by the *Arabs*, who were then employed in their conqueſts; which being compleated, and themſelves at peace, not only this ſtudy was revived [6], but almoſt all ſorts of learning were encouraged and greatly improved by them. This interruption however occaſioned the loſs of moſt of their ancient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preſerved by memory; the uſe of writing being rare among them, in their time of *ignorance* [7]. Tho' the *Arabs* were ſo early acquainted with poetry, they did not at firſt uſe to write poems of a juſt length, but only expreſſed themſelves in verſe occaſionally; nor was their proſody digeſted into rules, till ſome time after *Mohammed* [8]; for this was done, as it is ſaid, by *al Khalîl Ahmed al Farâhîdi*, who lived in the reign of the *Khalîf Harûn al Raſhîd* [9].

[1] Poc. Orat. præfix. Carm. Tograi, ubi ſupra. [2] Idem, Spec. p. 159. [3] Geogr. Nub. p. 51. [4] Poc. Spec. 159. [5] Ibid. & p. 381. Et in calce Notar. in Carmen Tograi, p. 233. [6] Jallalo'ddin al Soyûti, apud, Poc. Spec. p. 159, &c. [7] Ib. 160. [8] Ib. 161. *Al Safadi* confirms this by a ſtory of a Grammarian, named *Abu Jaafar*, who ſitting by the *Mikyas* or *Nilometer* in *Egypt*, in a year when the *Nile* did not riſe to its uſual height, ſo that a famine was apprehended, and dividing a piece of poetry into its parts or feet, to examine them by the rules of art, ſome who paſſed by, not underſtanding him, imagined he was uttering a charm to hinder the riſe of the river, and puſhed him into the water, where he loſt his life. [9] V. Clericum de Proſod. Arab. p. 2.

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The exerciſe of arms and horſemanſhip they were in a manner obliged to practiſe and encourage, by reaſon of the independance of their tribes, whoſe frequent jarrings made wars almoſt continual; and they chiefly ended their diſputes in field battles; it being an uſual ſaying among them, that GOD had beſtowed four peculiar things on the *Arabs*, that their turbands ſhould be to them inſtead of diadems, their tents inſtead of walls and houſes, their ſwords inſtead of intrenchments, and their poems inſtead of written laws [1].

Hoſpitality was ſo habitual to them, and ſo much eſteemed, that the examples of this kind among them exceed whatever can be produced from other nations. *Hatem* of the tribe of *Tay* [2], and *Haſn* of that of *Fezârah* [3], were particularly famous on this account; and the contrary vice was ſo much in contempt, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of *Waſet*, as with the greateſt reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny [4].

Nor were the *Arabs* leſs propenſe to liberality after the coming of *Mohammed*, than their anceſtors had been. I could produce many remarkable inſtances of this commendable quality among them [5], but ſhall content myſelf with the following. Three men were diſputing in the court of the *Caaba*, which was the moſt liberal perſon among the *Arabs*. One gave the preference to *Abdallah*, the ſon of *Jaafar* the uncle of *Mohammed*; another to *Kais Ebn Saad Ebn Obâdah*; and the third gave it to *Arâbah* of the tribe of *Aws*. After much debate, one that was preſent, to end the diſpute, propoſed that each of them ſhould go to his friend, and aſk his aſſiſtance; that they might ſee what every one gave, and form a judgment accordingly. This was agreed to; and *Abdallah*'s friend going to him, found him with his foot in the ſtirrup, juſt mounting his camel for a journey, and thus accoſted him; *Son of the uncle of the apoſtle of* GOD, *I am travelling and in neceſſity*. Upon which *Abdallah* alighted, and bid him take the camel with all that was upon her, but deſired him not to part with a ſword which happened to be fixed to the ſaddle, becauſe it had belonged to *Ali*, the ſon of *Abutâleb*. So he took the camel, and found on her ſome veſts of ſilk, and 4000 pieces of gold; but the thing of greateſt value was the ſword. The ſecond went to *Kais Ebn Saad*, whoſe ſervant told him that his maſter was aſleep; and deſired to know his buſineſs. The friend anſwered that he came

[1] Pocock, in calce Notar. ad Carmen Tograi. [2] V. Gentii Notas in Guliſtan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c. [3] Poc. Spec. p. 48. [4] Ebn al Hobeirah, apud Poc. in Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 107. [5] Several may be found in *D'Herbelot*'s Bibl. Orient. particularly in the articles of *Haſan* the ſon of *Ali*, *Maan*, *Fadhel*, and *Ebn Yahya*.

to aſk *Kais*'s aſſiſtance; being in want on the road. Whereupon the ſervant ſaid, that he had rather ſupply his neceſſity, than wake his maſter; and gave him a purſe of 7000 pieces of gold, aſſuring him that it was all the money then in the houſe. He alſo directed him to go to thoſe who had the charge of the camels, with a certain token, and take a camel, and a ſlave, and return home with them. When *Kais* awoke, and his ſervant informed him of what he had done, he gave him his freedom, and aſked him why he did not call him, for, ſays he, I would have given him more. The third man went to *Arâbah*, and met him coming out of his houſe, in order to go to prayers, and leaning on two ſlaves, becauſe his eye-ſight failed him. The friend no ſooner made known his caſe, but *Arâbah* let go the ſlaves, and clapping his hands together, loudly lamented his misfortune, in having no money, but deſired him to take the two ſlaves; which the man refuſed to do, till *Arâbah* proteſted that if he would not accept of them, he gave them their liberty; and leaving the ſlaves, groped his way along by the wall. On the return of the adventurers, judgment was unanimouſly, and with great juſtice, given by all who were preſent, that *Arâbah* was the moſt generous of the three.

Nor were theſe the only good qualities of the *Arabs*; they are commended by the ancients for being moſt exact to their words [1], and reſpectful to their kindred [2]. And they have always been celebrated for their quickneſs of apprehenſion and penetration, and the vivacity of their wit; eſpecially thoſe of the deſart [3].

As the *Arabs* had their excellencies, ſo have they, like other nations, their defects and vices. Their own writers acknowledge that they have a natural diſpoſition to war, bloodſhed, cruelty, and rapine; being ſo much addicted to bear malice, that they ſcarce ever forget an old grudge: which vindictive temper, ſome phyſicians ſay, is occaſioned by their frequent feeding on camels fleſh (the ordinary diet of the *Arabs* of the deſart, who are therefore obſerved to be moſt inclined to theſe vices) that creature being moſt malicious and tenacious of anger [4]; which account ſuggeſts a good reaſon for a diſtinction of meats.

The frequent robberies committed by theſe people on merchants and travellers, have rendred the name of an *Arab* almoſt infamous in *Europe*; this they are ſenſible of, and endeavour to excuſe themſelves by alledging the hard uſage of their father *Iſmael*, who being

[1] Herodot. l. 3. c. 8. [2] Strabo, l. 16. p. 1129. [3] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 121. [4] V. Poc. Spec. p. 87. Bochart, Hierozoic. l. 2. c. 1.

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turned out of doors by *Abraham*, had the open plains and deſarts given him by GOD for his patrimony, with permiſſion to take whatever he could find there. And on this account, they think they may, with a ſafe conſcience, indemnify themſelves, as well as they can, not only on the poſterity of *Iſaac*, but alſo on every body elſe; always ſuppoſing a ſort of kindred between themſelves and thoſe they plunder. And in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it ſufficient to change the expreſſion, and inſtead of *I robbed a man of ſuch or ſuch a thing*, to ſay, *I gained it* [1]. We muſt not however imagine that they are the leſs honeſt for this among themſelves, or towards thoſe whom they receive as friends; on the contrary, the ſtricteſt probity is obſerved in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be ſtoln [2].

The ſciences the *Arabians* chiefly cultivated before *Möhammediſm*, were three; that of their genealogies and hiſtory, ſuch a knowledge of the ſtars as to foretel the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams [3]. They uſed to value themſelves exceſſively on account of the nobility of their families, and ſo many diſputes happened on that occaſion, that it is no wonder if they took great pains in ſettling their deſcents. What knowledge they had of the ſtars, was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular ſtudy, or aſtronomical rules [4]. The *Arabians*, as the *Indians* alſo did, chiefly applied themſelves to obſerve the fixed ſtars, contrary to other nations, whoſe obſervations were almoſt confined to the planets; and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature; and hence, as has been ſaid, aroſe the difference of the idolatry of the *Greeks* and *Chaldeans*, who chiefly worſhipped the planets, and that of the *Indians*, who worſhipped the fixed ſtars. The ſtars or aſteriſms they moſt uſually foretold the weather by, were thoſe they call *Anwâ*, or the houſes of the moon. Theſe are 28 in number, and divide the zodiac into as many parts, thro' one of which the moon paſſes every night; as ſome of them ſet in the morning, others riſe oppoſite to them, which happens every 13th night, and from their riſing and ſetting, the *Arabs*, by long experience, obſerved what changes happened in the air; and at length, as has been ſaid, came to aſcribe divine power to them; ſaying, that their rain was from ſuch or ſuch a ſtar: which expreſſion *Mohammed* condemned, and

[1] Voyage dans la Paleſt. p. 220. &c. [2] Ibid. p. 213. &c. [3] Al Shahreſtani, apud Pocock Orat. ubi ſup. p. 9. & Spec. 164. [4] Abulfarag. p. 161. [5] V. Hyde, in not. ad Tabulas ſtellar. fixar. Ulugh Beigh, p. 5.

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abſolutely forbad them to uſe it in the old ſenſe; unleſs they meant no more by it, than that GOD had ſo ordered the ſeaſons, that when the moon was in ſuch or ſuch a manſion or houſe, or at the riſing or ſetting of ſuch and ſuch a ſtar, it ſhould rain or be windy, hot or cold [1].

The old *Arabians* therefore ſeem to have made no farther progreſs in aſtronomy, which ſcience they afterwards cultivated with ſo much ſucceſs and applauſe, than to obſerve the influence of the ſtars on the weather, and to give them names; and this it was obvious for them to do, by reaſon of their paſtoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they impoſed on the ſtars, generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were ſo nice in diſtinguiſhing them, that no language has ſo many names of ſtars and aſteriſms as the *Arabic*; for tho' they have ſince borrowed the names of ſeveral conſtellations from the *Greeks*, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more ancient, particularly thoſe of the more conſpicuous ſtars, diſperſed in ſeveral conſtellations, and thoſe of the leſſer conſtellations which are contained within the greater, and were not obſerved or named by the *Greeks* [2].

Thus have I given the moſt ſuccinct account I have been able, of the ſtate of the ancient *Arabians* before *Mohammed*, or, to uſe their expreſſion, in the time of *ignorance*. I ſhall now proceed briefly to conſider the ſtate of religion in the eaſt, and of the two great empires which divided that part of the world between them, at the time of *Mohammed*'s ſetting up for a prophet, and what were the conducive circumſtances and accidents that favoured his ſucceſs.

[1] V. Poc. Spec. p. 163, &c. [2] V. Hyde ubi ſup. p. 4.

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SECTION II.

Of the State of Chriſtianity, *particularly of the* Eaſtern *Churches, and of* Judaiſm, *at the Time of* Mohammed's *appearance: and of the methods taken by him for the eſtabliſhing his Religion, and the circumſtances which concurred thereto.*

The corrupt ſtate of *Chriſtianity* after the third century.

IF we look into the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians even from the third century, we ſhall find the *Chriſtian* world to have then had a very different aſpect from what ſome authors have repreſented; and ſo far from being indued with active graces, zeal, and devotion, and eſtabliſhed within itſelf with purity of doctrine, union, and firm profeſſion of the faith [1], that on the contrary, what by the ambition of the clergy, and what by drawing the abſtruſeſt niceties into controverſy, and dividing and ſubdividing about them into endleſs ſchiſms and contentions, they had ſo deſtroyed that peace, love, and charity from among them, which the Goſpel was given to promote; and inſtead thereof continually provoked each other to that malice, rancour, and every evil work; that they had loſt the whole ſubſtance of their religion, while they thus eagerly contended for their own imaginations concerning it; and in a manner, quite drove *Chriſtianity* out of the world, by thoſe very controverſies in which they diſputed with each other about it [2]. In theſe dark ages it was, that moſt of thoſe ſuperſtitions and corruptions we now juſtly abhor in the church of *Rome*, were not only broached, but eſtabliſhed; which gave great advantages to the propagation of *Mohammediſm*. The worſhip of ſaints and images, in particular, was then arrived at ſuch a ſcandalous pitch, that it even ſurpaſſed whatever is now practiſed among the *Romaniſts* [3].

After the *Nicene* council, the eaſtern church was engaged in perpetual controverſies, and torn to pieces by the diſputes of the *Arians*, *Sabellians*, *Neſtorians*, and *Eutychians*: the hereſies of the two laſt of which have been ſhewn to have conſiſted more in the words and form of expreſſion, than in the doctrines themſelves [4]; and were ra-

[1] *Ricaut*'s State of the *Ottoman* empire, p. 187. [2] *Prideaux*'s pref. to his life of *Mahomet*. [3] V. La vie de Mahomed, par Boulainvilliers, p. 219, &c. [4] V. Simon, Hiſt. Crit. de la creance, &c. des nations du Levant.

ther the pretences, than real motives, of thoſe frequent councils, to and from which the contentious prelates were continually riding poſt, that they might bring every thing to their own will and pleaſure [1]. And to ſupport themſelves by dependants and bribery, the clergy in any credit at court undertook the protection of ſome officer in the army, under the colour of which juſtice was publickly ſold, and all corruption encouraged.

In the weſtern church *Damaſus* and *Urſicinus* carried their conteſts at *Rome* for the epiſcopal ſeat ſo high, that they came to open violence and murder, which *Viventius* the governour not being able to ſuppreſs, he retired into the country, and left them to themſelves, till *Damaſus* prevailed. It is ſaid that on this occaſion, in the church of *Sicininus*, there were no leſs than 137 found killed in one day. And no wonder they were ſo fond of theſe ſeats, when they became by that means enriched by the preſents of matrons, and went abroad in their chariots and ſedans in great ſtate, feaſting ſumptuouſly even beyond the luxury of princes, quite contrary to the way of living of the country prelates, who alone ſeemed to have ſome temperance and modeſty left [2].

Theſe diſſenſions were greatly owing to the emperors, and particularly to *Conſtantius*, who confounding the pure and ſimple *Chriſtian* religion with anile ſuperſtitions, and perplexing it with intricate queſtions, inſtead of reconciling different opinions, excited many diſputes, which he fomented as they proceeded, with infinite altercations [3]. This grew worſe in the time of *Juſtinian*, who not to be behind the biſhops of the fifth and ſixth centuries in zeal, thought it no crime to condemn to death a man of a different perſuaſion from his own [4].

This corruption of doctrine and morals in the princes and clergy, was neceſſarily followed by a general depravity of the people [5]; thoſe of all conditions making it their ſole buſineſs to get money by any means, and then to ſquander it away when they had got it, in luxury and debauchery [6].

The hereſies among the *Arabian* Chriſtians.

But, to be more particular as to the nation we are now writing of, *Arabia* was of old famous for hereſies [7]; which might be in ſome meaſure attributed to the liberty and independency of the tribes. Some of the *Chriſtians* of that nation believed the ſoul died with the

[1] Ammian Marcellin. l. 21. V. etiam Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 8. c. 1. Sozom. l. 1. c. 14, &c. Hilar. & Sulpic. Sever. in Hiſt. Sacr. p. 112, &c. [2] Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 27. [3] Idem, l. 21. [4] Procop. in Anecd. p. 60. [5] See an inſtance of the wickedneſs of the *Chriſtian* army even when they were under the terror of the *Saracens*, in *Ockley*'s Hiſt. of the Sarac. V. I. p. 239. [6] V. Boulainvill. Vie de Mahom. ubi ſup. [7] V. Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 16, 17. Sulpic. Sever. ubi ſupra.

body,

body, and was to be raiſed again with it at the laſt day [1]: theſe *Origen* is ſaid to have convinced [2]. Among the *Arabs* it was that the hereſies of *Ebion*, *Beryllus*, and the *Nazaræans* [3], and alſo that of the *Collyridians* were broached, or at leaſt propagated; the latter introduced the Virgin *Mary* for GOD, or worſhipped her as ſuch, offering her a ſort of twiſted cake called *collyris*, whence the ſect had its name [4].

This notion of the divinity of the Virgin *Mary* was alſo believed by ſome at the council of *Nice*, who ſaid there were two gods beſides the Father, viz. *Chriſt* and the Virgin *Mary*, and were thence named *Mariamites* [5]. Others imagined her to be exempt from humanity, and deified; which goes but little beyond the *Popiſh* ſuperſtition in calling her the *complement of the Trinity*, as if it were imperfect without her. This fooliſh imagination is juſtly condemned in the *Korân* [6] as idolatrous, and gave a handle to *Mohammed* to attack the Trinity itſelf.

Other ſects there were of many denominations within the borders of *Arabia*, which took refuge there from the proſcriptions of the imperial edicts; ſeveral of whoſe notions *Mohammed* incorporated with his religion, as may be obſerved hereafter.

The *Jews* powerful in *Arabia*.

Tho' the *Jews* were an inconſiderable and deſpiſed people in other parts of the world, yet in *Arabia*, whither many of them fled from the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, they grew very powerful, ſeveral tribes and princes embracing their religion; which made *Mohammed* at firſt ſhew great regard to them, adopting many of their opinions, doctrines, and cuſtoms; thereby to draw them, if poſſible, into his intereſt. But that people, agreeably to their wonted obſtinacy, were ſo far from being his proſelytes, that they were ſome of the bittereſt enemies he had, waging continual war with him, ſo that their reduction coſt him infinite trouble and danger, and at laſt his life. This averſion of theirs created at length as great a one in him to them, ſo that he uſed them for the latter part of his life, much worſe than he did the *Chriſtians*, and frequently exclaims againſt them in his *Korân*; his followers to this day obſerve the ſame difference between them and the *Chriſtians*, treating the former as the moſt abject and contemptible people on earth.

The weak condition of the *Roman* and *Perſian* empires.

It has been obſerved by a great politician [7], that it is impoſſible a perſon ſhould make himſelf a prince, and found a ſtate without opportunities. If the diſtracted ſtate of religion favoured the deſigns of *Mohammed* on that ſide, the weakneſs of the *Roman* and *Perſian* mo-

[1] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. c. 33. [2] Idem, ibid. c. 37. [3] Epiphan. de Hæreſi. l. 1. Hær. 40. [4] Idem, ibid. l. 3. Hæreſ. 75, 79. [5] Elmacin. Eutych. [6] Cap. 5. [7] Machiavelli, Princ. c. 6. p. 19.

narchies might flatter him with no leſs hopes in any attempt on thoſe once formidable empires, either of which, had they been in their full vigour, muſt have cruſhed *Mohammediſm* in its birth; whereas nothing nouriſhed it more than the ſucceſs the *Arabians* met with in their enterprizes againſt thoſe powers, which ſucceſs they failed not to attribute to their new religion and the divine aſſiſtance thereof.

The *Roman* empire declined apace after *Conſtantine*, whoſe ſucceſſors were for the generality remarkable for their ill qualities, eſpecially cowardice and cruelty. By *Mohammed*'s time, the weſtern half of the empire was overrun by the *Goths*; and the eaſtern ſo reduced by the *Huns* on the one ſide, and the *Perſians* on the other, that it was not in a capacity of ſtemming the violence of a powerful invaſion. The emperor *Maurice* paid tribute to the *Khagân* or king of the *Huns*; and after *Phocas* had murdered his maſter, ſuch lamentable havock there was among the ſoldiers, that when *Heraclius* came, not above ſeven years after, to muſter the army there were only two ſoldiers left alive, of all thoſe who had born arms when *Phocas* firſt uſurped the empire. And tho' *Heraclius* was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, and had done what poſſibly could be done to reſtore the diſcipline of the army, and had had great ſucceſs againſt the *Perſians*, ſo as to drive them not only out of his own dominions, but even out of part of their own; yet ſtill the very vitals of the empire ſeemed to be mortally wounded; that there could no time have happened, more fatal to the empire, or more favourable to the enterprizes of the *Arabs*; who ſeem to have been raiſed up on purpoſe by God, to be a ſcourge to the *Chriſtian* church, for not living anſwerably to that moſt holy religion which they had received [1].

The general luxury and degeneracy of manners into which the *Grecians* were ſunk, alſo contributed not a little to the enervating their forces, which were ſtill further drained by thoſe two great deſtroyers, monachiſm and perſecution.

The *Perſians* had alſo been in a declining condition for ſome time before *Mohammed*, occaſioned chiefly by their inteſtine broils and diſſenſions; great part of which aroſe from the deviliſh doctrines of *Manes* and *Mazdak*. The opinions of the former are tolerably well known: the latter lived in the reign of *Khoſru Kobâd*, and pretended himſelf a prophet ſent from God to preach a community of women and poſſeſſions, ſince all men were brothers and deſcended from the ſame common parents. This he imagined would put an end to all

[1] *Ockley*'s Hiſt. of the *Saracens*, Vol. I. p. 19, &c.

feuds

feuds and quarrels among men, which generally aroſe on account of one of the two. *Kobâd* himſelf embraced the opinions of this impoſtor, to whom he gave leave, according to his new doctrine, to lie with the queen his wife; which permiſſion *Anuſhirwân*, his ſon, with much difficulty prevailed on *Mazdak* not to make uſe of. Theſe ſects had certainly been the immediate ruin of the *Perſian* empire, had not *Anuſhirwân*, as ſoon as he ſucceeded his father, put *Mazdak* to death with all his followers, and the *Manicheans* alſo, reſtoring the ancient *Magian* religion [1].

In the reign of this prince, deſervedly ſurnamed the *Juſt*, *Mohammed* was born. He was the laſt king of *Perſia* who deſerved the throne, which after him was almoſt perpetually contended for, till ſubverted by the *Arabs*. His ſon *Hormûz* loſt the love of his ſubjects by his exceſſive cruelty; having had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, he was obliged to reſign the crown to his ſon *Khoſrû Parvîz*, who at the inſtigation of *Bahrâm Chubîn* had rebelled againſt him, and was afterwards ſtrangled. *Parviz* was ſoon obliged to quit the throne to *Bahrâm*; but obtaining ſuccours of the *Greek* emperor *Maurice*, he recovered the crown: yet towards the latter end of a long reign he grew ſo tyrannical and hateful to his ſubjects, that they held private correſpondence with the *Arabs*; and he was at length depoſed, impriſoned, and ſlain by his ſon *Shirûyeh* [2]. After *Parviz* no leſs than ſix princes poſſeſſed the throne in leſs than ſix years. Theſe domeſtic broils effectually brought ruin upon the *Perſians*; for tho' they did rather by the weakneſs of the *Greeks*, than their own force, ravage *Syria* and ſack *Jeruſalem* and *Damaſcus* under *Khoſrû Parviz*; and, while the *Arabs* were divided and independent, had ſome power in the province of *Yaman*, where they ſet up the four laſt kings before *Mohammed*; yet when attacked by the *Greeks* under *Heraclius*, they not only loſt their new conqueſts, but part of their own dominions, and no ſooner were the *Arabs* united by *Mohammediſm*, than they beat them in every battle, and in a few years totally ſubdued them.

The flouriſhing ſtate of *Arabia*.

As theſe empires were weak and declining, ſo *Arabia*, at *Mohammed*'s ſetting up, was ſtrong and flouriſhing; having been peopled at the expence of the *Grecian* empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering ſects forced many to ſeek refuge in a free country, as *Arabia* then was, where they who could not enjoy tranquillity and their conſcience at home, found a ſecure retreat. The *Arabians* were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and

[1] V. Poc. Spec. p. 70.

[2] V. Teixeira, Relaciones de los Reyes de Perſia, p. 195, &c.

deli-

delicacies of the *Greeks* and *Perſians*, and inured to hardſhips of all ſorts; living in a moſt parſimonious manner, ſeldom eating any fleſh, drinking no wine, and ſitting on the ground. Their political government was alſo ſuch as favoured the deſigns of *Mohammed*; for the diviſion and independency of their tribes was ſo neceſſary to the firſt propagation of his religion, and the foundation of his power, that it would have been ſcarce poſſible for him to have effected either, had the *Arabs* been united in one ſociety. But when they had embraced his religion, the conſequent union of their tribes was no leſs neceſſary and conducive to their future conqueſts and grandeur.

This poſture of public affairs in the eaſtern world, both as to its religious and political ſtate, it is more than probable *Mohammed* was well acquainted with; he having had ſufficient opportunities of informing himſelf in thoſe particulars, in his travels as a merchant in his younger years: and tho' it is not to be ſuppoſed his views at firſt were ſo extenſive as afterwards, when they were enlarged by his good fortune, yet he might reaſonably promiſe himſelf ſucceſs in his firſt attempts from thence. As he was a man of extraordinary parts and addreſs, he knew how to make the beſt of every incident, and turn what might ſeem dangerous to another, to his own advantage.

Mohammed's condition before he ſet up for a prophet; and his motives for ſo doing.

Mohammed came into the world under ſome diſadvantages, which he ſoon ſurmounted. His father *Abd'allah* was a younger ſon [1] of *Abd'almotalleb*, and dying very young and in his father's life time, left his widow and infant ſon in very mean circumſtances, his whole ſubſtance conſiſting but of five camels and one *Ethiopian* ſhe-ſlave [2]. *Abd'almotalleb* was therefore obliged to take care of his grandchild *Mohammed*, which he not only did during his life, but at his death injoined his eldeſt ſon *Abu Tâleb*, who was brother to *Abd'allah* by the ſame mother, to provide for him for the future; which he very affectionately did, and inſtructed him in the buſineſs of a merchant which he followed; and to that end he took him with him into *Syria* when he was but thirteen, and afterward recommended him to *Khadîjah* a noble and rich widow for her factor, in whoſe ſervice he behaved himſelf ſo well, that by making him her huſband ſhe ſoon raiſed him to an equality with the richeſt in *Mecca*.

After he began by this advantageous match to live at his eaſe, it was that he formed the ſcheme of eſtabliſhing a new religion, or, as

[1] He was not his eldeſt ſon, as Dr. *Prideaux* tells us; whoſe reflections built on that foundation muſt neceſſarily fail: (ſee his life of *Mahomet*, p. 9.) nor yet his youngeſt ſon, as M. *de Boulainvilliers* (Vie de Mahommed, p. 182, &c.) ſuppoſes; for *Hamza* and *al Abbâs* were both younger than *Abd'allah*. [2] Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 2.

he

he expreſſed it, of replanting the only true and ancient one, profeſſed by *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, *Jeſus*, and all the prophets [1], by deſtroying the groſs idolatry into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and weeding out the corruptions and ſuperſtitions which the latter *Jews* and *Chriſtians* had, as he thought, introduced into their religion, and reducing it to its original purity, which conſiſted chiefly in the worſhip of one only GOD.

Whether this was the effect of enthuſiaſm, or only a deſign to raiſe himſelf to the ſupreme government of his country, I will not pretend to determine. The latter is the general opinion of *Chriſtian* writers, who agree that ambition, and the deſire of ſatisfying his ſenſuality were the motives of his undertaking. It may be ſo; yet his firſt views perhaps were not ſo intereſted. His original deſign of bringing the pagan *Arabs* to the knowledge of the true GOD, was certainly noble, and highly to be commended; for I cannot poſſibly ſubſcribe to the aſſertion of a late learned writer [2], that he made that nation exchange their idolatry for another religion altogether as bad. *Mohammed* was no doubt fully ſatisfied in his conſcience of the truth of his grand point, the unity of GOD, which was what he chiefly attended to; all his other doctrines and inſtitutions being rather accidental, and unavoidable, than premeditated and deſigned.

Since then *Mohammed* was certainly himſelf perſuaded of his grand article of faith, which in his opinion was violated by all the reſt of the world; not only by the idolaters, but by the *Chriſtians*, as well thoſe who rightly worſhipped *Jeſus* as GOD, as thoſe who ſuperſtitiouſly adored the Virgin *Mary*, ſaints, and images; and alſo by the *Jews*, who are accuſed in the *Korân* of taking *Ezra* for the ſon of GOD [3]; it is eaſy to conceive that he might think it a meritorious work to reſcue the world from ſuch ignorance and ſuperſtition; and by degrees, with the help of a warm imagination, which an *Arab* ſeldom wants [4], to ſuppoſe himſelf deſtined by providence for the effecting that great reformation. And this fancy of his might take ſtill deeper root in his mind, during the ſolitude he thereupon affected, uſually retiring for a month in the year to a cave in mount *Hara* near *Mecca*. One thing which may be probably urged againſt the enthuſiaſm of this prophet of the *Arabs*, is the wiſe conduct and great prudence he all along ſhewed in purſuing his deſign, which ſeem inconſiſtent with the wild notions of a hot-brained religioniſt. But tho' all enthuſiaſts or madmen do not behave with

[1] See Korân. c. 2. [2] *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet*, p. 76. [3] Korân. c. 9. [4] See *Caſaub.* of Enthuſiaſm. p. 148.

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the ſame gravity and circumſpection that he did, yet he will not be the firſt inſtance, by ſeveral, of a perſon who has been out of the way only *quoad hoc*, and in all other reſpects acted with the greateſt decency and precaution.

The terrible deſtruction of the eaſtern churches, once ſo glorious and flouriſhing, by the ſudden ſpreading of *Mohammediſm*, and the great ſucceſſes of its profeſſors againſt the *Chriſtians*, neceſſarily inſpire a horror of that religion in thoſe to whom it has been ſo fatal; and no wonder if they endeavour to ſet the character of its founder, and its doctrines, in the moſt infamous light. But the damage done by *Mohammed* to *Chriſtianity* ſeems to have been rather owing to his ignorance than malice; for his great misfortune was, his not having a competent knowledge of the real and pure doctrines of the *Chriſtian* religion, which was in his time ſo abominably corrupted, that it is not ſurprizing if he went too far, and reſolved to aboliſh what he might think incapable of reformation.

It is ſcarce to be doubted but that *Mohammed* had a violent deſire of being reckoned an extraordinary perſon, which he could attain to by no means more effectually, than by pretending to be a meſſenger ſent from GOD, to inform mankind of his will. This might be at firſt his utmoſt ambition, and had his fellow citizens treated him leſs injuriouſly, and not obliged him by their perſecutions to ſeek refuge elſewhere, and to take up arms againſt them in his own defence, he had perhaps continued a private perſon, and contented himſelf with the veneration and reſpect due to his prophetical office; but being once got at the head of a little army, and encouraged by ſucceſs, it is no wonder if he raiſed his thoughts to attempt what had never before entred into his imagination.

That *Mohammed* was, as the *Arabs* are by complexion [1], a great lover of women, we are aſſured by his own confeſſion; and he is conſtantly upbraided with it by the controverſial writers, who fail not to urge the number of women with whom he had to do, as a demonſtrative argument of his ſenſuality, which they think ſufficiently prove him to have been a wicked man, and conſequently an impoſtor. But it muſt be conſidered, that polygamy, tho' it be forbidden by the *Chriſtian* religion, was in *Mohammed*'s time frequently practiſed in *Arabia* and other parts of the eaſt, and was not counted an immorality, nor was a man the worſe eſteemed on that account; for which reaſon *Mohammed* permitted the plurality of wives, with certain limitations, among his own followers, who argue for the lawfulneſs of it

[1] Ammian. Marcell. l. 14. c. 4.

from

from ſeveral reaſons, and particularly from the examples of perſons allowed on all hands to have been good men; ſome of whom have been honoured with the divine correſpondence. The ſeveral laws relating to marriages and divorces, and the peculiar priviledges granted to *Mohammed* in his *Korân*, were almoſt all taken by him from the *Jewiſh* deciſions, as will appear hereafter; and therefore he might think thoſe inſtitutions the more juſt and reaſonable, as he found them practiſed or approved by the profeſſors of a religion, which was confeſſedly of divine original.

Of his perſonal qualifications.

But whatever were his motives, *Mohammed* had certainly the perſonal qualifications which were neceſſary to accompliſh his undertaking. The *Mohammedan* authors are exceſſive in their commendations of him, and ſpeak much of his religious and moral virtues; as his piety, veracity, juſtice, liberality, clemency, humility, and abſtinence. His charity, in particular, they ſay, was ſo conſpicuous, that he had ſeldom any money in his houſe, keeping no more for his own uſe than was juſt ſufficient to maintain his family; and he frequently ſpared even ſome part of his own proviſions to ſupply the neceſſities of the poor; ſo that before the year's end he had generally little or nothing left [1]: GOD, ſays *al Bokhâri*, *offered him the keys of the treaſures of the earth, but he would not accept them.* Tho' the elogies of theſe writers are juſtly to be ſuſpected of partiality, yet thus much, I think, may be inferred from thence, that for an *Arab* who had been educated in *Paganiſm*, and had but a very imperfect knowledge of his duty, he was a man of at leaſt tolerable morals, and not ſuch a monſter of wickedneſs as he is uſually repreſented. And indeed, it is ſcarce poſſible to conceive, that a wretch of ſo profligate a character ſhould ever have ſucceeded in an enterprize of this nature; a little hypocriſy and ſaving of appearances, at leaſt, muſt have been abſolutely neceſſary; and the ſincerity of his intentions is what I pretend not to inquire into.

He had indiſputably a very piercing and ſagacious wit, and was thoroughly verſed in all the arts of inſinuation [2]. The eaſtern hiſtorians deſcribe him to have been a man of an excellent judgment, and a happy memory; and theſe natural parts were improved by a great experience and knowledge of men, and the obſervations he had made in his travels. They ſay he was a perſon of few words, of an equal chearful temper, pleaſant and familiar in converſation, of inoffen-

[1] V. Abu'lfeda Vit. Moham. p. 144, &c.

[2] V. *Prid.* life of *Mahomet*, p. 105.

ſive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condeſcenſion towards his inferiors [1]. To all which were joined a comely agreeable perſon, and a polite addreſs; accompliſhments of no ſmall ſervice in preventing thoſe in his favour, whom he attempted to perſuade.

As to acquired learning, it is confeſſed he had none at all; having had no other education than what was cuſtomary in his tribe, who neglected, and perhaps deſpiſed, what we call literature; eſteeming no language in compariſon with their own, their ſkill in which they gained by uſe and not by books, and contenting themſelves with improving their private experience by committing to memory ſuch paſſages of their poets as they judged might be of uſe to them in life. This defect was ſo far from being prejudicial or putting a ſtop to his deſign, that he made the greateſt uſe of it; inſiſting that the writings which he produced as revelations from GOD, could not poſſibly be a forgery of his own; becauſe it was not conceivable that a perſon who could neither write nor read ſhould be able to compoſe a book of ſuch excellent doctrine, and in ſo elegant a ſtile; and thereby obviating an objection that might have carried a great deal of weight [2]. And for this reaſon his followers, inſtead of being aſhamed of their maſter's ignorance, glory in it, as an evident proof of his divine miſſion, and ſcruple not to call him (as he is indeed called in the *Korân* itſelf [3]) the *illiterate prophet*.

The firſt ſteps of *Mohammed* towards the executing of his project.

The ſcheme of religion which *Mohammed* framed, and the deſign and artful contrivance of thoſe written revelations (as he pretended them to be) which compoſe his *Korân*, ſhall be the ſubject of the following ſections: I ſhall therefore in the remainder of this relate, as briefly as poſſible, the ſteps he took towards the effecting of his enterprize, and the accidents which concurred to his ſucceſs therein.

Before he made any attempt abroad, he rightly judged that it was neceſſary for him to begin by the converſion of his own houſehold. Having therefore retired with his family, as he had done ſeveral times before, to the above-mentioned cave in mount *Hara*, he there opened the ſecret of his miſſion to his wife *Khadîjah*; and acquainted her that the angel *Gabriel* had juſt before appeared to him, and told him that he was appointed the apoſtle of GOD: he alſo repeated to her a paſſage [4] which he pretended had been revealed to him by the miniſtry of the angel, with thoſe other circumſtances of this firſt appearance, which are related by the *Mohammedan* writers. *Khadîjah*

[1] V. Abulfed. ubi ſup. [2] See *Korân* chap. 29. *Prid.* life of *Mah.* p. 28, &c. [3] Chap. 7.
[4] This paſſage is generally agreed to be the firſt five verſes of the 96th chapter.

re-

received the news with great joy [1]; ſwearing by him in whoſe hands her ſoul was, that ſhe truſted he would be the prophet of his nation: and immediately communicated what ſhe had heard to her couſin *Warakah Ebn Nawfal*, who being a *Chriſtian* could write in the *Hebrew* character, and was tolerably well verſed in the ſcriptures [2]; and he as readily came into her opinion, aſſuring her that the ſame angel who had formerly appeared unto *Moſes*, was now ſent to *Mohammed* [3]. This firſt overture the prophet made in the month of *Ramadân*, in the fortieth year of his age, which is therefore uſually called the year of his miſſion.

Encouraged by ſo good a beginning, he reſolved to proceed, and try for ſome time what he could do by private perſuaſion, not daring to hazard the whole affair by expoſing it too ſuddenly to the publick. He ſoon made proſelytes of thoſe under his own roof, *viz.* his wife *Khadîjah*, his ſervant *Zeid Ebn Hâretha* (to whom he gave his freedom [4] on that occaſion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers,) and his couſin and pupil *Ali*, the ſon of *Abu Tâleb*, tho' then very young: but this laſt, making no account of the other two, uſed to ſtile himſelf the *firſt of believers*. The next perſon *Mohammed* applied to was *Abdallah Ebn Abi Kohâfa*, ſurnamed *Abu Becr*, a man of great authority among the *Koreiſh*, and one whoſe intereſt he well knew would be of great ſervice to him; as it ſoon appeared: for *Abu Becr* being gained over, prevailed alſo on *Othmân Ebn Affân*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf*, *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, *al Zobeir Ebn al Awâm*, and *Telha Ebn Obeid'allah*, all principal men in *Mecca*, to follow his example. Theſe men were the ſix chief companions, who, with a few more, were converted in the ſpace of three years; at the end of which *Mohammed* having, as he hoped, a ſufficient intereſt to ſupport him, made his miſſion no longer a ſecret, but gave out that GOD had commanded him to admoniſh his near relations [5], and in order to do it with more convenience and proſpect of ſucceſs, he directed *Ali* to prepare an entertainment, and invite the ſons and deſcendants of *Abd'almotalleb*, intending then to open his mind to them; this was done, and about forty of them came, but *Abu Laheb*, one of his uncles, making the company break up before *Mohammed* had an opportunity of ſpeaking, obliged him to give them a ſecond invita-

[1] I do not remember to have read in any eaſtern author, that *Khadîjah* ever rejected her husband's pretences as deluſions, or ſuſpected him of any impoſture. Yet ſee *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet*, p. 11, &c. [2] V. Poc. Spec. p. 157. [3] V. Abulfed. Vit. Moham. p. 16. Where the learned tranſlator has miſtaken the meaning of this paſſage. [4] For he was his purchaſed ſlave, as *Abulfeda* expreſly tells us; and not his couſin german, as Mr. *de Boulainvill.* aſſerts (Vie de Mah. p. 273.) [5] Korân c. 74. See the notes thereon.

tion the next day; and when they were come, he made them the following ſpeech; "*I know no man in all* Arabia *who can offer his kindred a* "*more excellent thing than I now do you: I offer you happineſs both in* "*this life, and in that which is to come;* GOD *Almighty hath com-* "*manded me to call you unto him; Who therefore among you will be* "*aſſiſting to me herein, and become my brother, and my vice-gerent?*" All of them heſitating, and declining the matter, *Ali* at length roſe up, and declared that he would be his aſſiſtant; and vehemently threatned thoſe who ſhould oppoſe him. *Mohammed* upon this embraced *Ali* with great demonſtrations of affection, and deſired all who were preſent to hearken to and obey him, as his deputy; at which the company broke out into great laughter, telling *Abu Taleb*, that he muſt now pay obedience to his ſon.

The *Koreiſh* oppoſe him,

This repulſe however was ſo far from diſcouraging *Mohammed*, that he began to preach in public to the people, who heard him with ſome patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obſtinacy, and perverſeneſs of themſelves and their fathers; which ſo highly provoked them, that they declared themſelves his enemies, and would ſoon have procured his ruin, had he not been protected by *Abu Taleb*. The chief of the *Koreiſh* warmly ſollicited this perſon to deſert his nephew, making frequent remonſtrances againſt the innovations he was attempting; which proving ineffectual, they at length threatned him with an open rupture, if he did not prevail on *Mohammed* to deſiſt. At this *Abu Taleb* was ſo far moved that he earneſtly diſſuaded his nephew from purſuing the affair any farther, repreſenting the great danger he and his friends muſt otherwiſe run. But *Mohammed* was not to be intimidated, telling his uncle plainly, *that if they ſet the ſun againſt him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterprize*: and *Abu Taleb* ſeeing him ſo firmly reſolved to proceed, uſed no further arguments, but promiſed to ſtand by him againſt all his enemies [1].

And perſecute his followers.

The *Koreiſh* finding they could prevail neither by fair words nor menaces, tried what they could do by force, and ill treatment; uſing *Mohammed*'s followers ſo very injuriouſly that it was not ſafe for them to continue at *Mecca* any longer; whereupon *Mohammed* gave leave to ſuch of them as had not friends to protect them, to ſeek for refuge elſewhere. And accordingly in the fifth year of the prophet's miſſion, ſixteen of them, four of whom were women, fled into *Ethiopia*; and among them *Othmân Ebn Affân* and his wife *Rakîah*, *Mo-*

[1] Abulfeda ubi ſupra.

hammed's

hammed's daughter. This was the firſt flight; but afterwards ſeveral others followed them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty three men and eighteen women, beſides children [1]. Theſe refugees were kindly received by the *Najâſhi* [2], or king of *Ethiopia*, who refuſed to deliver them up to thoſe whom the *Koreiſh* ſent to demand them, and as the *Arab* writers unanimouſly atteſt, even profeſſed the *Mohammedan* religion.

In the ſixth year of his miſſion [3] *Mohammed* had the pleaſure of ſeeing his party ſtrengthened by the converſion of his uncle *Hamza*, a man of great valour and merit, and of *Omar Ebn al Khattâb*, a perſon highly eſteemed, and once a violent oppoſer of the prophet. As perſecution generally advances rather than obſtructs the ſpreading of a religion, *Iſlamiſm* made ſo great a progreſs among the *Arab* tribes, that the *Koreiſh*, to ſuppreſs it effectually, if poſſible, in the ſeventh year of *Mohammed*'s miſſion [4], made a ſolemn league or covenant againſt the *Haſhemites* and the family of *Abd'almotalleb*, engaging themſelves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication with them; and to give it the greater ſanction, reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the *Caaba*. Upon this the tribe became divided into two factions; and the family of *Haſhem* all repaired to *Abu Taleb*, as their head; except only *Abd'al Uzza*, ſurnamed *Abu Laheb*, who out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew and his doctrine, went over to the oppoſite party, whoſe chief was *Abu Soſián Ebn Harb*, of the family of *Ommeya*.

The families continued thus at variance for three years; but in the tenth year of his miſſion, *Mohammed* told his uncle *Abu Taleb*, that GOD had manifeſtly ſhewed his diſapprobation of the league which the *Koreiſh* had made againſt them, by ſending a worm to eat out every word of the inſtrument, except the name of GOD. Of this accident *Mohammed* had probably ſome private notice; for *Abu Taleb* went immediately to the *Koreiſh* and acquainted them with it; offering, if it proved falſe, to deliver his nephew up to them; but in caſe it were true, he inſiſted that they ought to lay aſide their animoſity, and annull the league they had made againſt the *Haſhemites*. To this they acquieſced, and going to inſpect the writing, to their great aſtoniſhment found it to be as *Abu Taleb* had ſaid; and the league was thereupon declared void.

[1] Idem, Ebn Shohnah. [2] Dr. *Prideaux* ſeems to take this word for a proper name, but it is only the title the *Arabs* give to every king of this country. See his life of *Mah.* p. 55. [3] Ebn Shohnah. [4] Al Jannâbi.

In

Mohammed loſes his uncle *Abu Taleb*, and his wife.

In the ſame year *Abu Taleb* died, at the age of above fourſcore; and it is the general opinion that he died an infidel, tho' others ſay that when he was at the point of death he embraced *Mohammediſm*, and produce ſome paſſages out of his poetical compoſitions, to confirm their aſſertion. About a month, or as ſome write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, *Mohammed* had the additional mortification to loſe his wife *Khadîjah*, who had ſo generouſly made his fortune. For which reaſon this year is called the *year* of *mourning* [1].

The *Koreiſh* grow more troubleſome.

On the death of theſe two perſons the *Koreiſh* began to be more troubleſome than ever to their prophet, and eſpecially ſome who had formerly been his intimate friends; inſomuch that he found himſelf obliged to ſeek for ſhelter elſewhere, and firſt pitched upon *Tâyef*, about ſixty miles eaſt from *Mecca*, for the place of his retreat. Thither therefore he went, accompanied by his ſervant *Zeid*, and applied himſelf to two of the chief of the tribe of *Thakîf* who were the inhabitants of that place; but they received him very coldly. However he ſtaied there a month; and ſome of the more conſiderate and better ſort of men, treated him with a little reſpect: but the ſlaves and inferior people at length roſe againſt him, and bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart, and return to *Mecca*; where he put himſelf under the protection of *al Motáam Ebn Adi* [2].

Six inhabitants of *Medina* converted.

This repulſe greatly diſcouraged his followers: however *Mohammed* was not wanting to himſelf, but boldly continued to preach to the public aſſemblies at the pilgrimage, and gained ſeveral proſelytes, and among them ſix of the inhabitants of *Yathreb* of the *Jewiſh* tribe of *Khazraj*, who on their return home failed not to ſpeak much in commendation of their new religion, and exhorted their fellow-citizens to embrace the ſame.

Mohammed feigns to have made a journey to heaven.

In the twelfth year of his miſſion it was that *Mohammed* gave out that he had made his night journey from *Mecca* to *Jeruſalem* and thence to heaven [3], ſo much ſpoken of by all that write of him. Dr. *Pridcaux* [4] thinks he invented it either to anſwer the expectations of thoſe who demanded ſome miracle as a proof of his miſſion; or elſe, by pretending to have converſed with GOD, to eſtabliſh the authority of whatever he ſhould think fit to leave behind by way of oral tradition, and make his ſayings to ſerve the ſame purpoſe as the

[1] Abulfed. p. 28. Ebn Shohnah. [2] Ebn Shohnah. [3] See the notes on the 17th chap. of the Korân. [4] Life of *Mahomet*, p. 41, 51, &c.

oral

oral law of the *Jews*. But I do not find that *Mohammed* himſelf ever expected ſo great a regard ſhould be paid to his ſayings, as his followers have ſince done; and ſeeing he all along diſclaimed any power of performing miracles, it ſeems rather to have been a fetch of policy to raiſe his reputation, by pretending to have actually converſed with GOD in heaven, as *Moſes* had heretofore done in the mount, and to have received ſeveral inſtitutions immediately from him, whereas before he contented himſelf with perſuading them that he had all by the miniſtry of *Gabriel*.

However this ſtory ſeemed ſo abſurd and incredible, that ſeveral of his followers left him upon it, and it had probably ruined the whole deſign, had not *Abu Becr* vouched for his veracity, and declared that if *Mohammed* affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole. Which happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increaſed it to ſuch a degree, that he was ſecure of being able to make his diſciples ſwallow whatever he pleaſed to impoſe on them for the future. And I am apt to think this fiction, notwithſtanding its extravagance, was one of the moſt artful contrivances *Mohammed* ever put in practiſe, and what chiefly contributed to the raiſing of his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived.

In this year, called by the *Mohammedans* the *accepted year*, twelve men of *Yathreb* or *Medina*, of whom ten were of the tribe of *Khazraj*, and the other two of that of *Aws*, came to *Mecca*, and took an oath of fidelity to *Mohammed* at *al Akaba*, a hill on the north of that city. This oath was called *the womens oath*; not that any women were preſent at this time, but becauſe a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of *Mohammed* or his religion; it being the ſame oath that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the *Korân* [1], and is to this effect; *viz.* That they ſhould renounce all idolatry; that they ſhould not ſteal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children (as the pagan *Arabs* uſed to do when they apprehended they ſhould not be able to maintain them [2]) nor forge calumnies; and that they ſhould obey the prophet in all things that were reaſonable. When they had ſolemnly engaged to do all this, *Mohammed* ſent one of his diſciples, named *Maſáb Ebn Omair* home with them, to inſtruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion.

Twelve men of *Medina* take an oath to *Mohammed*.

[1] Cap. 60. [2] V. Korân, c. 6.

Maſáb,

The progreſs of *Mohammediſm* at *Medina.*

Maſáb, being arrived at *Medina*, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe who had been formerly converted, gained ſeveral proſelytes, particularly *Oſaid Ebn Hodeira*, a chief man of the city, and *Saad Ebn Moâdh*, prince of the tribe of *Aws*; *Mohammediſm* ſpreading ſo faſt, that there was ſcarce a houſe wherein there were not ſome who had embraced it.

Several of that city ſwear fidelity to *Mohammed.*

The next year, being the thirteenth of *Mohammed*'s miſſion, *Maſáb* returned to *Mecca*, accompanied by ſeventy three men and two women of *Medina* who had profeſſed *Iſlamiſm*, beſides ſome others who were as yet unbelievers. On their arrival, they immediately ſent to *Mohammed*, and offered him their aſſiſtance, of which he was now in great need, for his adverſaries were by this time grown ſo powerful in *Mecca*, that he could not ſtay there much longer without imminent danger. Wherefore he accepted their propoſal, and met them one night, by appointment, at *al Akaba* above mentioned, attended by his uncle *al Abbas*, who, tho' he was not then a believer, wiſhed his nephew well, and made a ſpeech to thoſe of *Medina*, wherein he told them, that as *Mohammed* was obliged to quit his native city, and ſeek an *aſylum* elſewhere, and they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him; and that if they were not firmly reſolved to defend and not betray him, they had better declare their minds, and let him provide for his ſafety in ſome other manner. Upon their proteſting their ſincerity, *Mohammed* ſwore to be faithful to them; on condition that they ſhould protect him againſt all inſults, as heartily as they would their own wives and families. They then aſked him what recompenſe they were to expect if they ſhould happen to be killed in his quarrel; he anſwered, paradiſe. Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and ſo returned home [1]; after *Mohammed* had choſen twelve out of their number, who were to have the ſame authority among them as the twelve apoſtles of *Chriſt* had among his diſciples [2].

He pretends to have leave to defend himſelf.

Hitherto *Mohammed* had propagated his religion by fair means, ſo that the whole ſucceſs of his enterprize before his flight to *Medina*, muſt be attributed to perſuaſion only, and not to compulſion. For before this ſecond oath of fealty or inauguration at *al Akaba*, he had no permiſſion to uſe any force at all; and in ſeveral places of the *Korân*, which he pretended were revealed during his ſtay at *Mecca*, he declares his buſineſs was only to preach and admoniſh, that he had no authority to compel any perſon to embrace his religion; and

[1] Abulfeda. Vit. Moham. p. 40, &c. [2] Ebn Iſhâk.

that

that whether people believed, or not, was none of his concern, but belonged ſolely unto GOD. And he was ſo far from allowing his followers to uſe force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently thoſe injuries which were offered them on account of their faith; and when perſecuted himſelf, choſe rather to quit the place of his birth and retire to *Medina*, than to make any reſiſtance. But this great paſſiveneſs and moderation ſeems entirely owing to his want of power, and the great ſuperiority of his oppoſers for the firſt twelve years of his miſſion; for no ſooner was he enabled, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe of *Medina*, to make head againſt his enemies, than he gave out, that GOD had allowed him and his followers to defend themſelves againſt the infidels; and at length as his forces increaſed, he pretended to have the divine leave even to attack them; and to deſtroy idolatry, and ſet up the true faith by the ſword; finding, by experience, that his deſigns would otherwiſe proceed very ſlowly, if they were not utterly overthrown; and knowing on the other hand that innovators, when they depend ſolely on their own ſtrength, and can compel, ſeldom run any riſque; from whence, the politician obſerves, it follows, that all the armed prophets have ſucceeded, and the unarmed ones have failed. *Moſes*, *Cyrus*, *Theſeus*, and *Romulus* would not have been able to eſtabliſh the obſervance of their inſtitutions for any length of time, had they not been armed [1]. The firſt paſſage of the *Korân* which gave *Mohammed* the permiſſion of defending himſelf by arms, is ſaid to have been that in the twenty ſecond chapter; after which a great number to the ſame purpoſe were revealed.

That *Mohammed* had a right to take up arms for his own defence againſt his unjuſt perſecutors, may perhaps be allowed; but whether he ought afterwards to have made uſe of that means for the eſtabliſhing of his religion is a queſtion I will not here determine. How far the ſecular power may or ought to interpoſe in affairs of this nature, mankind are not agreed. The method of converting by the ſword, gives no very favourable idea of the faith which is ſo propagated, and is diſallowed by every body in thoſe of another religion, tho' the ſame perſons are willing to admit of it for the advancement of their own; ſuppoſing that tho' a falſe religion ought not to be eſtabliſhed by authority, yet a true one may; and accordingly force is almoſt as conſtantly employed in theſe caſes by thoſe who have the power in their hands, as it is conſtantly complained of by thoſe who ſuffer the violence. It is certainly one of the moſt

[1] Machiavelli, Princ. c. 6.

convincing proofs that *Mohammediſm* was no other than a human invention, that it owed its progreſs and eſtabliſhment almoſt entirely to the ſword; and it is one of the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of the divine original of *Chriſtianity*, that it prevailed againſt all the force and powers of the world by the meer dint of its own truth, after having ſtood the aſſaults of all manner of perſecutions, as well as other oppoſitions, for three hundred years together, and at length made the *Roman* emperors themſelves ſubmit thereto [1]; after which time indeed this proof ſeems to fail, *Chriſtianity* being then eſtabliſhed and *Paganiſm* aboliſhed by public authority, which has had great influence in the propagation of the one and deſtruction of the other ever ſince [2]. But to return.

Mohammed's proſelytes fly to *Medina*; and the *Koreiſh* conſpire to kill him.

Mohammed having provided for the ſecurity of his companions as well as his own, by the league offenſive and defenſive which he had now concluded with thoſe of *Medina*, directed them to repair thither, which they accordingly did; but himſelf with *Abu Becr* and *Ali* ſtaid behind, having not yet received the divine permiſſion, as he pretended, to leave *Mecca*. The *Koreiſh* fearing the conſequence of this new alliance, began to think it abſolutely neceſſary to prevent *Mohammed*'s eſcape to *Medina*, and having held a council thereon, after ſeveral milder expedients had been rejected, they came to a reſolution that he ſhould be killed; and agreed that a man ſhould be choſen out of every tribe for the execution of this deſign, and that each man ſhould have a blow at him with his ſword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whoſe united power the *Haſhemites* were much inferior, and therefore durſt not attempt to revenge their kinſman's death.

But he eſcapes,

This conſpiracy was ſcarce formed when by ſome means or other it came to *Mohammed*'s knowledge, and he gave out that it was revealed to him by the angel *Gabriel*, who had now ordered him to retire to *Medina*. Whereupon, to amuſe his enemies, he directed *Ali* to lye down in his place and wrap himſelf up in his green cloak, which he did, and *Mohammed* eſcaped miraculouſly, as they pretend [3], to *Abu Becr*'s houſe, unperceiv'd by the conſpirators, who had already aſſembled at the prophet's door. They in the mean time, looking thro' the crevice and ſeeing *Ali*, whom they took to be *Mohammed* himſelf, aſleep, continued watching there till morning, when *Ali* aroſe and they found themſelves deceived.

[1] See *Prideaux*'s Letter to the *Deiſts*, p. 220, &c. [2] See *Bayle*'s Dict. Hiſt. Art. Mahomet, Rem. O. [3] See the notes to chap. 8, and 36.

From

From *Abu Becr*'s houſe *Mohammed* and he went to a cave in mount *Thûr*, to the ſouth eaſt of *Mecca*, accompanied only by *Amer Ebn Foheirah*, *Abu Becr*'s ſervant, and *Abd'allah Ebn Oreitah*, an idolater, whom they had hired for a guide. In this cave they lay hid three days to avoid the ſearch of their enemies, which they very narrowly eſcaped, and not without the aſſiſtance of more miracles than one; for ſome ſay that the *Koreiſh* were ſtruck with blindneſs, ſo that they could not find the cave; others, that after *Mohammed* and his companions were got in, two pidgeons laid their eggs at the entrance, and a ſpider covered the mouth of the cave with her web [1], which made them look no farther [2]. *Abu Becr* ſeeing the prophet in ſuch imminent danger became very ſorrowful, whereupon *Mohammed* comforted him with theſe words, recorded in the *Korân* [3], *Be not grieved, for* God *is with us.* Their enemies being retired, they left the cave and ſet out for *Medina*, by a by-road, and having fortunately, or as the *Mohammedans* tell us, miraculouſly, eſcaped ſome who were ſent to purſue them, arrived ſafely at that city; whither *Ali* followed them in three days, after he had ſettled ſome affairs at *Mecca* [4]. And retires to *Medina*.

The firſt thing *Mohammed* did after his arrival at *Medina*, was to build a temple for his religious worſhip; and a houſe for himſelf, which he did on a parcel of ground which had before ſerved to put camels in, or as others tell us, for a burying ground, and belonged to *Sahal* and *Soheil* the ſons of *Amru*, who were orphans [5]. This action Dr. *Prideaux* exclaims againſt, repreſenting it as a flagrant inſtance of injuſtice, for that, ſays he, he violently diſpoſſeſſed theſe poor orphans, the ſons of an inferior artificer (whom the author he quotes [6] calls a carpenter) of this ground, and ſo founded the firſt fabric of his worſhip with the like wickedneſs as he did his religion [7]. But to ſay nothing of the improbability that *Mohammed* ſhould act in ſo impolitic a manner at his firſt coming, the *Mohammedan* writers ſet this affair in a quite different light; one tells us that he treated with the lads about the price of the ground, but they deſired he would accept it as a preſent [8]; however, as hiſtorians of good credit aſſure us, he actually bought it [9], and the money was paid by *Abu* Builds a moſque and houſe there.

[1] It is obſervable that the *Jews* have a like tradition concerning *David*, when he fled from *Saul* into the cave; and the *Targum* paraphraſes theſe words of the ſecond verſe of *Pſalm* lvii, (which was compoſed on occaſion of that deliverance) *I will pray before the moſt high* God *that performeth all things for me*, in this manner; *I will pray before the moſt high* God, *who called a ſpider to weave a web for my ſake in the mouth of the cave.* [2] Al Beidâwi in Kor. c. 9. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 445. [3] Cap. 9. [4] Abulfeda Vit. Moh. p. 50, &c. Ebn Shohnah. [5] Abulfeda, ib. p. 52, 53. [6] Diſputatio Chriſtiani contra Saracen. c. 4. [7] *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet*, p. 58. [8] Al Bokhâri in Sonna. [9] Al Jannâbi.

Becr [1]. Beſides, had *Mohammed* accepted it as a preſent, the orphans were in circumſtances ſufficient to have afforded it; for they were of a very good family, of the tribe of *Najjâr*, one of the moſt illuſtrious among the *Arabs*, and not the ſons of a carpenter, as Dr. *Prideaux*'s author writes, who took the word *Najjâr*, which ſignifies a *carpenter*, for an appellative, whereas it is a proper name [2].

He makes repriſals on the *Koreiſh*.

Mohammed being ſecurely ſettled at *Medina*, and able not only to defend himſelf againſt the inſults of his enemies, but to attack them, began to ſend out ſmall parties to make repriſals on the *Koreiſh*; the firſt party conſiſting of no more than nine men, who intercepted and plundered a caravan belonging to that tribe, and in the action took two priſoners. But what eſtabliſhed his affairs very much, and was the foundation on which he built all his ſucceeding greatneſs, was the gaining of the battle of *Bedr*, which was fought in the ſecond year of the *Hejra*, and is ſo famous in the *Mohammedan* hiſtory [3]. As my deſign is not to write the life of *Mohammed*, but only to deſcribe the manner in which he carried on his enterprize, I ſhall not enter into any detail of his ſubſequent battles and expeditions, which amounted to a conſiderable number. Some reckon no leſs than twenty ſeven expeditions wherein *Mohammed* was perſonally preſent, in nine of which he gave battle, beſides ſeveral other expeditions in which he was not preſent [4]: ſome of them however will be neceſſarily taken notice of in explaining ſeveral paſſages of the *Korân*. His forces he maintained partly by the contributions of his followers for this purpoſe, which he called by the name of *Zacât* or *alms*, and the paying of which he very artfully made one main article of his religion; and partly by ordering a fifth part of the plunder to be brought into the public treaſury for that purpoſe, in which matter he likewiſe pretended to act by the divine direction.

And at length concludes a truce with them for ten years.

In a few years by the ſucceſs of his arms (notwithſtanding he ſometimes came off by the worſt) he conſiderably raiſed his credit and power. In the ſixth year of the *Hejra* he ſet out with 1400 men to viſit the temple of *Mecca*, not with any intent of committing hoſtilities, but in a peaceable manner. However when he came to *al Hodeibiya*, which is ſituate partly within and partly without the ſacred territory, the *Koreiſh* ſent to let him know that they would not permit him to enter *Mecca*, unleſs he forced his way; whereupon he called his troops about him, and they all took a ſolemn oath of fealty or ho-

[1] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [2] V. Gagnier, Not. in Abulfed. de Vita Moh. p. 52, 53. [3] See the notes on the *Korân*, chap. 3. p. 36. [4] V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 158.

mage

mage to him, and he reſolved to attack the city; but thoſe of *Mecca* ſending *Arwa Ebn Maſúd* prince of the tribe of *Thakîf* as their embaſſador to deſire peace, a truce was concluded between them for ten years, by which any perſon was allowed to enter into league either with *Mohammed* or with the *Koreiſh* as he thought fit.

The great reſpect ſhewn him by his followers.

It may not be improper, to ſhew the inconceivable veneration and reſpect the *Mohammedans* by this time had for their prophet, to mention the account which the above-mentioned embaſſador gave the *Koreiſh*, at his return, of their behaviour. He ſaid he had been at the courts both of the *Roman* emperor and of the king of *Perſia*, and never ſaw any prince ſo highly reſpected by his ſubjects as *Mohammed* was by his companions; for whenever he made the ablution, in order to ſay his prayers, they ran and catched the water that he had uſed; and whenever he ſpit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered up every hair that fell from him with great ſuperſtition [1].

Mohammed invites foreign princes to embrace his religion.

In the ſeventh year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed* began to think of propagating his religion beyond the bounds of *Arabia*, and ſent meſſengers to the neighbouring princes with letters to invite them to *Mohammediſm*. Nor was this project without ſome ſucceſs. *Khoſrû Parviz* then king of *Perſia* received his letter with great diſdain, and tore it in a paſſion, ſending away the meſſenger very abruptly; which when *Mohammed* heard, he ſaid, GOD *ſhall tear his kingdom*. And ſoon after a meſſenger came to *Mohammed* from *Badhan* king of *Yaman*, who was a dependant on the *Perſians* [2], to acquaint him that he had received orders to ſend him to *Khoſrû*. *Mohammed* put off his anſwer till the next morning, and then told the meſſenger it had been revealed to him that night that *Khoſrû* was ſlain by his ſon *Shirûyeh*; adding that he was well aſſured his new religion and empire ſhould riſe to as great a height as that of *Khoſrû*; and therefore bid him adviſe his maſter to embrace *Mohammediſm*. The meſſenger being returned, *Badhân* in a few days received a letter from *Shirûyeh* informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no further diſturbance. Whereupon *Badhân* and the *Perſians* with him turned *Mohammedans* [3].

The emperor *Heraclius*, as the *Arabian* hiſtorians aſſure us, received *Mohammed*'s letter with great reſpect, laying it on his pillow, and diſmiſſed the bearer honourably. And ſome pretend that he would have profeſſed this new faith, had he not been afraid of loſing his crown [4].

[1] Abulfeda Vit. Moh. p. 85. [2] See before p. 11. [3] Aulfeda Vit. Moh. p. 92, &c. [4] Al Jannâbi.

Moham-

Mohammed wrote to the ſame effect to the king of *Ethiopia*, tho' he had been converted before, according to the *Arab* writers; and to *Mokawkas*, governor of *Egypt*, who gave the meſſenger a very favourable reception, and ſent ſeveral valuable preſents to *Mohammed*, and among the reſt two girls, one of which, named *Mary* [1], became a great favourite with him. He alſo ſent letters of the like purport to ſeveral *Arab* princes, particularly one to *al Hareth Ebn Abi Shamer* [2] king of *Ghaſſân*, who returning for anſwer that he would go to *Mohammed* himſelf, the prophet ſaid, *May his kingdom periſh*; another to *Hawdha Ebn Ali*, king of *Yamâma*, who was a *Chriſtian*, and having ſome time before profeſt *Iſlamiſm*, had lately returned to his former faith; this prince ſent back a very rough anſwer, upon which *Mohammed* curſing him, he died ſoon after; and a third to *al Mondar Ebn Sâwa*, king of *Bahrein*, who embraced *Mohammediſm*, and all the *Arabs* of that country followed his example [3].

His forces beat the *Greeks*.

The eighth year of the *Hejra* was a very fortunate year to *Mohammed*. In the beginning of it *Khâled Ebn al Walîd* and *Amru Ebn al As*, both excellent ſoldiers, the firſt of whom afterwards conquered *Syria* and other countries, and the latter, *Egypt*, became proſelytes of *Mohammediſm*. And ſoon after the prophet ſent 3000 men againſt the *Grecian* forces, to revenge the death of one of his embaſſadors, who being ſent to the governor of *Boſra* on the ſame errand as thoſe who went to the above-mentioned princes, was ſlain by an *Arab* of the tribe of *Ghaſſân* at *Mûta*, a town in the territory of *Balkâ* in *Syria*, about three days journey eaſtward from *Jeruſalem*, near which town they encountred. The *Grecians* being vaſtly ſuperior in number (for, including the auxiliary *Arabs*, they had an army of 100000 men) the *Mohammedans* were repulſed in the firſt attack, and loſt ſucceſſively three of their generals, viz. *Zeid Ebn Hâretha*, *Mohammed*'s freedman, *Jaafar* the ſon of *Abu Taleb*, and *Abdállah Ebn Rawâha*; but *Khâled Ebn al Walîd* ſucceeding to the command overthrew the *Greeks* with a great ſlaughter, and brought away abundance of rich ſpoil [4]; on occaſion of which action *Mohammed* gave him the honourable title of *Seif min ſoyûf Allah*, *one of the ſwords of* GOD [5].

He takes *Mecca*.

In this year alſo *Mohammed* took the city of *Mecca*, the inhabitants whereof had broken the truce concluded on two years before. For the tribe of *Becr*, who were confederates of the *Koreiſh*, attacking

[1] It is however a different name from that of the Virgin *Mary*, which the *Orientals* always write *Maryam* or *Miriam*, whereas this is written *Mâriya*. [2] This prince is omitted in Dr. *Pocock*'s liſt of the kings of *Ghaſſân*, Spec. p. 77. [3] Abulfeda, ubi ſup. p. 94, &c. [4] Idem ib. p. 99, 100, &c. [5] Al Bokhâri in Sonna.

thoſe

thoſe of *Khozâah*, who were allies of *Mohammed*, killed ſeveral of them, being ſupported in the action by a party of the *Koreiſh* themſelves. The conſequence of this violation was ſoon apprehended; and *Abu Soſiân* himſelf made a journey to *Medina* on purpoſe to heal the breach and renew the truce [1]; but in vain: for *Mohammed*, glad of this opportunity, refuſed to ſee him; whereupon he applied to *Abu Becr* and *Ali*, but they giving him no anſwer, he was obliged to return to *Mecca* as he came.

Mohammed immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might ſurprize the *Meccans* while they were unprovided to receive him: in a little time he began his march thither, and by that time he came near the city his forces were increaſed to 10,000 men. Thoſe of *Mecca* being not in a condition to defend themſelves againſt ſo formidable an army, ſurrendered at diſcretion; and *Abu Soſiân* ſaved his life by turning *Mohammedan*. About twenty eight of the idolaters were killed by a party under the command of *Khaled*; but this happened contrary to *Mohammed*'s orders, who, when he entred the town, pardoned all the *Koreiſh*, on their ſubmiſſion, except only ſix men and four women, who were more obnoxious than ordinary (ſome of them having apoſtatized) and were ſolemnly proſcribed by the prophet himſelf; but of theſe no more than three men and one woman were put to death, the reſt obtaining pardon on their embracing *Mohammediſm*, and one of the women making her eſcape [2].

Mohammed deſtroys idolatry.

The remainder of this year *Mohammed* employed in deſtroying the idols in and round about *Mecca*, ſending ſeveral of his generals on expeditions for that purpoſe, and to invite the *Arabs* to *Iſlamiſm*; wherein it is no wonder if they now met with ſucceſs.

The *Arab* tribes in general come in to him.

The next year, being the ninth of the *Hejra*, the *Mohammedans* call *the year of embaſſies*: for the *Arabs* had been hitherto expecting the iſſue of the war between *Mohammed* and the *Koreiſh*; but ſo ſoon as that tribe, the principal of the whole nation, and the genuine deſcendants of *Iſmael*, whoſe prerogatives none offered to diſpute, had ſubmitted, they were ſatisfied that it was not in their power to oppoſe *Mohammed*, and therefore began to come in to him in great numbers, and to ſend embaſſies to make their ſubmiſſions to him, both to *Mecca* while he ſtaid there, and alſo to *Medina* whither he returned this year [3]. Among the reſt five kings of the tribe of *Hamyar* profeſſed *Mohammediſm*, and ſent embaſſadors to notify the ſame [4].

[1] This circumſtance is a plain proof that the *Koreiſh* had actually broken the truce, and that it was not a meer pretence of *Mohammed*'s, as Dr. *Prideaux* inſinuates. Life of *Mah.* p. 94. [2] V. Abulfed. ubi ſup. c. 51, 52. [3] V. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121. [4] Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 128.

In

In the tenth year *Ali* was ſent into *Yaman* to propagate the *Mohammedan* faith there, and as it is ſaid, converted the whole tribe of *Hamdân* in one day. Their example was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province; except only thoſe of *Najrân*, who, being *Chriſtians*, choſe rather to pay tribute [1].

Thus was *Mohammediſm* eſtabliſhed, and idolatry rooted out, even in *Mohammed*'s life time (for he died the next year) throughout all *Arabia*, except only *Yamama*; where *Moſeilama*, who ſet up alſo for a prophet as *Mohammed*'s competitor, had a great party, and was not reduced till the *Khalîfat* of *Abu Becr*. And the *Arabs* being then united in one faith and under one prince, found themſelves in a condition of making thoſe conqueſts, which extended the *Mohammedan* faith over ſo great a part of the world.

[1] Abulfeda, ib. p. 129.

SECTION III.

Of the Korân *itſelf, the Peculiarities of that Book; the Manner of its being written and publiſhed, and the general Deſign of it.*

The ſeveral names of the *Korân.*

THE word *Korân*, derived from the verb *karaa*, *to read*, ſignifies properly in *Arabic*, *the reading*, or rather, *that which ought to be read*; by which name the *Mohammedans* denote not only the entire book or volume of the *Korân*, but alſo any particular chapter or ſection of it; juſt as the *Jews* call either the whole ſcripture, or any part of it, by the name of *Karâh*, or *Mikra* [1], words of the ſame origin and import. Which obſervation ſeems to overthrow the opinion of ſome learned *Arabians*, who would have the *Korân* ſo named, becauſe it is a collection of the looſe chapters or ſheets which compoſe it; the verb *karaa* ſignifying alſo to *gather* or *collect* [2]: and may alſo, by the way, ſerve as an anſwer to thoſe who object [3] that the *Korân* muſt be a book forged at once, and could not poſſibly be revealed by parcels, at different times, during the courſe of ſeveral Years, as the *Mohammedans* affirm; becauſe the *Korân* is often mentioned, and called by that name, in the very book it ſelf.

[1] This name was at firſt given to the *Pentateuch* only, *Nehem.* viii. V. Simon. Hiſt. Crit. du vieux Teſt. l. 1. c. 9. [2] V. Erpen. Not. ad Hiſt. Joſeph. p. 3. [3] Marracc. de Alcor. p. 41.

It

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the ſyllable *Al* in the word *Alkoran* is only the *Arabic* article, ſignifying *the*; and therefore ought to be omitted when the *Engliſh* article is prefixed.

Beſide this peculiar name, the *Kôrân* is alſo honoured with ſeveral appellations, common to other books of ſcripture: as, *al Forkân*, from the verb *faraka, to divide or diſtinguiſh*; not, as the *Mohammedan* doctors ſay, becauſe thoſe books are divided into chapters or ſections, or diſtinguiſh between good and evil; but in the ſame notion that the *Jews* uſe the word *Perek*, or *Pirka*, from the ſame root, to denote a ſection or portion of ſcripture [1]. It is alſo called *al Moshâf, the volume*, and *al Kitâb, the book*, by way of eminence, which anſwers to the *Biblia* of the *Greeks*; and *al Dhikr, the admonition*, which name is alſo given to the Pentateuch, and Goſpel.

The *Korân* is divided into 114 larger portions of very unequal length, which we call *chapters*, but the *Arabians Sowar*, in the ſingular *Sûra*, a word rarely uſed on any other occaſion, and properly ſignifying a row, order, or regular ſeries; as a courſe of bricks in building, or a rank of ſoldiers in an army; and is the ſame in uſe and import with the *Sûra*, or *Tora* of the *Jews*, who alſo call the fifty three ſections of the Pentateuch *Sedârim*, a word of the ſame ſignification [2]. Diviſion.

Theſe chapters are not in the manuſcript copies diſtinguiſhed by their numerical order, tho' for the reader's eaſe they are numbred in this edition, but by particular titles, which (except that of the firſt, which is the initial chapter, or introduction to the reſt, and by the old *Latin* tranſlator not numbred among the chapters,) are taken ſometimes from a particular matter treated of, or perſon mentioned therein; but uſually from the firſt word of note, exactly in the ſame manner as the *Jews* have named their *Sedârim:* tho' the word from which ſome chapters are denominated, be very far diſtant, towards the middle, or perhaps the end of the chapter; which ſeems ridiculous. But the occaſion of this ſeems to have been, that the verſe or paſſage wherein ſuch word occurs, was, in point of time, revealed and committed to writing before the other verſes of the ſame chapter which precede it in order: and the title being given to the chapter before it was compleated, or the paſſages reduced to their preſent order, the verſe from whence ſuch title was taken, did not always

[1] V. Gol. in append. ad Gram. Arab. Erpen. 175. A chapter or ſub-diviſion of the *Maſſichoth* of the *Miſhna* is alſo called *Perek*. Maimon. præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57. [2] V. Gol. ubi ſup. 177. Each of the ſix grand diviſions of the *Miſhna* is alſo called *Seder*. Maimon. ubi ſup. p. 55.

happen to begin the chapter. Some chapters have two or more titles, occaſioned by the difference of the copies.

Some of the chapters having been revealed at *Mecca*, and others at *Medina*, the noting this difference makes a part of the title: but the reader will obſerve that ſeveral of the chapters are ſaid to have been revealed partly at *Mecca*, and partly at *Medina*, and as to others; it is yet a diſpute among the commentators to which place of the two they belong.

Every chapter is ſubdivided into ſmaller portions, of very unequal length alſo, which we cuſtomarily call *verſes*; but the *Arabic* word is *Ayât*, the ſame with the *Hebrew Ototh*, and ſignifies *ſigns*, or *wonders*; ſuch as are the ſecrets of GOD, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in thoſe verſes; many of which have their particular titles alſo, impoſed in the ſame manner as thoſe of the chapters.

Notwithſtanding this ſub-diviſion is common, and well known, yet I have never yet ſeen any manuſcript wherein the verſes are actually numbred; tho' in ſome copies the number of verſes in each chapter is ſet down after the title, which we have therefore added in the table of the chapters. And the *Mohammedans* ſeem to have ſome ſcruple in making an actual diſtinction in their copies, becauſe the chief diſagreement between their ſeveral editions of the *Korân*, conſiſts in the diviſion and number of the verſes: and for this reaſon I have not taken upon me to make any ſuch diviſion.

Editions. Having mentioned the different editions of the *Korân*, it may not be amiſs here to acquaint the reader, that there are ſeven principal editions, if I may ſo call them, or ancient copies of that book; two of which were publiſhed and uſed at *Medina*, a third at *Mecca*, a fourth at *Cufa*, a fifth at *Baſra*, a ſixth in *Syria*, and a ſeventh called the common or vulgar edition. Of theſe editions, the firſt of *Medina* makes the whole number of the verſes 6000; the ſecond and fifth, 6214; the third, 6219; the fourth, 6236; the ſixth, 6226; and the laſt, 6225. But they are all ſaid to contain the ſame number of words, namely 77639 [1]; and the ſame number of letters, *viz.* 323015 [2]: for the *Mohammedans* have in this alſo imitated the *Jews*, that they have ſuperſtitiouſly numbered the very words and letters of their law; nay, they have taken the pains to compute, (how exactly I know not,)

[1] Or as others reckon them, 99464. Reland. de rel. Moh. p. 25. [2] Or according to another computation, 330113. Ibid. V. Gol. ubi ſup. p. 178. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 87.

the

the number of times each particular letter of the alphabet is contained in the *Korân* [1].

Beſides theſe unequal diviſions of chapter and verſe, the *Mohammedans* have alſo divided their *Korân* into ſixty equal portions, which they call *Ahzâb*, in the ſingular *Hizb*, each ſubdivided into four equal parts; which is alſo an imitation of the *Jews*, who have an ancient diviſion of their *Miſhna* into ſixty portions called *Maſſicloth* [2]: but the *Korân* is more uſually divided into thirty ſections only, named *Ajzâ*, from the ſingular *Joz*, each of twice the length of the former, and in the like manner ſubdivided into four parts. Theſe diviſions are for the uſe of the readers of the *Korân* in the royal temples, or in the adjoining chapels where the emperors and great men are interred. There are thirty of theſe readers belonging to every chapel, and each reads his ſection every day, ſo that the whole *Korân* is read over once a day [3]. I have ſeen ſeveral copies divided in this manner, and bound up in as many volumes; and have thought it proper to mark theſe diviſions in the margin of this tranſlation by numeral letters.

Initial form and letters.

Next after the title, at the head of every chapter, except only the ninth, is prefixed the following ſolemn form, by the *Mohammedans* called the *Biſmillah*, IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD; which form they conſtantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark or diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of their religion, it being counted a ſort of impiety to omit it. The *Jews* for the ſame purpoſe make uſe of the form, *In the name of the* LORD, or, *In the name of the great* GOD: and the eaſtern *Chriſtians* that of, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*. But I am apt to believe *Mohammed* really took this form, as he did many other things, from the *Perſian Magi*, who uſed to begin their books in theſe words, *Benâm Yezdân bakhſhaïſhgher dâdâr*; that is, *In the name of the moſt merciful, juſt* GOD [4].

This auſpicatory form, and alſo the titles of the chapters are by the generality of the doctors and commentators believed to be of divine original, no leſs than the text itſelf; but the more moderate are of opinion they are only human additions, and not the very word of GOD.

There are twenty nine chapters of the *Korân*, which have this peculiarity, that they begin with certain letters of the alphabet, ſome with a ſingle one, others with more. Theſe letters the *Mohammedans*

[1] V. Reland. de Relig. Moh. p. 25. [2] V. Gol. ubi ſup. p. 178. Maimon. præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57. [3] V. Smith, de moribus & inſtit. Turcar. p. 58. [4] Hyde, Hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. p. 14.

believe to be the peculiar marks of the *Korân*, and to conceal ſeveral profound myſteries, the certain underſtanding of which, the more intelligent confeſs has not been communicated to any mortal, their prophet only excepted. Notwithſtanding which ſome will take the liberty of gueſſing at their meaning by that ſpecies of *Cabbala* called by the *Jews Notarikon* [1], and ſuppoſe the letters to ſtand for as many words expreſſing the names and attributes of GOD, his works, ordinances, and decrees; and therefore theſe myſterious letters, as well as the verſes themſelves, ſeem in the *Korân* to be called *ſigns*. Others explain the intent of theſe letters from their nature or organ, or elſe from their value in numbers, according to another ſpecies of the *Jewiſh Cabbala* called *Gematria* [2]; the uncertainty of which conjectures ſufficiently appears from their diſagreement. Thus for example, five chapters, one of which is the ſecond, begin with theſe letters, A. L. M. which ſome imagine to ſtand for *Allah latîf magîd*; GOD *is gracious and to be glorified*; or, *Ana li minni, to me and from me*, viz. belongs all perfection, and proceeds all good: or elſe for *Ana Allah âlam*, *I am the moſt wiſe* GOD, taking the firſt letter to mark the beginning of the firſt word, the ſecond the middle of the ſecond word, and the third the laſt of the third word: or for *Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed*, the author, revealer, and preacher of the *Korân*. Others ſay, that as the letter A belongs to the lower part of the throat, the firſt of the organs of ſpeech; L to the palat, the middle organ; and M to the lips, which are the laſt organ; ſo theſe letters ſignify that GOD is the beginning, middle, and end, or ought to be praiſed in the beginning, middle, and end, of all our words and actions: or, as the total value of thoſe three letters in numbers, is ſeventy one, they ſignify that in the ſpace of ſo many years, the religion preached in the *Korân* ſhould be fully eſtabliſhed. The conjecture of a learned *Chriſtian* [3] is at leaſt as certain as any of the former, who ſuppoſes thoſe letters were ſet there by the *amanuenſis*, for *Amar li Mohammed*, i. e. *At the command of Mohammed*, as the five letters prefixed to the nineteenth chapter ſeem to be there written by a *Jewiſh* ſcribe, for *Coh yaas*, i. e. *Thus he commanded*.

Style. The *Korân* is univerſally allowed to be written with the utmoſt elegance and purity of language, in the dialect of the tribe of *Koreiſh*, the moſt noble and polite of all the *Arabians*, but with ſome mixture, tho' very rarely, of other dialects. It is confeſſedly the ſtandard of the *Arabic* tongue, and as the more orthodox believe, and are taught by

[1] V. Buxtorf. Lexicon Rabbin. [2] V. Ib. See alſo Schickardi Bechinat happeruſhim, p. 62, &c. [3] Golius in append. ad Gram. Erp. p. 182.

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the book itſelf, inimitable by any human pen, (tho' ſome ſectaries have been of another opinion [1]) and therefore inſiſted on as a permanent miracle, greater than that of raiſing the dead [2], and alone ſufficient to convince the world of its divine original.

And to this miracle did *Mohammed* himſelf chiefly appeal for the confirmation of his miſſion, publickly challenging the moſt eloquent men in *Arabia*, which was at that time ſtocked with thouſands whoſe ſole ſtudy and ambition it was to excel in elegance of ſtyle and compoſition [3], to produce even a ſingle chapter that might be compared with it [4]. I will mention but one inſtance out of ſeveral, to ſhew that this book was really admired for the beauty of its compoſure by thoſe who muſt be allowed to have been competent judges. A poem of *Labîd Ebn Rabîa*, one of the greateſt wits in *Arabia* in *Mohammed*'s time, being fixed up on the gate of the temple of *Mecca*, an honour allowed to none but the moſt eſteemed performances, none of the other poets durſt offer any thing of their own in competition with it. But the ſecond chapter of the *Korân* being fixed up by it ſoon after, *Labîd* himſelf (then an idolater) on reading the firſt verſes only, was ſtruck with admiration, and immediately profeſſed the religion taught thereby, declaring that ſuch words could proceed from an inſpired perſon only. This *Labîd* was afterwards of great ſervice to *Mohammed*, in writing anſwers to the ſatires and invectives that were made on him and his religion by the infidels, and particularly by *Amri al Kais* [5], prince of the tribe of *Aſad* [6], and author of one of thoſe ſeven famous poems called *al Moallakât* [7].

The ſtyle of the *Korân* is generally beautiful and fluent, eſpecially where it imitates the prophetic manner, and ſcripture phraſes. It is conciſe, and often obſcure, adorned with bold figures after the eaſtern taſte, enlivened with florid and ſententious expreſſions, and in many places, eſpecially where the majeſty and attributes of GOD are deſcribed, ſublime and magnificent; of which the reader cannot but obſerve ſeveral inſtances, tho' he muſt not imagine the tranſlation comes up to the original, notwithſtanding my endeavours to do it juſtice.

Tho' it be written in proſe, yet the ſentences generally conclude in a long continued rime, for the ſake of which the ſenſe is often interrupted, and unneceſſary repetitions too frequently made, which ap-

[1] See after. [2] Ahmed Abd'alhalim, apud Marracc. de Alc. p. 43. [3] A noble writer therefore miſtakes the queſtion when he ſays theſe eaſtern religioniſts leave their ſacred writ the ſole ſtandard of literate performance by extinguiſhing all true learning. For tho' they were deſtitute of what we call learning, yet they were far from being ignorant, or unable to compoſe elegantly in their own tongue. See L. *Shaftesbury*'s Characteriſtics, Vol. 3. p. 235. [4] Al Gazali, apud Poc. Spec. 191. See *Korân*, c. 17. and alſo c. 2. p. 3. and c. 11, *&c.* [5] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 512, &c. [6] Poc. Spec. p. 80. [7] See before, p. 28.

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pear ſtill more ridiculous in a tranſlation, where the ornament, ſuch as it is, for whoſe ſake they were made, cannot be perceived. However the *Arabians* are ſo mightily delighted with this jingling, that they employ it in their moſt elaborate compoſitions, which they alſo imbelliſh with frequent paſſages of and alluſions to the *Korân*, ſo that it is next to impoſſible to underſtand them without being well verſed in this book.

It is probable the harmony of expreſſion which the *Arabians* find in the *Korân*, might contribute not a little to make them reliſh the doctrine therein taught, and give an efficacy to arguments which had they been nakedly propoſed without this rhetorical dreſs, might not have ſo eaſily prevailed. Very extraordinary effects are related of the power of words well choſen and artfully placed, which are no leſs powerful either to raviſh or amaze than muſic itſelf; wherefore as much has been aſcribed by the beſt orators to this part of rhetoric as to any other [1]. He muſt have a very bad ear, who is not uncommonly moved with the very cadence of a well-turned ſentence; and *Mohammed* ſeems not to have been ignorant of the enthuſiaſtic operation of rhetoric on the minds of men; for which reaſon he has not only employed his utmoſt ſkill in theſe his pretended revelations, to preſerve that dignity and ſublimity of ſtyle, which might ſeem not unworthy of the majeſty of that Being, whom he gave out to be the author of them; and to imitate the prophetic manner of the *Old Teſtament*; but he has not neglected even the other arts of oratory; wherein he ſucceeded ſo well, and ſo ſtrangely captivated the minds of his audience, that ſeveral of his opponents thought it the effect of witchcraft and enchantment, as he ſometimes complains [2].

Deſign. "The general deſign of the *Korân*" (to uſe the words of a very learned perſon,) "ſeems to be this. To unite the profeſſors of the "three different religions then followed in the populous country of "*Arabia*, who for the moſt part lived promiſcuouſly, and wandred "without guides, the far greater number being idolaters, and the reſt "*Jews* and *Chriſtians* moſtly of erroneous and heterodox belief, in the "knowledge and worſhip of one eternal, inviſible GOD, by whoſe power "all things were made, and thoſe which are not, may be, the ſupream "Governor, Judge, and abſolute Lord of the creation; eſtabliſhed "under the ſanction of certain laws, and the outward ſigns of cer-"tain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel inſtitution, "and inforced by ſetting before them rewards and puniſhments, both

[1] See *Caſaubon* of Enthuſiaſm, chap. 4. [2] *Korân*, chap. 15, 21, *&c.*

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" temporal and eternal: and to bring them all to the obedience " of *Mohammed*, as the prophet and ambassador of GOD, who after " the repeated admonitions, promises, and threats of former ages, " was at last to establish and propagate GOD's religion on earth by " force of arms, and to be acknowledged chief pontif in spiritual " matters, as well as supream prince in temporal [1]."

The great doctrine then of the *Korân* is the unity of GOD; to restore which point *Mohammed* pretended was the chief end of his mission; it being laid down by him as a fundamental truth, that there never was nor ever can be more than one true orthodox religion. For tho' the particular laws or ceremonies are only temporary, and subject to alteration according to the divine direction, yet the substance of it being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutably the same. And he taught that whenever this religion became neglected, or corrupted in essentials, GOD had the goodness to reinform and readmonish mankind thereof, by several prophets, of whom *Moses* and *Jesus* were the most distinguished, till the appearance of *Mohammed*, who is their seal, no other being to be expected after him. And the more effectually to engage people to hearken to him, great part of the *Korân* is employed in relating examples of dreadful punishments formerly inflicted by GOD on those who rejected and abused his messengers; several of which stories or some circumstances of them are taken from the *Old* and *New Testament*, but many more from the apocryphal books and traditions of the *Jews* and *Christians* of those ages, set up in the *Korân* as truths in opposition to the scriptures, which the *Jews* and *Christians* are charged with having altered; and I am apt to believe that few or none of the relations or circumstances in the *Korân* were invented by *Mohammed*, as is generally supposed, it being easy to trace the greatest part of them much higher, as the rest might be, were more of those books extant, and it was worth while to make the inquiry.

The other part of the *Korân* is taken up in giving necessary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine vertues, and above all to the worshipping and reverencing of the only true GOD, and resignation to his will; among which are many excellent things intermixed not unworthy even a *Christian*'s perusal.

But besides these, there are a great number of passages which are occasional, and relate to particular emergencies. For whenever any thing happened which perplexed and gravelled *Mohammed*, and which he could not otherwise get over, he had constant recourse to a new

[1] Golius, in append. ad Gram. Erp. p. 176.

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revelation, as an infallible expedient in all nice caſes; and he found the ſucceſs of this method anſwer his expectation. It was certainly an admirable and politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole *Korân* at once to the loweſt heaven only, and not to the earth, as a bungling prophet would probably have done; for if the whole had been publiſhed at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impoſſible, for him to ſolve: but as he pretended to have received it by parcels, as GOD ſaw proper that they ſhould be publiſhed for the converſion and inſtruction of the people, he had a ſure way to anſwer all emergencies, and to extricate himſelf with honour from any difficulty which might occur. If any objection be hence made to that eternity of the *Korân*, which the *Mohammedans* are taught to believe, they eaſily anſwer it by their doctrine of abſolute predeſtination; according to which all the accidents for the ſake of which theſe occaſional paſſages were revealed, were predetermined by GOD from all eternity.

Its author and manner of publiſhing.

That *Mohammed* was really the author and chief contriver of the *Korân*, is beyond diſpute; tho' it be highly probable that he had no ſmall aſſiſtance in his deſign from others, as his countrymen failed not to object to him [1]; however they differed ſo much in their conjectures as to the particular perſons who gave him ſuch aſſiſtance [2], that they were not able, it ſeems, to prove the charge; *Mohammed*, it is to be preſumed, having taken his meaſures too well to be diſcovered. Dr. *Prideaux* [3] has given the moſt probable account of this matter, tho' chiefly from *Chriſtian* writers, who generally mix ſuch ridiculous fables with what they deliver, that they deſerve not much credit.

However it be, the *Mohammedans* abſolutely deny the *Korân* was compoſed by their prophet himſelf, or any other for him; it being their general and orthodox belief that it is of divine original, nay that it is eternal and uncreated, remaining, as ſome expreſs it, in the very eſſence of GOD; that the firſt tranſcript has been from everlaſting by GOD's throne, written on a table of vaſt bigneſs, called the *preſerved table*, in which are alſo recorded the divine decrees paſt and future: that a copy from this table, in one volume on paper, was by the miniſtry of the angel *Gabriel* ſent down to the loweſt heaven, in the month of *Ramadân*, on the night of *power* [4]: from whence *Gabriel*

[1] V. Kor. c. 16. and c. 25. [2] See the notes on thoſe paſſages. [3] Life of *Mahomet*, p. 31, &c. [4] V. Kor. c. 97, and not. ibid.

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revealed it to *Mohammed* by parcels, ſome at *Mecca*, and ſome at *Medina*, at different times, during the ſpace of twenty three years, as the exigency of affairs required; giving him however the conſolation to ſhew him the whole (which they tell us was bound in ſilk, and adorned with gold and precious ſtones of paradiſe) once a year; but in the laſt year of his life he had the favour to ſee it twice. They ſay that few chapters were delivered entire, the moſt part being revealed peace-meal, and written down from time to time by the prophet's amanuenſes in ſuch or ſuch a part of ſuch or ſuch a chapter till they were compleated, according to the directions of the angel [1]. The firſt parcel that was revealed, is generally agreed to have been the firſt five verſes of the ninety ſixth chaprer [2].

After the new revealed paſſages had been from the prophet's mouth taken down in writing by his ſcribe, they were publiſhed to his followers, ſeveral of whom took copies for their private uſe, but the far greater number got them by heart. The originals when returned, were put promiſcuouſly into a cheſt, obſerving no order of time, for which reaſon it is uncertain when many paſſages were revealed.

When and by whom digeſted into the preſent form.

When *Mohammed* died, he left his revelations in the ſame diſorder I have mentioned, and not digeſted into the method, ſuch as it is, which we now find them in. This was the work of his ſucceſſor *Abu Becr*, who conſidering that a great number of paſſages were committed to the memory of *Mohammed*'s followers, many of whom were ſlain in their wars, ordered the whole to be collected, not only from the palm leaves and ſkins on which they had been written, and which were kept between two boards or covers, but alſo from the mouths of ſuch as had gotten them by heart. And this tranſcript when compleated he committed to the cuſtody of *Haſſa* the daughter of *Omar*, one of the prophet's widows [3].

From this relation it is generally imagined that *Abu Becr* was really the compiler of the *Korân*; tho' for ought appears to the contrary *Mohammed* left the chapters compleat as we now have them, excepting ſuch paſſages as his ſucceſſor might add or correct from thoſe who had gotten them by heart; what *Abu Becr* did elſe being perhaps no more than to range the chapters in their preſent order, which he ſeems to have done without any regard to time, having generally placed the longeſt firſt.

[1] Therefore it is a miſtake of Dr. *Prideaux* to ſay it was brought him chapter by chapter. Life of *Mahomet*, p. 6. The *Jews* alſo ſay the Law was given to *Moſes* by parcels. V. Millium, de Mohammediſmo ante Moham. p. 365. [2] Not the whole chapter, as *Golius* ſays. Append. ad Gr. Erp. p. 180. [3] Elmacin. in Vita Abu Becr. Abulfeda.

However in the thirtieth year of the *Hejra*, *Othmân* being then *Khalîf*, and obſerving the great diſagreement in the copies of the *Korân* in the ſeveral provinces of the empire, thoſe of *Irak*, for example, following the reading of *Abu Muſa al Aſhari*, and the *Syrians* that of *Macdâd Ebn Aſwad*, he, by advice of the *companions*, ordered a great number of copies to be tranſcribed from that of *Abu Becr*, in *Hafſa*'s care, under the inſpection of *Zeid Ebn Thabet*, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobair*, *Saïd Ebn al As*, and *Abd'alrahmân Ebn al Hâreth* the *Makhzumite*; whom he directed that wherever they diſagreed about any word, they ſhould write it in the dialect of the *Koreiſh*, in which it was at firſt delivered [1]. Theſe copies when made, were diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of the empire, and the old ones burnt and ſuppreſſed. Tho' many things in *Hafſa*'s copy were corrected by the above-mentioned ſuperviſors, yet ſome few various readings ſtill occur; the moſt material of which will be taken notice of in their proper places.

Various readings.

The want of vowels [2] in the *Arabic* character made *Mokrî's*, or *readers*, whoſe peculiar ſtudy and profeſſion it was to read the *Korân* with its proper vowels, abſolutely neceſſary. But theſe differing in their manner of reading, occaſioned ſtill further variations in the copies of the *Korân*, as they are now written with the vowels; and herein conſiſt much the greater part of the various readings throughout the book. The *readers* whoſe authority the commentators chiefly alledge, in admitting theſe various readings, are ſeven in number.

Paſſages abrogated.

There being ſome paſſages in the *Korân* which are contradictory, the *Mohammedan* doctors obviate any objection from thence, by the doctrine of *abrogation*; for they ſay, that GOD in the *Korân* commanded ſeveral things which were for good reaſons afterwards revoked and abrogated.

Paſſages abrogated are diſtinguiſhed into three kinds: the *firſt*, where the letter and the ſenſe are both abrogated; the *ſecond*, where the letter only is abrogated, but the ſenſe remains; and the *third*, where the ſenſe is abrogated, tho' the letter remains.

Of the firſt kind were ſeveral verſes, which by the tradition of *Ans Ebn Malec* were in the prophet's life time read in the chapter of *repentance*, but are not now extant, one of which, being all he re-

[1] Abulfeda, in vitis Abubecr & Othmân. [2] The characters or marks of the *Arabic* vowels were not uſed till ſeveral years after *Mohammed*. Some aſcribe the invention of them to *Yahya Ebn Yâmer*, ſome to *Naſr Ebn Aſam*, ſurnamed *al Leithi*, and others to *Abu'laſwad al Dîli*; all three of whom were doctors of *Baſra*, and immediately ſucceeded the *companions*. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 87.

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membred of them, was the following, "If a ſon of *Adam* had two "rivers of gold, he would covet yet a third; and if he had three, "he would covet yet a fourth (to be added) unto them; neither ſhall "the belly of a ſon of *Adam* be filled, but with duſt. GOD will "turn unto him who ſhall repent." Another inſtance of this kind we have from the tradition of *Abd'allah Ebn Maſûd*, who reported that the prophet gave him a verſe to read which he wrote down; but the next morning looking in his book, he found it was vaniſhed, and the leaf blank: this he acquainted *Mohammed* with, who aſſured him the verſe was revoked the ſame night.

Of the ſecond kind is a verſe called the verſe of *ſtoning*, which according to the tradition of *Omar*, afterwards *Khalîf*, was extant while *Mohammed* was living, tho' it be not now to be found. The words are theſe, "Abhor not your parents, for this would be ingra-"titude in you. If a man and woman of reputation commit adul-"tery, ye ſhall ſtone them both; it is a puniſhment *ordained* by GOD; "for GOD is mighty and wiſe."

Of the laſt kind are obſerved ſeveral verſes in ſixty three different chapters, to the number of 225. Such as the precepts of turning in prayer to *Jeruſalem*; faſting after the old cuſtom; forbearance towards idolaters; avoiding the ignorant, and the like [1]. The paſſages of this ſort have been carefully collected by ſeveral writers, and are moſt of them remarked in their proper places.

Diſputes concerning the creation of the *Korân*.

Tho' it is the belief of the *Sonnites* or orthodox that the *Korân* is uncreated and eternal, ſubſiſting in the very eſſence of GOD, and *Mohammed* himſelf is ſaid to have pronounced him an infidel who aſſerted the contrary [2], yet ſeveral have been of a different opinion; particularly the ſect of the *Motázalites* [3], and the followers of *Iſa Ebn Sobeih Abu Muſa*, ſurnamed *al Mozdâr*, who ſtuck not to accuſe thoſe who held the *Korân* to be uncreated of infidelity, as aſſertors of two eternal beings [4].

This point was controverted with ſo much heat that it occaſioned many calamities under ſome of the *Khalîfs* of the family of *Abbâs*, *al Mamûn* [5] making a public edict declaring the *Korân* to be created, which was confirmed by his ſucceſſors *al Mótaſem* [6] and *al Wâthek* [7],

[1] Abu Haſhem Hebatallah, apud Marracc. de Alc. p. 42. [2] Apud Poc. Spec. 220. [3] See after, in Sect. 8. [4] V. Poc. Spec. p. 219, &c. [5] Anno Hej. 218. Abulfarag. p. 245. v. etiam Elmacin. in vita al Mamûn. [6] In the time of *al Motaſem*, a doctor named *Abu Harûn Ebn al Baca* found out a diſtinction to ſcreen himſelf, by affirming that the *Korân* was *ordained*, becauſe it is ſaid in that book, *And I have ordained thee the* Korân. He went ſtill farther to allow that what was *ordained*, was *created*, and yet he denied it thence followed that the *Korân* was *created*. Abulfarag. p. 253. [7] Ibid. p. 257.

who whipt, impriſoned, and put to death thoſe of the contrary opinion. But at length *al Motawakkel* [1], who ſucceeded *al Wathek*, put an end to theſe perſecutions, by revoking the former edicts, releaſing thoſe that were impriſoned on that account, and leaving every man at liberty as to his belief in this point [2].

Al Ghazâli ſeems to have tolerably reconciled both opinions, ſaying, that the *Korân* is read and pronounced with the tongue, written in books, and kept in memory; and is yet eternal, ſubſiſting in GOD's eſſence, and not poſſible to be ſeparated thence by any tranſmiſſion into mens memories or the leaves of books [3]; by which he ſeems to mean no more than that the original idea of the *Korân* only is really in GOD, and conſequently co-eſſential and co-eternal with him, but that the copies are created and the work of man.

The opinion of *al Jahedh*, chief of a ſect bearing his name, touching the *Korân* is too remarkable to be omitted: he uſed to ſay it was a body, which might ſometimes be turned into a man [4], and ſometimes into a beaſt [5]; which ſeems to agree with the notion of thoſe who aſſert the *Korân* to have two faces, one of a man, the other of a beaſt [6]; thereby, as I conceive, intimating the double interpretation it will admit of, according to the letter or the ſpirit.

As ſome have held the *Korân* to be created, ſo there have not been wanting thoſe who have aſſerted that there is nothing miraculous in that book in reſpect to ſtyle or compoſition, excepting only the prophetical relations of things paſt, and predictions of things to come; and that had GOD left men to their natural liberty, and not reſtrained them in that particular, the *Arabians* could have compoſed ſomething not only equal, but ſuperior to the *Korân* in eloquence, method, and purity of language. This was another opinion of the *Motazalites*, and in particular of *al Mozdâr* above-mentioned and *al Nodhâm* [7].

Expoſition of it.

The *Korân* being the *Mohammedans* rule of faith and practice, it is no wonder its expoſitors and commentators are ſo very numerous. And it may not be amiſs to take notice of the rules they obſerve in expounding it.

[1] Anno Hej. 242. [2] Abulfarag. p. 262. [3] Al Ghazali, in prof. fid. [4] The *Khalîf al Waſîd Ebn Yazîd*, who was the eleventh of the race of *Ommeya*, and is looked on by the *Mohammedans* as a reprobate, and one of no religion, ſeems to have treated this book as a rational creature. For dipping into it one day, the firſt words he met with were theſe; *Every rebellious perverſe perſon ſhall not proſper*. Whereupon he ſtuck it on a lance and ſhot it to pieces with arrows, repeating theſe verſes;

Doſt thou rebuke every rebellious perverſe perſon? behold, I am that rebellious perverſe perſon.

When thou appeareſt before thy Lord on the day of reſurrection, ſay, O Lord, al Walîd *has torn me thus.*

Ebn Shohnah. v. Poc. Spec. p. 223. [5] Poc. Spec. p. 222. [6] Herbelot. p. 87. [7] Abulfeda, Shahreſtani, &c. apud Poc. Spec. p. 222. & Marracc. de Kor. p. 44.

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One of the moſt learned commentators [1] diſtinguiſhes the contents of the *Korân* into *allegorical* and *literal.* The former comprehends the more obſcure, parabolical, and ænigmatical paſſages, and ſuch as are repealed or abrogated; the latter thoſe which are plain, perſpicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force.

To explain theſe ſeverally in a right manner, it is neceſſary from tradition and ſtudy to know the time when each paſſage was revealed, its circumſtances, ſtate, and hiſtory, and the reaſons or particular emergencies for the ſake of which it was revealed [2]. Or, more explicitly, whether the paſſage was revealed at *Mecca*, or at *Medina*; whether it be abrogated, or does itſelf abrogate any other paſſage; whether it be anticipated in order of time, or poſtponed; whether it be diſtinct from the context, or depends thereon; whether it be particular or general; and laſtly whether it be implicit by intention, or explicit in words [3].

The honour ſhewn to it.

By what has been ſaid the reader may eaſily believe this book is in the greateſt reverence and eſteem among the *Mohammedans.* They dare not ſo much as touch it without being firſt waſhed or legally purified [4]; which leſt they ſhould do by inadvertence, they write theſe words on the cover or label, "*Let none touch it, but they who are* "*clean.*" They read it with great care and reſpect, never holding it below their girdles. They ſwear by it, conſult it in their weighty occaſions [5], carry it with them to war, write ſentences of it in their banners, adorn it with gold and precious ſtones, and knowingly ſuffer it not to be in the poſſeſſion of any of a different perſuaſion.

Tranſlations.

The *Mohammedans* far from thinking the *Korân* to be profaned by a tranſlation, as ſome authors have written [6], have taken care to have their ſcriptures tranſlated not only into the *Perſian* tongue, but into ſeveral others, particularly the *Javan* and *Malayan* [7], tho' out of reſpect to the original *Arabic*, theſe verſions are generally (if not always) interlineary.

[1] Al Zamakhſhari. V. Korân, chap. 3. p. 35. [2] Ahmed Ebn Moh. al Thalebi, in princip. expoſ. Alc. [3] Yahya Ebn al Salâm al Baſri, in princip. expoſ. Alc. [4] The *Jews* have the ſame veneration for their law; not daring to touch it with unwaſhed hands, nor then neither without a cover. V. Millium, de Mohammediſmo ante Moh. p. 366. [5] This they do by dipping into it, and taking an omen from the words which they firſt light on: which practice they alſo learned of the *Jews*, who do the ſame with the ſcripture. V. Millium, ubi ſup. [6] Sionita, de urb. orient. p. 41. & Marracc. de Alc. p. 33. [7] Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 265.

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SECTION IV.

Of the Doctrines and poſitive Precepts of the Korân, *which relate to Faith and religious Duties.*

Whereon the *Mohammedan* religion is built.

IT has been already obſerved more than once, that the fundamental poſition, on which *Mohammed* erected the ſuperſtructure of his religion was, that from the beginning to the end of the world there has been, and forever will be, but one true orthodox belief; conſiſting, as to matter of faith, in the acknowledging of the only true GOD, and the believing in and obeying ſuch meſſengers or prophets as he ſhould from time to time ſend, with proper credentials, to reveal his will to mankind; and as to matter of practice, in the obſervance of the immutable and eternal laws of right and wrong, together with ſuch other precepts and ceremonies as GOD ſhould think fit to order for the time being, according to the different diſpenſations in different ages of the world: for theſe laſt he allowed were things indifferent in their own nature, and became obligatory by GOD's poſitive precept only; and were therefore temporary and ſubject to alteration according to his will and pleaſure. And to this religion he gives the name of *Iſlâm*, which word ſignifies *reſignation*, or *ſubmiſſion* to the ſervice and commands of GOD [1]; and is uſed as the proper name of the *Mohammedan* religion, which they will alſo have to be the ſame at bottom with that of all the prophets from *Adam*.

Under pretext that this eternal religion was in his time corrupted, and profeſſed in its purity by no one ſect of men, *Mohammed* pretended to be a prophet ſent by GOD, to reform thoſe abuſes which had crept into it, and to reduce it to its primitive ſimplicity; with the addition however of peculiar laws and ceremonies, ſome of which had been uſed in former times, and others were now firſt inſtituted. And he comprehended the whole ſubſtance of his doctrine under theſe two propoſitions, or articles of faith; *viz.* that there is but one GOD, and that himſelf was the apoſtle of GOD; in conſequence of which latter article, all ſuch ordinances and inſtitutions as he thought fit to

[1] The root *Salama*, from whence *Iſlâm* is formed, in the firſt and fourth conjugations, ſignifies alſo *to be ſaved*, or *to enter into a ſtate of ſalvation*; according to which, *Iſlâm* may be tranſlated *the religion or ſtate of ſalvation*: but the other ſenſe is more approved by the *Mohammedans*, and alluded to in the *Korân* itſelf. See c. 2. p. 16. and c. 3. p. 36.

eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh muſt be received as obligatory and of divine authority.

The division and fundamental points of it.

The *Mohammedans* divide their religion, which as I juſt now ſaid they call *Iſlâm*, into two diſtinct parts; *Imân*, i. e. *faith*, or theory, and *Dîn*, i. e. *religion*, or practice; and teach that it is built on five fundamental points, one belonging to faith, and the other four to practice.

The firſt is that confeſſion of faith which I have already mentioned; that *there is no god but the true* GOD; and *that* Mohammed *is his apoſtle*. Under which they comprehend ſix diſtinct branches; *viz.* 1. *Belief in* GOD; 2. *In his angels*; 3. *In his ſcriptures*; 4. *In his prophets*; 5. *In the reſurrection and day of judgment*; and, 6. *In* GOD's *abſolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil.*

The four points relating to practice are, 1. Prayer, under which are comprehended thoſe waſhings or purifications which are neceſſary preparations required before prayer; 2. Alms; 3. Faſting; and, 4. The pilgrimage to *Mecca*. Of each of theſe I ſhall ſpeak in their order.

Of their faith in GOD.

That both *Mohammed* and thoſe among his followers who are reckoned orthodox, had and continue to have juſt and true notions of GOD and his attributes, (always excepting their obſtinate and impious rejecting of the Trinity) appears ſo plain from the *Korân* itſelf and all the *Mohammedan* divines, that it would be loſs of time to refute thoſe who ſuppoſe the GOD of *Mohammed* to be different from the true GOD, and only a fictitious deity or idol of his own creation [1]. Nor ſhall I here enter into any of the *Mohammedan* controverſies concerning the divine nature and attributes, becauſe I ſhall have a more proper opportunity of doing it elſewhere [2].

And in his angels.

The exiſtence of angels and their purity are abſolutely required to be believed in the *Korân*; and he is reckoned an infidel who denies there are ſuch beings, or hates any of them [3], or aſſerts any diſtinction of ſexes among them. They believe them to have pure and ſubtil bodies, created of fire [4]; that they neither eat nor drink, nor propagate their ſpecies; that they have various forms and offices; ſome adoring GOD in different poſtures, others ſinging praiſes to him, or interceding for mankind. They hold that ſome of them are employed in writing down the actions of men; others in carrying the throne of GOD and other ſervices.

The four angels whom they look on as more eminently in GOD's favour, and often mention on account of the offices aſſigned them,

[1] Marracc. in Alc. p. 102. [2] Sect. VIII. [3] Korân c. 2. p. 13. [4] Ib. c. 7, and 38.

are

are *Gabriel*, to whom they give ſeveral titles, particularly thoſe of the *holy ſpirit* [1], and the *angel of revelations* [2], ſuppoſing him to be honoured by GOD with a greater confidence than any other, and to be employed in writing down the divine decrees [3]; *Michael*, the friend and protector of the *Jews* [4]; *Azräel*, the *angel of death*, who ſeparates mens ſouls from their bodies [5]; and *Iſrafîl*, whoſe office it will be to ſound the trumpet at the reſurrection [6]. The *Mohammedans* alſo believe that two guardian angels attend on every man, to obſerve and write down his actions [7], being changed every day, and therefore called *al Moakkibât*, or the angels who continually *ſucceed* one another.

This whole doctrine concerning angels *Mohammed* and his diſciples have borrowed from the *Jews*, who learned the names and offices of thoſe beings from the *Perſians*, as themſelves confeſs [8]. The ancient *Perſians* firmly believed the miniſtry of angels, and their ſuperintendence over the affairs of this world, (as the *Magians* ſtill do) and therefore aſſigned them diſtinct charges and provinces, giving their names to their months and the days of their months. *Gabriel* they called *Sorûſh* and *Revân bakhſh*, or the *giver of ſouls*, in oppoſition to the contrary office of the angel of death, to whom among other names they gave that of *Mordâd*, or *the giver of death*; *Michael* they called *Beſhter*, who according to them provides ſuſtenance for mankind [9]. The *Jews* teach that the angels were created of fire [10]; that they have ſeveral offices [11]; that they intercede for men [12], and attend them [13]. The angel of death they name *Dâma*, and ſay he calls dying perſons by their reſpective names at their laſt hour [14].

The devil, whom *Mohammed* names *Eblîs* from his *deſpair*, was once one of thoſe angels who are neareſt to GOD's preſence, called *Azazîl* [15], and fell, according to the doctrine of the *Korân*, for refuſing to pay homage to *Adam* at the command of GOD [16].

Beſides angels and devils, the *Mohammedans* are taught by the *Korân* to believe an intermediate order of creatures, which they call *Jin* or *Genii*, created alſo of fire [17], but of a groſſer fabric than angels;

[1] Korân, c. 2. p. 12. [2] See the notes, ib. p. 13. [3] V. Hyde, Hiſt. Rel. vet. Perſ. p. 262. [4] V. ib. p. 271. & not. in Kor. p. 13. [5] V. not. ib. p. 4. [6] Kor. c. 6, 13, and 86. The offices of theſe four angels are deſcribed almoſt in the ſame manner in the apocryphal goſpel of *Barnabas*; where it is ſaid that *Gabriel* reveals the ſecrets of GOD, *Michael* combates againſt his enemies, *Raphael* receives the ſouls of thoſe who die, and *Uriel* is to call every one to judgment on the laſt day. See the *Menagiana*, Tom. 4. p. 333. [7] Kor. c. 10. [8] Talmud Hieroſ. in Roſh haſhana. [9] V. Hyde, ubi ſup. c. 19, and 20. [10] Gemar. in Hagig. & Bereſhit rabbah. &c. V. *Pſalm* civ. 4. [11] Yalkut hadaſh. [12] Gemar. in Shebet, & Bava Bathra, &c. [13] Midraſh, Yalkut Shemûni. [14] Gemar. Berachoth. [15] V. Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 189, &c. [16] *Korân*, c. 2. p. 5. See alſo c. 7, 38, &c. [17] Kor. c. 55. See the notes there.

ſince

ſince they eat and drink, and propagate their ſpecies, and are ſubject to death [1]. Some of theſe are ſuppoſed to be good, and others bad, and capable of future ſalvation or damnation, as men are; whence *Mohammed* pretended to be ſent for the converſion of *Genii* as well as men [2]. The *Orientals* pretend that theſe *Genii* inhabited the world for many ages before *Adam* was created, under the government of ſeveral ſucceſſive princes, who all bore the common name of *Solomon*; but falling at length into an almoſt general corruption, *Eblîs* was ſent to drive them into a remote part of the earth there to be confined: that ſome of that generation ſtill remaining, were by *Tahmûrath*, one of the ancient kings of *Perſia*, who waged war againſt them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of *Kâf*. Of which ſucceſſions and wars they have many fabulous and romantic ſtories. They alſo make different ranks and degrees among theſe beings (if they be not rather ſuppoſed to be of a different ſpecies) ſome being called abſolutely *Jin*, ſome *Peri* or *fairies*, ſome *Div* or *giants*, others *Tacwîns* or *fates* [3].

The *Mohammedan* notions concerning theſe *Genii*, agree almoſt exactly with what the *Jews* write of a ſort of dæmons, called *Shedîm*, whom ſome fancy to have been begotten by two angels named *Aza* and *Azaël*, on *Naamah* the daughter of *Lamech*, before the flood [4]. However the *Shedîm*, they tell us, agree in three things with the miniſtring angels; for that like them, they have wings, and fly from one end of the world to the other, and have ſome knowledge of futurity; and in three things they agree with men, like whom they eat and drink, are propagated, and die [5]. They alſo ſay that ſome of them believe in the law of *Moſes*, and are conſequently good, and that others of them are infidels and reprobates [6].

As to the ſcriptures, the *Mohammedans* are taught by the *Korân* that GOD, in divers ages of the world, gave revelations of his will in writing to ſeveral prophets, the whole and every word of which it is abſolutely neceſſary for a good *Moſlem* to believe. The number of theſe ſacred books, were, according to them, 104. Of which ten were given to *Adam*, fifty to *Seth*, thirty to *Edrîs* or *Enoch*, ten to *Abraham*; and the other four, being the *Pentateuch*, the *Pſalms*, the *Goſpel*, and the *Korân*, were ſucceſſively delivered to *Moſes*, *David*, *Jeſus*, and *Mohammed*; which laſt being the *ſeal* of the prophets, thoſe revelations are now cloſed, and no more are to be expected. All theſe divine books, Of the ſcriptures.

[1] Jallalo'ddin, in Kor. c. 2, & 18. [2] V. Korân, c. 55, 72, & 74. [3] See D' Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 369, 820, &c. [4] In libro Zohar. [5] Gemara, in Hagiga. [6] Igrat Baale hayyim. c. 15.

except the four laſt, they agree to be now entirely loſt, and their contents unknown; tho' the *Sabians* have ſeveral books which they attribute to ſome of the antediluvian prophets. And of thoſe four, the *Pentateuch*, *Pſalms*, and *Goſpel*, they ſay, have undergone ſo many alterations and corruptions, that tho' there may poſſibly be ſome part of the true word of GOD therein, yet no credit is to be given to the preſent copies in the hands of the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. The *Jews* in particular are frequently reflected on in the *Korân* for falſifying and corrupting their copies of their law; and ſome inſtances of ſuch pretended corruptions, both in that book and the two others, are produced by *Mohammedan* writers; wherein they merely follow their own prejudices, and the fabulous accounts of ſpurious legends. Whether they have any copy of the *Pentateuch* among them different from that of the *Jews* or not, I am not entirely ſatisfied, ſince a perſon who travelled into the eaſt was told, that they had the books of *Moſes*, tho' very much corrupted [1]; but I know no body that has ever ſeen them. However they certainly have and privately read a book which they call the *Pſalms* of *David*, in *Arabic* and *Perſian*, to which are added ſome prayers of *Moſes*, *Jonas*, and others [2]. This Mr. *Reland* ſuppoſes to be a tranſlation from our copies, (tho' no doubt falſified in more places than one;) but Mr. *D'Herbelot* ſays it contains not the ſame *Pſalms* which are in our *Pſalter*, being no more than an extract from thence mixed with other very different pieces [3]. The eaſieſt way to reconcile theſe two learned gentlemen, is to preſume that they ſpeak of different copies. The *Mohammedans* have alſo a Goſpel in *Arabic*, attributed to St. *Barnabas*, wherein the hiſtory of *Jeſus Chriſt* is related in a manner very different from what we find in the true Goſpels, and correſpondent to thoſe traditions which *Mohammed* has followed in his *Korân*. Of this Goſpel the *Moriſcoes* in *Africa* have a tranſlation in *Spaniſh* [4]; and there is in the library of prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, a manuſcript of ſome antiquity, containing an *Italian* tranſlation of the ſame Goſpel [5], made, it is to be ſuppoſed, for the uſe of renegades. This book appears to be no original forgery of the *Mohammedans*, tho' they have no doubt interpolated and altered it ſince, the better to ſerve their purpoſe; and in particular inſtead of the *Paraclete* or *Comforter* [6], they have in this apocryphal goſpel inſerted the word *Periclyte*, that is the *famous* or *illuſtrious*,

[1] *Terry*'s Voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, p. 277. [2] De Rel. Moham. p. 23. [3] A copy of this kind he tells us is in the library of the Duke of *Tuſcany*, Bibl. Orient. p. 924. [4] Reland, ubi ſup. [5] Menagian. T. 4. p. 321, &c. [6] *John* xiv. 16, 26. xv. 26, and xvi. 7. compared with *Luke* xxiv. 49.

by

by which they pretend their prophet was foretold by name, that being the ſignification of *Mohammed* in *Arabic* [1]: and this they ſay to juſtify that paſſage of the *Korân* [2], where *Jeſus Chriſt* is formally aſſerted to have foretold his coming, under his other name of *Ahmed*; which is derived from the ſame root as *Mohammed*, and of the ſame import. From theſe or ſome other forgeries of the ſame ſtamp, it is that the *Mohammedans* quote ſeveral paſſages, of which there are not the leaſt footſteps in the *New Teſtament*. But after all we muſt not hence infer that the *Mohammedans*, much leſs all of them, hold theſe copies of theirs to be the ancient and genuine ſcriptures themſelves. If any argue, from the corruption which they inſiſt has happened to the *Pentateuch* and *Goſpel*, that the *Korân* may poſſibly be corrupted alſo; they anſwer, that GOD has promiſed that he will take care of the latter, and preſerve it from any addition or diminution [3]; but that he left the two other to the care of men. However they confeſs there are ſome various readings in the *Korân* [4], as has been obſerved.

Beſides the books above-mentioned, the *Mohammedans* alſo take notice of the writings of *Daniel* and ſeveral other prophets, and even make quotations thence; but theſe they do not believe to be divine ſcripture, or of any authority in matters of religion [5].

Of the prophets.

The number of the prophets, which have been from time to time ſent by GOD into the world, amounts to no leſs than 224,000, according to one *Mohammedan* tradition, or to 124,000, according to another; among whom 313 were apoſtles, ſent with ſpecial commiſſions to reclaim mankind from infidelity and ſuperſtition; and ſix of them brought new laws or diſpenſations, which ſucceſſively abrogated the preceding: theſe were *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, *Jeſus*, and *Mohammed*. All the prophets in general the *Mohammedans* believe to have been free from great ſins, and errors of conſequence, and profeſſors of one and the ſame religion, that is *Iſlâm*, notwithſtanding the different laws and inſtitutions which they obſerved. They allow of degrees among them, and hold ſome of them to be more excellent and honourable than others [6]. The firſt place they give to the revealers and eſtabliſhers of new diſpenſations, and the next to the apoſtles.

In this great number of prophets, they not only reckon divers patriarchs and perſons named in ſcripture, but not recorded to have been prophets, (wherein the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* writers have ſome-

[1] See *Toland*'s *Nazarenus*, the firſt eight chapters. [2] Chap. 61. [3] Kor. c. 15. [4] Reland, ubi ſup. p. 24, 27. [5] Idem, ib. p. 41. [6] Kor. c. 2. p. 30, &c.

times led the way [1]) as *Adam*, *Seth*, *Lot*, *Iſmael*, *Nun*, *Joſhua*, &c. and introduce ſome of the munder different names, as *Enoch*, *Heber*, and *Jethro*, who are called in the *Korân*, *Edrîs*, *Hûd*, and *Shoaib*; but ſeveral others whoſe very names do not appear in ſcripture (tho' they endeavour to find ſome perſons there to fix them on) as, *Saleh*, *Khedr*, *Dhu'lkeſl*, &c. Several of their fabulous traditions concerning theſe prophets, we ſhall occaſionally mention in the notes on the *Korân*.

As *Mohammed* acknowledged the divine authority of the *Pentateuch*, *Pſalms*, and *Goſpel*, he often appeals to the conſonancy of the *Korân* with thoſe writings, and to the prophecies which he pretended were therein concerning himſelf, as proofs of his miſſion; and he frequently charges the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* with ſtifling the paſſages which bear witneſs to him [2]. His followers alſo fail not to produce ſeveral texts even from our preſent copies of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, to ſupport their maſter's cauſe [3].

Of the ſtate after death.

The next article of faith required by the *Korân*, is the belief of a general reſurrection and a future judgment. But before we conſider the *Mohammedan* tenets in thoſe points, it will be proper to mention what they are taught to believe concerning the intermediate ſtate, both of the body and of the ſoul, after death.

Of the body before the reſurrection.

When a corps is laid in the grave, they ſay he is received by an angel, who gives him notice of the coming of the two *Examiners*; which are two black livid angels, of a terrible appearance, named *Monker* and *Nakîr*. Theſe order the dead perſon to ſit upright, and examine him concerning his faith, as to the unity of GOD, and the miſſion of *Mohammed:* if he anſwer rightly, they ſuffer the body to reſt in peace, and it is refreſhed by the air of paradiſe; but if not, they beat him on the temples with iron maces, till he roars out for anguiſh ſo loud, that he is heard by all from eaſt to weſt, except men and genii. Then they preſs the earth on the corps, which is gnawed and ſtung till the reſurrection by ninety nine dragons with ſeven heads each; or, as others ſay, their ſins will become venemous beaſts, the grievous ones ſtinging like dragons, the ſmaller like ſcorpions, and the others like ſerpents: circumſtances which ſome underſtand in a figurative ſenſe [4].

This examination of the ſepulchre is not only founded on an expreſs tradition of *Mohammed*, but is alſo plainly hinted at, tho' not

[1] Thus *Heber* is ſaid to have been a prophet by the *Jews*; (Seder Olam. p. 2.) And *Adam* by *Epiphanius*; (Adv. Hæreſ. p. 6.) See alſo Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 2. [2] Korân, c. 2. p. 6, 12, 18. c. 3. &c. [3] Some of theſe texts are produced by Dr. *Prideaux* at the end of his life of *Mahomet*, and more by *Marracci* in Alcor. p. 26, &c. [4] Al Ghazâli. V. Poc. not. in Port. Moſis, p. 241, &c.

directly

directly taught, in the *Korân* [1], as the commentators agree. It is therefore believed by the orthodox *Mohammedans* in general, who take care to have their graves made hollow, that they may ſit up with more eaſe while they are examined by the angels [2]; but is utterly rejected by the ſect of the *Motázalites*, and perhaps by ſome others.

Theſe notions *Mohammed* certainly borrowed from the *Jews*, among whom they were very anciently received [3]. They ſay that the angel of death coming and ſitting on the grave, the ſoul immediately enters the body and raiſes it on its feet; that he then examines the departed perſon, and ſtrikes him with a chain half of iron and half of fire; at the firſt blow all his limbs are looſened, at the ſecond his bones are ſcattered, which are gathered together again by angels, and the third ſtroke reduces the body to duſt and aſhes, and it returns into the grave. This rack or torture they call, *Hibbût hakkeber*, or the *beating of the ſepulchre*, and pretend that all men in general muſt undergo it, except only thoſe who die on the evening of the ſabbath, or have dwelt in the land of *Iſrael* [4].

If it be objected to the *Mohammedans* that the cry of the perſons under ſuch examination has been never heard; or if they be aſked how thoſe can undergo it whoſe bodies are burnt or devoured by beaſts or birds, or otherwiſe conſumed without burial; they anſwer, that it is very poſſible notwithſtanding, ſince men are not able to perceive what is tranſacted on the other ſide the grave; and that it is ſufficient to reſtore to life any part of the body which is capable of underſtanding the queſtions put by the angels [5].

Of the Soul.

As to the ſoul, they hold that when it is ſeparated from the body by the angel of death, who performs his office with eaſe and gentleneſs towards the good, and with violence towards the wicked [6], it enters into that ſtate which they call *al Berzakh* [7], or *the interval* between death and the reſurrection. If the departed perſon was a believer, they ſay two angels meet it, who convey it to heaven, that its place there may be aſſigned, according to its merit and degree. For they diſtinguiſh the ſouls of the faithful into three claſſes, the firſt of prophets, whoſe ſouls are admitted into paradiſe immediately; the ſecond of martyrs, whoſe ſpirits, according to a tradition of *Mohammed*, reſt in the crops of green birds which eat of the fruits and drink of the rivers of paradiſe; and the third of other believers, concerning the ſtate of whoſe ſouls before the reſurrection, there are

[1] Cap. 8, and 47, &c. [2] *Smith*, de morib. & inſtit. Turcar. Ep. 2. p. 57. [3] V. Hyde, in notis ad Bobov. de Viſit. ægrot. p. 19. [4] R. Elias, in Tiſhbi. See alſo Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. & Lexic. Talmud. [5] V. Poc. ubi ſup. [6] Korân, c. 79. The *Jews* ſay the ſame, in *Niſhmat hayim*. f. 77. [7] V. Kor. c. 23. and not. ib.

various

various opinions. For, 1. Some ſay they ſtay near the ſepulchres, with liberty however of going wherever they pleaſe; which they confirm from *Mohammed*'s manner of ſaluting them at their graves, and his affirming that the dead heard thoſe ſalutations as well as the living, tho' they could not anſwer. Whence perhaps proceeded the cuſtom of viſiting the tombs of relations, ſo common among the *Mohammedans* [1]. 2. Others imagine they are with *Adam*, in the loweſt heaven; and alſo ſupport their opinion by the authority of their prophet, who gave out that in his return from the upper heavens in his pretended night journey, he ſaw there the ſouls of thoſe who were deſtined to paradiſe on the right hand of *Adam*, and of thoſe who were condemned to hell on his left [2]. 3. Others fancy the ſouls of believers remain in the well *Zemzem*, and thoſe of infidels in a certain well in the province of *Hadramaut*, called *Borhût*; but this opinion is branded as heretical. 4. Others ſay they ſtay near the graves for ſeven days; but that whither they go afterwards is uncertain. 5. Others that they are all in the trumpet, whoſe ſound is to raiſe the dead. And, 6. Others that the ſouls of the good dwell in the forms of white birds, under the throne of GOD [3]. As to the condition of the ſouls of the wicked, beſides the opinions that have been already mentioned, the more orthodox hold that they are offered by the angels to heaven, from whence being repulſed as ſtinking and filthy, they are offered to the earth, and being alſo refuſed a place there, are carried down to the ſeventh earth, and thrown into a dungeon, which they call *Sajîn*, under a green rock, or according to a tradition of *Mohammed*, under the devil's jaw [4], to be there tormented, till they are called up to be joined again to their bodies.

Of the reſurrection.

Tho' ſome among the *Mohammedans* have thought that the reſurrection will be merely ſpiritual, and no more than the returning of the ſoul to the place whence it firſt came (an opinion defended by *Ebn Sina* [5], and called by ſome the *opinion of the philoſophers* [6];) and others, who allow man to conſiſt of body only, that it will be merely corporeal; the received opinion is, that both body and ſoul will be raiſed, and their doctors argue ſtrenuouſly for the poſſibility of the reſurrection of the body, and diſpute with great ſubtilty concerning the manner of it [7]. But *Mohammed* has taken care to preſerve one part of the body, whatever becomes of the reſt, to ſerve for a baſis

[1] Poc. ubi ſup. p. 247. [2] Ib. p. 248. Conſonant hereto are the *Jewiſh* notions of the ſouls of the juſt being on high, under the throne of glory. V. Ib. p. 156. [3] Ib. p. 250. [4] Al Beidâwi, in [redacted]. V. Poc. ubi ſup. p. 252. [5] Or, as we corruptly name him, *Avicenna*. [6] Kenz al aſrâr. [7] V. Poc. ubi ſup. p. 254.

of

of the future edifice, or rather a leaven for the maſs which is to be joined to it. For he taught, that a man's body was entirely conſumed by the earth, except only the bone called *al Ajb*, which we name the *os coccygis*, or rump-bone; and that as it was the firſt formed in the human body, it will alſo remain uncorrupted till the laſt day, as a ſeed from whence the whole is to be renewed: and this he ſaid would be effected by a forty days rain which GOD ſhould ſend, and which would cover the earth to the height of twelve cubits, and cauſe the bodies to ſprout forth like plants [1]. Herein alſo is *Mohammed* beholden to the *Jews*; who ſay the ſame things of the bone *Luz* [2], excepting that what he attributes to a great rain, will be effected according to them by a dew, impregnating the duſt of the earth.

The time of the reſurrection the *Mohammedans* allow to be a perfect ſecret to all but GOD alone; the angel *Gabriel* himſelf acknowledging his ignorance in this point when *Mohammed* aſked him about it. However they ſay the approach of that day may be known from certain ſigns which are to precede it. Theſe ſigns they diſtinguiſh into two ſorts, the leſſer, and the greater; which I ſhall briefly enumerate after Dr. *Pocock* [3]. The ſigns of its approach.

The leſſer ſigns are, 1. The decay of faith among men [4]. 2. The advancing of the meaneſt perſons to eminent dignity. 3. That a maid-ſervant ſhall become the mother of her miſtreſs (or maſter;) by which is meant either that towards the end of the world men ſhall be much given to ſenſuality, or that the *Mohammedans* ſhall then take many captives. 4. Tumults and ſeditions. 5. A war with the *Turks*. 6. Great diſtreſs in the world, ſo that a man when he paſſes by another's grave ſhall ſay, Would to GOD I were in his place. 7. That the provinces of *Irâk* and *Syria* ſhall refuſe to pay their tribute. And, 8. That the buildings of *Medina* ſhall reach to *Ahâb*, or *Yahâb*.

The greater ſigns are,

1. The ſun's riſing in the weſt. Which ſome have imagined it originally did [5].

2. The appearance of the beaſt, which ſhall riſe out of the earth, in the temple of *Mecca*, or on mount *Safâ*, or in the territory of *Tâyef*, or ſome other place. This beaſt they ſay is to be ſixty cubits high; tho' others not ſatisfied with ſo ſmall a ſize, will have her reach to the clouds and to heaven when her head only is out; and that ſhe will appear for three days, but ſhew only a third part of her body.

[1] Idem, ib. p. 255, &c. [2] Bereſhit. rabbah, &c. V. Poc. ubi ſup. p. 117, &c. [3] Ibid, p. 258, &c. [4] See *Luke*, xviii. 8. [5] See *Whiſton*'s Theory of the earth, Book 2. p. 98, &c.

They

They deſcribe this monſter, as to her form, to be a compound of various ſpecies; having the head of a bull, the eyes of a hog, the ears of an elephant, the horns of a ſtag, the neck of an oſtrich, the breaſt of a lion, the colour of a tiger, the back of a cat, the tail of a ram, the legs of a camel, and the voice of an aſs. Some ſay this beaſt is to appear three times in ſeveral places, and that ſhe will bring with her the rod of *Moſes*, and the ſeal of *Solomon*; and being ſo ſwift that none can overtake or eſcape her, will with the firſt ſtrike all the believers on the face, and mark them with the word *Mûmen*, i. e. *believer*; and with the latter will mark the unbelievers on the face likewiſe, with the word *Câfer*, i. e. *infidel*, that every perſon may be known for what he really is. They add that the ſame beaſt is to demonſtrate the vanity of all religions except *Iſlâm*, and to ſpeak *Arabic*. All this ſtuff ſeems to be the reſult of a confuſed idea of the beaſt in the Revelations [1].

3. War with the *Greeks*, and the taking of *Conſtantinople* by 70,000 of the poſterity of *Iſaac*, who ſhall not win that city by force of arms, but the walls ſhall fall down while they cry out, *There is no god but* GOD: GOD *is moſt great!* As they are dividing the ſpoil, news will come to them of the appearance of Antichriſt; whereupon they ſhall leave all, and return back.

4. The coming of Antichriſt, whom the *Mohammedans* call *al Maſîh al Dajjâl*, i. e. the *falſe* or *lying Chriſt*, and ſimply *al Dajjâl*. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters C. F. R. ſignifying *Câfer*, or *infidel*. They ſay that the *Jews* give him the name of *Meſſiah Ben David*, and pretend he is to come in the laſt days, and to be lord both of land and ſea, and that he will reſtore the kingdom to them. According to the traditions of *Mohammed*, he is to appear firſt between *Irâk* and *Syria*, or according to others, in the province of *Khoraſân*; they add that he is to ride on an aſs; that he will be followed by 70,000 *Jews* of *Iſpahân*, and continue on earth forty days, of which one will be equal in length to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and the reſt will be common days; that he is to lay waſte all places, but will not enter *Mecca* or *Medina*, which are to be guarded by angels; and that at length he will be ſlain by *Jeſus*, who is to encounter him at the gate of *Lud*. It is ſaid that *Mohammed* foretold ſeveral Antichriſts, to the number of about thirty; but one of greater note than the reſt.

[1] Chap. xiii.

5. The

5. The deſcent of *Jeſus* on earth. They pretend that he is to deſcend near the white tower to the eaſt of *Damaſcus*, when the people are returned from the taking of *Conſtantinople*; that he is to embrace the *Mohammedan* religion, marry a wife, get children, kill Antichriſt, and at length dye after forty years, or according to others twenty four years [1], continuance on earth. Under him they ſay there will be great ſecurity, and plenty in the world, all hatred and malice being laid aſide; when lions and camels, bears and ſheep ſhall live in peace, and a child ſhall play with ſerpents unhurt [2].

6. War with the *Jews*; of whom the *Mohammedans* are to make a prodigious ſlaughter, the very trees and ſtones diſcovering ſuch of them as hide themſelves, except only the tree called *Gharkad*, which is the tree of the *Jews*.

7. The eruption of *Gog* and *Magog*, or, as they are called in the eaſt, *Yâjûj* and *Mâjûj*; of whom many things are related in the *Korân* [3], and the traditions of *Mohammed*. Theſe barbarians, they tell us, having paſſed the lake of *Tiberias*, which the vanguard of their vaſt army will drink dry, will come to *Jeruſalem*, and there greatly diſtreſs *Jeſus* and his companions; till at his requeſt GOD will deſtroy them, and fill the earth with their carcaſſes, which after ſome time GOD will ſend birds to carry away, at the prayers of *Jeſus* and his followers. Their bows, arrows, and quivers the *Moſlems* will burn for ſeven years together [4]; and at laſt GOD will ſend a rain to cleanſe the earth, and to make it fertile.

8. A ſmoke, which ſhall fill the whole earth [5].

9. An eclipſe of the moon. *Mohammed* is reported to have ſaid, that there would be three eclipſes before the laſt hour; one to be ſeen in the eaſt, another in the weſt, and the third in *Arabia*.

10. The returning of the *Arabs* to the worſhip of *Allât* and *al Uzza*, and the reſt of their ancient idols; after the deceaſe of every one in whoſe heart there was faith equal to a grain of muſtard ſeed, none but the very worſt of men being left alive. For GOD, they ſay, will ſend a cold odoriferous wind, blowing from *Syria Damaſcena*, which ſhall ſweep away the ſouls of all the faithful, and the *Korân* itſelf, ſo that men will remain in the groſſeſt ignorance for an hundred years.

11. The diſcovery of a vaſt heap of gold and ſilver by the retreating of the *Euphrates*, which will be the deſtruction of many.

[1] Al Thalabi, in Kor. c. 4. [2] See *Iſaiah* xi. 6, *&c.* [3] Chap. 18, and 21. [4] See *Ezek.* xxxix. 9. *Revel.* xx. 8. [5] See *Korân*, c. 44, and the notes thereon. Compare alſo *Joel* ii. 30, and *Revel.* ix. 2.

12. The demolition of the *Caaba*, or temple of *Mecca* by the *Ethiopians* [1].

13. The ſpeaking of beaſts and inanimate things.

14. The breaking out of fire in the province of *Hejâz*; or, according to others, in *Yaman*.

15. The appearance of a man of the deſcendants of *Kahtân*, who ſhall drive men before him with his ſtaff.

16. The coming of the *Mohdi*, or *director*; concerning whom *Mohammed* propheſied, that the world ſhould not have an end till one of his own family ſhould govern the *Arabians*, whoſe name ſhould be the ſame with his own name, and whoſe father's name ſhould alſo be the ſame with his father's name; and who ſhould fill the earth with righteouſneſs. This perſon the *Shiites* believe to be now alive, and concealed in ſome ſecret place, till the time of his manifeſtation; for they ſuppoſe him to be no other than the laſt of the twelve *Imâms*, named *Mohammed Abu'lkaſem*, as their prophet was, and the ſon of *Haſſan al Askeri*, the eleventh of that ſucceſſion. He was born at *Sermanrai* in the 255th year of the *Hejra* [2]. From this tradition, it is to be preſumed, an opinion pretty current among the *Chriſtians* took its riſe, that the *Mohammedans* are in expectation of their prophet's return.

17. A wind which ſhall ſweep away the ſouls of all who have but a grain of faith in their hearts, as has been mentioned under the tenth ſign.

The three blaſts of the laſt trumpet, and their effects.

Theſe are the greater ſigns, which, according to their doctrine, are to precede the reſurrection, but ſtill leave the hour of it uncertain: for the immediate ſign of its being come, will be the firſt blaſt of the trumpet; which they believe will be ſounded three times. The firſt they call the *blaſt of conſternation*; at the hearing of which all creatures in heaven and earth ſhall be ſtruck with terror, except thoſe whom GOD ſhall pleaſe to exempt from it. The effects attributed to this firſt ſound of the trumpet are very wonderful: for they ſay, the earth will be ſhaken and not only all buildings, but the very mountains levelled; that the heavens ſhall melt, the ſun be darkened, the ſtars fall, on the death of the angels, who, as ſome imagine, hold them ſuſpended between heaven and earth, and the ſea ſhall be troubled and dried up, or, according to others, turned into flames, the ſun, moon, and ſtars being thrown into it: the *Korân*, to expreſs the greatneſs of the terror of that day, adds that women who give ſuck ſhall abandon the care of their infants, and even the ſhe camels which

[1] See after, in this ſection. [2] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 531.

have

have gone ten months with young (a moſt valuable part of the ſubſtance of that nation) ſhall be utterly neglected. A farther effect of this blaſt will be that concourſe of beaſts mentioned in the *Korân* [1], tho' ſome doubt whether it be to precede the reſurrection or not. They who ſuppoſe it will precede, think that all kinds of animals forgetting their reſpective natural fierceneſs and timidity, will run together into one place, being terrified by the ſound of the trumpet and the ſudden ſhock of nature.

The *Mohammedans* believe that this firſt blaſt, will be followed by a ſecond, which they call the *blaſt of examination* [2]; when all creatures both in heaven and earth ſhall die or be annihilated, except thoſe which GOD ſhall pleaſe to exempt from the common fate [3]; and this, they ſay, ſhall happen in the twinkling of an eye, nay in an inſtant; nothing ſurviving except GOD alone, with paradiſe and hell, and the inhabitants of thoſe two places, and the throne of glory [4]. The laſt who ſhall die, will be the angel of death.

Forty years after this will be heard the *blaſt of reſurrection*, when the trumpet ſhall be ſounded the third time by *Iſrafîl*, who, together with *Gabriel* and *Michael*, will be previouſly reſtored to life, and ſtanding on the rock of the temple of *Jeruſalem* [5], ſhall at GOD's command, call together all the dry and rotten bones, and other diſperſed parts of the bodies, and the very hairs to judgment. This angel having, by the divine order, ſet the trumpet to his mouth, and called together all the ſouls from all parts, will throw them into his trumpet, from whence, on his giving the laſt ſound, at the command of GOD, they will fly forth like bees, and fill the whole ſpace between heaven and earth, and then repair to their reſpective bodies, which the opening earth will ſuffer to ariſe; and the firſt who ſhall ſo ariſe, according to a tradition of *Mohammed*, will be himſelf. For this birth the earth will be prepared by the rain above-mentioned, which is to fall continually for forty years [6], and will reſemble the ſeed of a man, and be ſupplied from the water under the throne of GOD, which is called *living water*; by the efficacy and virtue of which the dead bo-

[1] Chap. 81. [2] Several writers however make no diſtinction beeween this blaſt and the firſt, ſuppoſing the trumpet will ſound but twice. See the notes to *Kor.* chap. 39. [3] Kor. chap. 39. [4] To theſe ſome add the ſpirit who bears the waters on which the throne is placed, the *preſerved Table*, wherein the decrees of GOD are regiſtred, and the pen wherewith they are written; all which things the *Mohammedans* imagine were created before the world. [5] In this circumſtance the *Mohammedans* follow the *Jews*, who alſo agree that the trumpet will ſound more than once. V. R. Bechai in Biur hattorah, & Otioth ſhel R. Akiba. [6] Elſewhere (ſee before, p. 79.) this rain is ſaid to continue only forty days; but it rather ſeems that it is to fall during the whole interval between the ſecond and third blaſts.

dies ſhall ſpring forth from their graves, as they did in their mother's womb, or as corn ſprouts forth by common rain, till they become perfect; after which, breath will be breathed into them, and they will ſleep in their ſepulchres till they are raiſed to life at the laſt trump.

The length of the laſt day.

As to the length of the day of judgment, the *Korân* in one place tells us that it will laſt 1000 years [1], and in another 50000 [2]. To reconcile this apparent contradiction, the commentators uſe ſeveral ſhifts: ſome ſaying, they know not what meaſure of time GOD intends in thoſe paſſages; others, that theſe forms of ſpeaking are figurative and not to be ſtrictly taken, and were deſigned only to expreſs the terribleneſs of that day, it being uſual for the *Arabs* to deſcribe what they diſlike, as of long continuance, and what they like, as the contrary; and others ſuppoſe them ſpoken only in reference to the difficulty of the buſineſs of the day, which if GOD ſhould commit to any of his creatures, they would not be able to go thro' it in ſo many thouſand years; to omit ſome other opinions which we may take notice of elſewhere.

The circumſtances of the reſurrection.

Having ſaid ſo much in relation to the time of the reſurrection, let us now ſee who are to be raiſed from the dead, in what manner and form they ſhall be raiſed, in what place they ſhall be aſſembled, and to what end; according to the doctrine of the *Mohammedans*.

That the reſurrection will be general, and extend to all creatures, both angels, genii, men and animals, is the received opinion, which they ſupport by the authority of the *Korân*; tho' that paſſage which is produced to prove the reſurrection of brutes be otherwiſe interpreted by ſome [3].

The manner of their reſurrection will be very different. Thoſe who are deſtined to be partakers of eternal happineſs will ariſe in honour and ſecurity; and thoſe who are doomed to miſery, in diſgrace and under diſmal apprehenſions. As to mankind, they ſay, that they will be raiſed perfect in all their parts and members, and in the ſame ſtate as they came out of their mothers wombs, that is, barefooted, naked, and uncircumciſed; which circumſtances when *Mohammed* was telling his wife *Ayeſha*, ſhe, fearing the rules of modeſty might be thereby violated, objected that it would be very indecent for men and women to look upon one another in that condition; but he anſwered her, that the buſineſs of the day would be too weighty and ſerious to allow them the making uſe of that liberty. Others however alledge the authority of their prophet for a contrary opinion as

[1] Kor. chap. 32. [2] Ib. chap. 70. [3] See the notes to Kor. chap. 81. and the preceding page.

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to their nakedneſs, and pretend he aſſerted that the dead ſhould ariſe dreſſed in the ſame cloaths in which they died [1]; unleſs we interpret theſe words, as ſome do, not ſo much of the outward dreſs of the body, as the inward cloathing of the mind; and underſtand thereby that every perſon will riſe again in the ſame ſtate as to his faith or infidelity, his knowledge or ignorance, his good or bad works. *Mohammed* is alſo ſaid to have farther taught, by another tradition, that mankind ſhall be aſſembled at the laſt day, diſtinguiſhed into three claſſes. The firſt, of thoſe who go on foot; the ſecond, of thoſe who ride; and the third, of thoſe who creep groveling with their faces on the ground. The firſt claſs is to conſiſt of thoſe believers whoſe good works have been few; the ſecond of thoſe who are in greater honour with GOD, and more acceptable to him; whence *Ali* affirmed that the pious when they came forth from their ſepulchres, ſhall find ready prepared for them white winged camels, with ſaddles of gold; wherein are to be obſerved ſome footſteps of the doctrine of the ancient *Arabians* [2]; and the third claſs, they ſay, will be compoſed of the infidels, whom GOD ſhall cauſe to make their appearance with their faces on the earth, blind, dumb and deaf. But the ungodly will not be thus only diſtinguiſhed; for according to a tradition of the prophet, there will be ten ſorts of wicked men on whom GOD ſhall on that day fix certain diſcretory marks. The firſt will appear in the form of apes; theſe are the profeſſors of *Zendiciſm*: the ſecond in that of ſwine; theſe are they who have been greedy of filthy lucre, and enriched themſelves by public oppreſſion: the third will be brought with their heads reverſed, and their feet diſtorted; theſe are the uſurers: the fourth will wander about blind; theſe are unjuſt judges: the fifth will be deaf, dumb and blind, underſtanding nothing; theſe are they who glory in their own works: the ſixth will gnaw their tongues, which will hang down upon their breaſts, corrupted blood flowing from their mouths like ſpittle, ſo that every body ſhall deteſt them; theſe are the learned men and doctors, whoſe actions contradict their ſayings: the ſeventh will have their hands and feet cut off; theſe are they who have injured their neighbours: the eighth will be fixed to the trunks of palm-trees or ſtakes of wood; theſe are the falſe accuſers and informers: the ninth will ſtink worſe than a corrupted corps; theſe are they who have indulged their paſſions and

[1] In this alſo they follow their old guides, the *Jews*; who ſay that if the wheat which is ſown naked riſe cloathed, it is no wonder the pious who are buried in their cloaths ſhould riſe with them. Gemar. Sanhedr. fol. 90. [2] See before, Sect. I. p. 21.

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voluptuous appetites, but refuſed GOD ſuch part of their wealth as was due to him: the tenth will be cloathed with garments daubed with pitch; and theſe are the proud, the vain-glorious, and the arrogant.

Where the raiſed will be aſſembled.

As to the place where they are to be aſſembled to judgment, the *Korân* and the traditions of *Mohammed* agree that it will be on the earth, but in what part of the earth it is not agreed. Some ſay their prophet mentioned *Syria* for the place; others, a white and even tract of land, without inhabitants or any ſigns of buildings. *Al Ghazâli* imagines it will be a ſecond earth, which he ſuppoſes to be of ſilver; and others an earth which has nothing in common with ours, but the name; having, it is poſſible, heard ſomething of the new heavens and new earth mentioned in ſcripture: whence the *Korân* has this expreſſion, *on the day wherein the earth ſhall be changed into another earth* [1].

Of the day of Judgment.

The end of the reſurrection the *Mohammedans* declare to be, that they who are ſo raiſed may give an account of their actions, and receive the reward thereof. And they believe that not only mankind, but the genii and irrational animals alſo [2] ſhall be judged on this great day; when the unarmed cattle ſhall take vengeance on the horned, till entire ſatisfaction ſhall be given to the injured [3].

The previous attendance of thoſe who are to be judged.

As to mankind, they hold that when they are all aſſembled together, they will not be immediately brought to judgment, but the angels will keep them in their ranks and order while they attend for that purpoſe; and this attendance ſome ſay is to laſt forty years, others ſeventy, others 300, nay ſome ſay no leſs than 50,000 years, each of them vouching their prophet's authority. During this ſpace they will ſtand looking up to heaven, but without receiving any information or orders thence, and are to ſuffer grievous torments, both the juſt and the unjuſt, though with manifeſt difference. For the limbs of the former, particularly thoſe parts which they uſed to waſh in making the ceremonial ablution before prayer, ſhall ſhine glorioufly, and their ſufferings ſhall be light in compariſon, and ſhall laſt no longer than the time neceſſary to ſay the appointed prayers; but the latter will have their faces obſcured with blackneſs, and disfigured

[1] Chap. 14. [2] Kor. chap. 6. V. Maimonid. More Nev. part 3. c. 17. [3] This opinion the learned *Greaves* ſuppoſed to have taken its riſe from the following words of *Ezekiel*, wrongly underſtood; *And as for ye, O my flock, thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold I judge between cattle and cattle, between the rams and the he-goats.—Behold I even I will judge between the fat cattle, and between the lean cattle; becauſe ye have thruſt with ſide and with ſhoulder, and puſhed all the diſeaſed with your horns, till ye have ſcattered them abroad; therefore will I ſave my flock, and they ſhall no more be a prey, and I will judge between cattle and cattle*, &c. *Ezek.* xxxiv. 17, &c. 20, 21, 22. Much might be ſaid concerning brutes deſerving future reward and puniſhment. See *Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Rorarius, Rem. D.* &c.

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with all the marks of ſorrow and deformity. What will then occaſion not the leaſt of their pain, is a wonderful and incredible ſweat, which will even ſtop their mouths, and in which they will be immerſed in various degrees according to their demerits, ſome to the ancles only, ſome to the knees, ſome to the middle, ſome ſo high as their mouth, and others as their ears. And this ſweat, they ſay, will be provoked not only by that vaſt concourſe of all ſorts of creatures mutually preſſing and treading on one another's feet, but by the near and unuſual approach of the ſun, which will be then no farther from them than the diſtance of a mile, or (as ſome tranſlate the word the ſignification of which is ambiguous) than the length of a bodkin. So that their ſculls will boil like a pot [1], and they will be all bathed in ſweat. From this inconvenience however the good will be protected by the ſhade of GOD's throne; but the wicked will be ſo miſerably tormented with it, and alſo with hunger, and thirſt, and a ſtifling air, that they will cry out, *Lord, deliver us from this anguiſh, tho' thou ſend us into hell-fire* [2]. What they fable of the extraordinary heat of the ſun on this occaſion, the *Mohammedans* certainly borrowed from the *Jews*, who ſay that for the puniſhment of the wicked on the laſt day, that planet ſhall be drawn forth from its *ſheath*, in which it is now put up, leſt it ſhould deſtroy all things by its exceſſive heat [3].

The manner of their being judged.

When thoſe who have riſen ſhall have waited the limited time, the *Mohammedans* believe GOD will at length appear to judge them; *Mohammed* undertaking the office of interceſſor, after it ſhall have been declined by *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, and *Jeſus*, who ſhall beg deliverance only for their own ſouls. They ſay that on this ſolemn occaſion GOD will come in the clouds, ſurrounded by angels, and will produce the books wherein the actions of every perſon are recorded by their guardian angels [4], and will command the prophets to bear witneſs againſt thoſe to whom they have been reſpectively ſent. Then every one will be examined concerning all his words and actions, uttered and done by him in this life; not as if GOD needed any information in thoſe reſpects, but to oblige the perſon to make public confeſſion and acknowledgement of GOD's juſtice. The particulars of which they ſhall give an account, as *Mohammed* himſelf enumerated them, are; of their time, how they ſpent it; of their wealth, by what means they acquired it, and how they employed it; of their bodies, wherein they exerciſed them; of their knowledge and learning, what uſe they made of them. It is ſaid however that *Mo-*

[1] Al Ghazâli. [2] Idem. [3] V. Pocock, Not. in Port. Moſis, p. 277. [4] See before, p. 72.

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hammed has affirmed that no leſs than 70,000 of his followers ſhould be permitted to enter paradiſe without any previous examination; which ſeems to be contradictory to what is ſaid above. To the queſtions we have mentioned each perſon ſhall anſwer, and make his defence in the beſt manner he can, endeavouring to excuſe himſelf by caſting the blame of his evil deeds on others; ſo that a diſpute ſhall ariſe even between the ſoul and the body, to which of them their guilt ought to be imputed: the ſoul ſaying, *O Lord, my body I received from thee; for thou createdſt me without a hand to lay hold with, a foot to walk with, an eye to ſee with, or an underſtanding to apprehend with, till I came and entred into this body; therefore puniſh it eternally, but deliver me.* The body on the other ſide will make this apology, *O Lord, thou createdſt me like a ſtock of wood, having neither hand that I could lay hold with, nor foot that I could walk with, till this ſoul, like a ray of light, entered into me, and my tongue began to ſpeak, my eye to ſee, and my foot to walk; therefore puniſh it eternally, but deliver me.* But GOD will propound to them the following parable of the blind man and the lame man, which, as well as the preceding diſpute, was borrowed by the *Mohammedans* from the *Jews* [1]. A certain king having a pleaſant garden, in which were ripe fruits, ſet two perſons to keep it, one of whom was blind, and the other lame, the former not being able to ſee the fruit, nor the latter to gather it; the lame man however, ſeeing the fruit, perſuaded the blind man to take him upon his ſhoulders; and by that means he eaſily gathered the fruit, which they divided between them. The lord of the garden coming ſome time after, and inquiring after his fruit, each began to excuſe himſelf; the blind man ſaid he had no eyes to ſee with; and the lame man that he had no feet to approach the trees. But the king ordering the lame man to be ſet on the blind, paſſed ſentence on and puniſhed them both. And in the ſame manner will GOD deal with the body and the ſoul. As theſe apologies will not avail on that day, ſo will it alſo be in vain for any one to deny his evil actions, ſince men and angels and his own members, nay the very earth itſelf will be ready to bear witneſs againſt him.

Though the *Mohammedans* aſſign ſo long a ſpace for the attendance of the reſuſcitated before their trial, yet they tell us the trial itſelf will be over in much leſs time, and, according to an expreſſion of *Mohammed*, familiar enough to the *Arabs*, will laſt no longer than

[1] Gemara, Sanhedr. c. 11. R. Jos. Albo, Serm. IV. c. 33. See alſo Epiphan. in Ancorat. Sect. 89.

while

while one may milk an ewe, or than the ſpace between the two milkings of a ſhe camel [1]. Some, explaining thoſe words ſo frequently uſed in the *Korân*, GOD *will be ſwift in taking an account*, ſay that he will judge all creatures in the ſpace of half a day, and others that it will be done in leſs time than the twinkling of an eye [2].

At this examination they alſo believe that each perſon will have the book wherein all the actions of his life are written, delivered to him; which books the righteous will receive in their right hand, and read with great pleaſure and ſatisfaction; but the ungodly will be obliged to take them againſt their wills in their left [3], which will be bound behind their backs, their right hand being tied up to their necks [4].

Of the balance wherein their works will be weighed.

To ſhew the exact juſtice which will be obſerved on this great day of trial, the next thing they deſcribe is the *balance*, wherein all things ſhall be weighed. They ſay it will be held by *Gabriel*, and that it is of ſo vaſt a ſize, that its two ſcales, one of which hangs over paradiſe, and the other over hell, are capacious enough to contain both heaven and earth. Tho' ſome are willing to underſtand what is ſaid in the *Korân* concerning this balance, allegorically, and only as a figurative repreſentation of GOD's equity, yet the more ancient and orthodox opinion is that they are to be taken literally; and ſince words and actions, being mere accidents, are not capable of being themſelves weighed, they ſay that the books wherein they are written will be thrown into the ſcales, and according as thoſe wherein the good or the evil actions are recorded, ſhall preponderate, ſentence will be given; thoſe whoſe balances laden with their good works ſhall be heavy, will be ſaved, but thoſe whoſe balances are light, will be condemned [5]. Nor will any one have cauſe to complain that GOD ſuffers any good action to paſs unrewarded, becauſe the wicked for the good they do have their reward in this life, and therefore can expect no favour in the next.

The old *Jewiſh* writers make mention as well of the books to be produced at the laſt day, wherein mens actions are regiſtred [6], as of the balance wherein they ſhall be weighed [7]; and the ſcripture itſelf ſeems to have given the firſt notion of both [8]. But what the *Perſian Magi* believe of the balance comes neareſt to the *Mohammedan* opinion.

[1] The *Arabs* uſe, after they have drawn ſome milk from the camel, to wait a while, and let her young one ſuck a little, that ſhe may give down her milk more plentifully at the ſecond milking. [2] Pocock, Not. in Port. Moſis, p. 278—282. See alſo Kor. c. 2. p. 23. [3] Kor. c. 17, 18, 69, and 84. [4] Jallalo'ddin. [5] Kor. c. 23, 7, &c. [6] Midraſh, Yalkut Shemuni, f. 153. c. 3. [7] Gemar. Sanhedr. f. 91, &c. [8] Exod. xxxii. 32, 33. Dan. vii. 10. Revel. xx. 12, &c. and Dan. v. 27.

They hold that on the day of judgment two angels, named *Mihr* and *Soruſh*, will ſtand on the bridge we ſhall deſcribe by and by, to examine every perſon as he paſſes; that the former, who repreſents the divine mercy, will hold a balance in his hand, to weigh the actions of men; that according to the report he ſhall make thereof to GOD, ſentence will be pronounced, and thoſe whoſe good works are found more ponderous, if they turn the ſcale but by the weight of a hair, will be permitted to paſs forward to paradiſe; but thoſe whoſe good works ſhall be found light, will be by the other angel, who repreſents GOD's juſtice, precipitated from the bridge into hell [1].

Retaliation of injuries.

This examination being paſt, and every one's works weighed in a juſt balance, that mutual retaliation will follow, according to which every creature will take vengeance one of another, or have ſatisfaction made them for the injuries which they have ſuffered. And ſince there will then be no other way of returning like for like, the manner of giving this ſatisfaction will be, by taking away a proportionable part of the good works of him who offered the injury, and adding it to thoſe of him who ſuffered it. Which being done, if the angels (by whoſe miniſtry this is to be performed) ſay, *Lord we have given to every one his due; and their remaineth of this perſon's good works ſo much as equalleth the weight of an ant*, GOD will of his mercy cauſe it to be doubled unto him, that he may be admitted into paradiſe; but if on the contrary his good works be exhauſted, and there remain evil works only, and there be any who have not yet received ſatisfaction from him, GOD will order that an equal weight of their ſins be added unto his, that he may be puniſhed for them in their ſtead, and he will be ſent to hell loaden with both. This will be the method of GOD's dealing with mankind. As to brutes, after they ſhall have likewiſe taken vengeance of one another, as we have mentioned above, he will command them to be changed into duſt [2]; wicked men being reſerved to more grievous puniſhment: ſo that they ſhall cry out, on hearing this ſentence paſſed on the brutes, *Would to* GOD *that we were duſt alſo.* As to the genii, many *Mohammedans* are of opinion that ſuch of them as are true believers, will undergo the ſame fate as the irrational animals, and have no other reward than the favour of being converted into duſt; and for this they quote the authority of their prophet. But this however is judged not ſo very reaſonable, ſince the genii

[1] Hyde, de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 245, 401, &c. [2] Yet they ſay the dog of the ſeven ſleepers, and *Ezra*'s aſs, which was raiſed to life, will, by peculiar favour, be admitted into paradiſe. See Kor. c. 18, and c. 3. p. 31.

being

being capable of putting themſelves in the ſtate of believers as well as men, muſt conſequently deſerve, as it ſeems, to be rewarded for their faith, as well as to be puniſhed for their infidelity. Wherefore ſome entertain a more favourable opinion, and aſſign the believing genii a place near the confines of paradiſe, where they will enjoy ſufficient felicity, tho' they be not admitted into that delightful manſion. But the unbelieving genii, it is univerſally agreed, will be puniſhed eternally, and be thrown into hell with the infidels of mortal race. It may not be improper to obſerve, that under the denomination of unbelieving genii, the *Mohammedans* comprehend alſo the devil and his companions [1].

Of the bridge *al Sirât.*

The trials being over and the aſſembly diſſolved, the *Mohammedans* hold, that thoſe who are to be admitted into paradiſe will take the right hand way, and thoſe who are deſtined to hell fire will take the left, but both of them muſt firſt paſs the bridge, called in *Arabic*, *al Sirât*, which they ſay is laid over the midſt of hell, and deſcribe to be finer than a hair, and ſharper than the edge of a ſword; ſo that it ſeems very difficult to conceive how any one ſhall be able to ſtand upon it: for which reaſon moſt of the ſect of the *Motázalites* reject it as a fable, tho' the orthodox think it a ſufficient proof of the truth of this article, that it was ſeriouſly affirmed by him who never aſſerted a falſhood, meaning their prophet; who to add to the difficulty of the paſſage has likewiſe declared that this bridge is beſet on each ſide with briars and hooked thorns; which will however be no impediment to the good, for they ſhall paſs with wonderful eaſe and ſwiftneſs, like lightning, or the wind, *Mohammed* and his *Moſlems* leading the way; whereas the wicked, what with the ſlipperineſs and extreme narrowneſs of the path, the intangling of the thorns, and the extinction of the light which directed the former to paradiſe, will ſoon miſs their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath them [2].

This circumſtance *Mohammed* ſeems alſo to have borrowed from the *Magians*, who teach that on the laſt day all mankind will be obliged to paſs a bridge which they call *Pûl Chînavad*, or *Chînavar*, that is, *the ſtrait bridge*, leading directly into the other world; on the midſt of which they ſuppoſe the angels, appointed by GOD to perform that office, will ſtand, who will require of every one a ſtrict account of his actions, and weigh them in the manner we have already mentioned [3]. It is true the *Jews* ſpeak likewiſe of the bridge

[1] V. Korân, c. 18. [2] Pocock, ubi ſup. p. 282-289. [3] Hyde, de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 245, 402, &c.

of hell, which they ſay is no broader than a thread; but then they do not tell us that any ſhall be obliged to paſs it, except the idolaters, who will fall thence into perdition [1].

The *Mohammedan* notions of hell, and its torments.

As to the puniſhment of the wicked, the *Mohammedans* are taught that hell is divided into ſeven ſtories, or apartments, one below another, deſigned for the reception of as many diſtinct claſſes of the damned [2]. The firſt which they call *Jehennam*, they ſay, will be the receptacle of thoſe who acknowledged one GOD, that is, the wicked *Mohammedans*, who after having there been puniſhed according to their demerits, will at length be releaſed. The ſecond, named *Ladhâ*, they aſſign to the *Jews*; the third, named *al Hotama*, to the *Chriſtians*; the fourth, named *al Säîr*, to the *Sabians*; the fifth, named *Sakar*, to the *Magians*; the ſixth, named *al Jahîm*, to the idolaters; and the ſeventh which is the loweſt and worſt of all, and is called *al Hâwiyat*, to the hypocrites, or thoſe who outwardly profeſſed ſome religion, but in their hearts were of none [3]. Over each of theſe apartments they believe there will be ſet a guard of angels [4], nineteen in number [5]; to whom the damned will confeſs the juſt judgment of GOD, and beg them to intercede with him for ſome alleviation of their pain, or that they may be delivered by being annihilated [6].

Mohammed has, in his *Koran* and traditions, been very exact in deſcribing the various torments of hell, which, according to him, the wicked will ſuffer both from intenſe heat and exceſſive cold. We ſhall however enter into no detail of them here, but only obſerve that the degrees of theſe pains will alſo vary, in proportion to the crimes of the ſufferer, and the apartment he is condemned to; and that he who is puniſhed the moſt lightly of all will be ſhod with ſhoes of fire, the fervor of which will cauſe his ſkull to boil like a cauldron. The condition of theſe unhappy wretches, as the ſame prophet teaches, cannot be properly called either life or death; and their miſery will be greatly encreaſed by their deſpair of being ever delivered from that place, ſince, according to that frequent expreſſion in the *Korân*, *they muſt remain therein for ever*. It muſt be remarked, however, that the infidels alone

[1] Midraſh, Yalkut Reubeni, §. Gehinnom. [2] Kor. c. 15. [3] Others fill theſe apartments with different company. Some place in the ſecond, the idolaters; in the third, *Gog* and *Magog*, &c. in the fourth, the devils; in the fifth, thoſe who neglect alms and prayers; and crowd the *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Magians* together in the ſixth. Some again will have the firſt to be prepared for the *Dahrians*, or thoſe who deny the creation, and believe the eternity of the world; the ſecond, for the *Dualiſts*, or *Manichees*, and the idolatrous *Arabs*; the third, for the *Bramins* of the *Indies*; the fourth, for the *Jews*; the fifth, for the *Chriſtians*; and the ſixth, for the *Magians*. But all agree in aſſigning the ſeventh to the hypocrites. V. Millium, de Mohammediſmo ante Moham. p. 412. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 368, &c. [4] Kor. chap. 40, 43, 74, &c. [5] Ib. c. 74. [6] Ib. c. 40, 43.

will

will be liable to eternity of damnation, for the *Moſlems*, or thoſe who have embraced the true religion, and have been guilty of heinous ſins, will be delivered thence after they ſhall have expiated their crimes by their ſufferings. The contrary of either of theſe opinions is reckoned heretical; for it is the conſtant orthodox doctrine of the *Mohammedans* that no unbeliever or idolater will ever be releaſed, nor any perſon who in his life-time profeſſed and believed the unity of GOD, be condemned to eternal puniſhment. As to the time and manner of the deliverance of thoſe believers whoſe evil actions ſhall outweigh their good, there is a tradition of *Mohammed* that they ſhall be releaſed after they ſhall have been ſcorched and their ſkins burnt black, and ſhall afterwards be admitted into paradiſe; and when the inhabitants of that place ſhall, in contempt, call them *infernals*, GOD will, on their prayers, take from them that opprobrious appellation. Others ſay he taught that while they continue in hell, they ſhall be deprived of life, or (as his words are otherwiſe interpreted) be caſt into a moſt profound ſleep, that they may be the leſs ſenſible of their torments; and that they ſhall afterwards be received into paradiſe, and there revive on their being waſhed with the *water of life*; tho' ſome ſuppoſe they will be reſtored to life before they come forth from their place of puniſhment, that at their bidding farewell to their pains, they may have ſome little taſt of them. The time which theſe believers ſhall be detained there, according to a tradition handed down from their prophet, will not be leſs than 900 years, nor more than 7000. And as to the manner of their delivery, they ſay that they ſhall be diſtinguiſhed by the marks of proſtration on thoſe parts of their bodies with which they uſed to touch the ground in prayer, and over which the fire will therefore have no power; and that being known by this characteriſtic, they will be releaſed by the mercy of GOD, at the interceſſion of *Mohammed* and the bleſſed; whereupon thoſe who ſhall have been dead, will be reſtored to life, as has been ſaid; and thoſe whoſe bodies ſhall have contracted any ſootineſs or filth from the flames and ſmoke of hell, will be immerſed in one of the rivers of paradiſe, called the *river of life*, which will waſh them whiter than pearls [1].

For moſt of theſe circumſtances relating to hell and the ſtate of the damned, *Mohammed* was likewiſe in all probability indebted to the *Jews*, and in part to the *Magians*; both of whom agree in making ſeven diſtinct apartments in hell [2], tho' they vary in other parti-

[1] Poc. Not. in Port. Moſis, p. 289—291. [2] Niſhmat hayim, f. 32. Gemar. in Arubin, f. 19. Zohar. ad Exod. xxvi. 2, &c. & Hyde, de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 245.

culars,

culars. The former place an angel as a guard over each of theſe infernal apartments, and ſuppoſe he will intercede for the miſerable wretches there impriſoned, who will openly acknowledge the juſtice of GOD in their condemnation [1]. They alſo teach that the wicked will ſuffer a diverſity of puniſhments, and that by intolerable cold [2] as well as heat, and that their faces ſhall become black [3]; and believe thoſe of their own religion ſhall alſo be puniſhed in hell hereafter, according to their crimes, (for they hold that few or none will be found ſo exactly righteous as to deſerve no puniſhment at all) but will ſoon be delivered thence, when they ſhall be ſufficiently purged from their ſins, by their father *Abraham*, or at the interceſſion of him or ſome other of the prophets [4]. The *Magians* allow but one angel to preſide over all the ſeven hells, who is named by them *Vânând Yezâd*, and, as they teach, aſſigns puniſhments proportionate to each perſon's crimes, reſtraining alſo the tyranny and exceſſive cruelty of the devil, who would, if left to himſelf, torment the damned beyond their ſentence [5]. Thoſe of this religion do alſo mention and deſcribe various kinds of torments, wherewith the wicked will be puniſhed in the next life; among which tho' they reckon extream cold to be one, yet they do not admit fire, out of reſpect, as it ſeems, to that element, which they take to be the repreſentation of the divine nature; and therefore they rather chuſe to deſcribe the damned ſouls as ſuffering by other kinds of puniſhments: ſuch as an intolerable ſtink, the ſtinging and biting of ſerpents and wild beaſts, the cutting and tearing of the fleſh by the devils, exceſſive hunger and thirſt, and the like [6].

Of the wall between paradiſe and hell.

Before we proceed to a deſcription of the *Mohammedan* paradiſe, we muſt not forget to ſay ſomething of the wall or partition which they imagine to be between that place and hell, and ſeems to be copied from the great gulph of ſeparation mentioned in ſcripture [7]. They call it *al Orf*, and more frequently in the plural, *al Arâf*, a word derived from the verb *arafa*, which ſignifies to *diſtinguiſh* between things, or to *part* them; tho' ſome commentators give another reaſon for the impoſition of this name, becauſe, ſay they, thoſe who ſtand on this partition, will *know* and *diſtinguiſh* the bleſſed from the damned, by their reſpective marks or characteriſtics [8]: and others ſay the word properly intends any thing that is *high raiſed* or *elevated*, as ſuch a wall of ſeparation muſt be ſuppoſed to be [9]. The *Mohammedan* writers great-

[1] Midraſh, Yalkut Shemuni, part. 11. f. 116. [2] Zohar, ad Exod. xix. [3] Yalkut Shemuni, ubi ſup. f. 86. [4] Niſhmat hayim, f. 82. Gemar. Arubin, f. 19. V. Kor. c. 2. p. 11. and 3. p. 37, and notes there. [5] Hyde, de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 182. [6] V. Eundem, ib. p. 399, &c. [7] Luke xvi. 26. [8] Jallalo'ddin. V. Kor. c. 7. [9] Al Beidâwi.

ly

ly differ as to the perſons who are to be found on *al Arâf*. Some imagine it to be a ſort of *limbo*, for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and thoſe who have been moſt eminent for ſanctity, among whom they ſay there will be alſo angels in the form of men. Others place here ſuch whoſe good and evil works are ſo equal that they exactly counterpoiſe each other, and therefore deſerve neither reward nor puniſhment; and theſe they ſay, will on the laſt day be admitted into paradiſe, after they ſhall have performed an act of adoration, which will be imputed to them as a merit, and will make the ſcale of their good works to overbalance Others ſuppoſe this intermediate ſpace will be a receptacle for thoſe who have gone to war, without their parents leave, and therein ſuffered martyrdom; being excluded paradiſe for their diſobedience, and eſcaping hell becauſe they are martyrs. The breadth of this partition wall cannot be ſuppoſed to be exceeding great, ſince not only thoſe who ſhall ſtand thereon will hold conference with the inhabitants both of paradiſe and of hell, but the bleſſed and the damned themſelves will alſo be able to talk to one another [1].

If *Mohammed* did not take his notions of the partition we have been deſcribing, from ſcripture, he muſt at leaſt have borrowed it at ſecond-hand from the *Jews*, who mention a thin wall dividing paradiſe from hell [2].

Of *Mohammed*'s pond.

The righteous, as the *Mohammedans* are taught to believe, having ſurmounted the difficulties, and paſſed the ſharp bridge above-mentioned, before they enter paradiſe will be refreſhed by drinking at the *pond* of their prophet, who deſcribes it to be an exact ſquare of a month's journey in compaſs, its water, which is ſupplied by two pipes from *al Cawthar*, one of the rivers of paradiſe, being whiter than milk or ſilver, and more odoriferous than muſk, with as many cups ſet around it as there are ſtars in the firmament; of which water whoever drinks will thirſt no more for ever [3]. This is the firſt taſte which the bleſſed will have of their future and now near approaching felicity.

Of paradiſe.

Tho' paradiſe be ſo very frequently mentioned in the *Korân*, yet it is a diſpute among the *Mohammedans* whether it be already created, or be to be created hereafter; the *Motazalites* and ſome other ſectaries aſſerting that there is not at preſent any ſuch place in nature, and that the paradiſe which the righteous will inhabit in the next life, will be different from that from which *Adam* was expelled. However the orthodox profeſs the contrary, maintaining that it was created even

[1] Korân, ubi ſup. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 121, &c. [2] Midraſh, Yalkut Sioni. f. 11.
[3] Al Ghazâli.

before

before the world, and deſcribe it, from their prophet's traditions, in the following manner.

They ſay it is ſituate above the ſeven heavens (or in the ſeventh heaven) and next under the throne of GOD; and to expreſs the amenity of the place tell us that the earth of it is of the fineſt wheat flower, or of the pureſt muſk, or, as others will have it, of ſaffron; that its ſtones are pearls and jacinths, the walls of its buildings inriched with gold and ſilver, and that the trunks of all its trees are of gold; among which the moſt remarkable is the tree called *Tûba*, or the tree of *happineſs*. Concerning this tree they fable that it ſtands in the palace of *Mohammed*, tho' a branch of it will reach to the houſe of every true believer [1]; that it will be loaden with pomegranates, grapes, dates, and other fruits of ſurprizing bigneſs, and of taſtes unknown to mortals. So that if a man deſire to eat of any particular kind of fruit, it will immediately be preſented him, or if he chuſe fleſh, birds ready dreſt will be ſet before him, according to his wiſh. They add, that the boughs of this tree will ſpontaneouſly bend down to the hand of the perſon who would gather of its fruits, and that it will ſupply the bleſſed not only with food, but alſo with ſilken garments, and beaſts to ride on ready ſaddled and bridled, and adorned with rich trappings, which will burſt forth from its fruits; and that this tree is ſo large, that a perſon mounted on the fleeteſt horſe, would not be able to gallop from one end of its ſhade to the other in a hundred years [2].

As plenty of water is one of the greateſt additions to the pleaſantneſs of any place, the *Korân* often ſpeaks of the rivers of paradiſe as a principal ornament thereof: ſome of theſe rivers, they ſay, flow with water, ſome with milk, ſome with wine, and others with honey; all taking their riſe from the root of the tree *Tûba*; two of which rivers, named *al Cawthar* and the *river of life*, we have already mentioned. And leſt theſe ſhould not be ſufficient, we are told this garden is alſo watered by a great number of leſſer ſprings and fountains, whoſe pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth of camphire, their beds of muſk, and their ſides of ſaffron; the moſt remarkable among them being *Salſabîl* and *Tanſîm*.

But all theſe glories will be eclipſed by the reſplendent and raviſhing girls of paradiſe, called, from their large black eyes, *Hûr al oyûn*, the enjoyment of whoſe company will be a principal felicity of the faithful. Theſe, they ſay, are created, not of clay, as mortal

[1] Yahya, in Kor. c. 13. [2] Jallal'oddin. ib.

women

women are, but of pure muſk; being, as their prophet often affirms in his *Korân*, free from all natural impurities, defects, and inconveniences incident to the ſex, of the ſtricteſt modeſty, and ſecluded from public view in pavilions of hollow pearls, ſo large, that, as ſome traditions have it, one of them will be no leſs than four paraſangs (or, as others ſay, ſixty miles) long, and as many broad.

The name which the *Mohammedans* uſually give to this happy manſion, is *al Jannat*, or *the garden*; and ſometimes they call it, with an addition, *Jannat al Ferdaws*, *the garden of paradiſe*, *Jannat Aden*, *the garden of* Eden, (tho' they generally interpret the word *Eden*, not according to its acceptation in *Hebrew*, but according to its meaning in their own tongue, wherein it ſignifies a *ſettled* or *perpetual habitation*) *Jannat al Máwa*, *the garden of abode*, *Jannat al Naïm*, *the garden of pleaſure*, and the like; by which ſeveral appellations ſome underſtand ſo many different gardens, or at leaſt places of different degrees of felicity, (for they reckon no leſs than an hundred ſuch in all) the very meaneſt whereof will afford its inhabitants ſo many pleaſures and delights, that one would conclude they muſt even ſink under them, had not *Mohammed* declared, that in order to qualify the bleſſed for a full enjoyment of them, GOD will give to every one the abilities of an hundred men.

We have already deſcribed *Mohammed*'s pond, whereof the righteous are to drink before their admiſſion into this delicious ſeat; beſides which ſome authors[1] mention two fountains, ſpringing from under a certain tree near the gate of paradiſe, and ſay, that the bleſſed will alſo drink of one of them, to purge their bodies and carry off all excrementitious dregs, and will waſh themſelves in the other. When they are arrived at the gate itſelf, each perſon will there be met and ſaluted by the beautiful youths appointed to ſerve and wait upon him, one of them running before, to carry the news of his arrival to the wives deſtined for him; and alſo by two angels, bearing the preſents ſent him by GOD, one of whom will inveſt him with a garment of paradiſe, and the other will put a ring on each of his fingers, with inſcriptions on them alluding to the happineſs of his condition. By which of the eight gates (for ſo many they ſuppoſe paradiſe to have) they are reſpectively to enter, is not worth enquiry; but it muſt be obſerved that *Mohammed* has declared that no perſon's good works will gain him admittance, and that even himſelf ſhall be ſaved, not by his merits, but merely by the mercy of GOD. It is, however the

[1] Al Ghazâli, Kenz al Aſrâr.

conſtant doctrine of the *Korân*, that the felicity of each perſon will be proportioned to his deſerts, and that there will be abodes of different degrees of happineſs; the moſt eminent degree being reſerved for the prophets, the ſecond for the doctors and teachers of GOD's worſhip, the next for the martyrs, and the lower for the reſt of the righteous, according to their ſeveral merits. There will alſo ſome diſtinction be made in reſpect to the time of their admiſſion; *Mohammed* (to whom, if you will believe him, the gates will firſt be opened) having affirmed, that the poor will enter paradiſe five hundred years before the rich: nor is this the only privilege which they will enjoy in the next life; ſince the ſame prophet has alſo declared, that when he took a view of paradiſe, he ſaw the majority of its inhabitants to be the poor, and when he looked down into hell, he ſaw the greater part of the wretches confined there, to be women.

For the firſt entertainment of the bleſſed on their admiſſion, they fable, that the whole earth will then be as one loaf of bread, which GOD will reach to them with his hand, holding it like a cake; and that for meat they will have the ox *Balâm*, and the fiſh *Nûn*, the lobes of whoſe livers will ſuffice ſeventy thouſand men, being, as ſome imagine, to be ſet before the principal gueſts, *viz.* thoſe who, to that number, will be admitted into paradiſe without examination [1]; tho' others ſuppoſe that a definite number is here put for an indefinite, and that nothing more is meant thereby, than to expreſs a great multitude of people.

From this feaſt every one will be diſmiſſed to the manſion deſigned for him, where (as has been ſaid) he will enjoy ſuch a ſhare of felicity as will be proportioned to his merits, but vaſtly exceed comprehenſion or expectation; ſince the very meaneſt in paradiſe, (as he who, it is pretended, muſt know beſt, has declared) will have eighty thouſand ſervants, ſeventy two wives of the girls of paradiſe, beſides the wives he had in this world, and a tent erected for him of pearls, jacinths, and emeralds, of a very large extent; and, according to another tradition, will be waited on by three hundred attendants while he eats, will be ſerved in diſhes of gold, whereof three hundred ſhall be ſet before him at once, containing each a different kind of food, the laſt morſel of which will be as grateful as the firſt; and will alſo be ſupplied with as many ſorts of liquors in veſſels of the ſame metal: and, to complete the entertainment, there will be no want of wine, which tho' forbidden in this life, will yet be freely allowed to be drank in the next, and with-

[1] See before, p. 88.

out

out danger, ſince the wine of paradiſe will not inebriate, as that we drink here. The flavour of this wine we may conceive to be delicious without a deſcription, ſince the water of *Tanſim* and the other fountains which will be uſed to dilute it, is ſaid to be wonderfully ſweet and fragrant. If any object to theſe pleaſures, as an impudent *Jew* did to *Mohammed*, that ſo much eating and drinking muſt neceſſarily require proper evacuations, we anſwer, as the prophet did, that the inhabitants of paradiſe will not need to eaſe themſelves, nor even to blow their noſe, for that all ſuperfluities will be diſcharged and carried off by perſpiration, or a ſweat as odoriferous as muſk, after which their appetite ſhall return afreſh.

The magnificence of the garments and furniture promiſed by the *Korân* to the godly in the next life, is anſwerable to the delicacy of their diet. For they are to be cloathed in the richeſt ſilks and brocades, chiefly of green, which will burſt forth from the fruits of paradiſe, and will be alſo ſupplied by the leaves of the tree *Tûba*; they will be adorned with bracelets of gold and ſilver, and crowns ſet with pearls of incomparable luſtre; and will make uſe of ſilken carpets, litters of a prodigious ſize, couches, pillows, and other rich furniture embroidered with gold and precious ſtones.

That we may the more readily believe what has been mentioned of the extraordinary abilities of the inhabitants of paradiſe to taſte theſe pleaſures in their height, it is ſaid they will enjoy a perpetual youth; that in whatever age they happen to die, they will be raiſed in their prime and vigour, that is, of about thirty years of age, which age they will never exceed, (and the ſame they ſay of the damned) and that when they enter paradiſe they will be of the ſame ſtature with *Adam*, who, as they fable, was no leſs than ſixty cubits high. And to this age and ſtature their children, if they ſhall deſire any, (for otherwiſe their wives will not conceive) ſhall immediately attain; according to that ſaying of their prophet, *If any of the faithful in paradiſe be deſirous of iſſue, it ſhall be conceived, born, and grown up within the ſpace of an hour.* And in the ſame manner, if any one ſhall have a fancy to employ himſelf in agriculture, (which ruſtic pleaſure may ſuit the wanton fancy of ſome) what he ſhall ſow will ſpring up and come to maturity in a moment.

Leſt any of the ſenſes ſhould want their proper delight, we are told the ear will there be entertained, not only with the raviſhing ſongs of the angel *Iſrafil*, who has the moſt melodious voice of all GOD's creatures, and of the daughters of paradiſe; but even the trees themſelves will celebrate the divine praiſes with a harmony ex-

ceeding whatever mortals have heard; to which will be joined the ſound of the bells hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of GOD, ſo often as the bleſſed wiſh for muſic: nay, the very claſhing of the golden-bodied trees, whoſe fruits are pearls and emeralds, will ſurpaſs humane imagination; ſo that the pleaſures of this ſenſe will not be the leaſt of the enjoyments of paradiſe.

The delights we have hitherto taken a view of, it is ſaid, will be common to all the inhabitants of paradiſe, even thoſe of the loweſt order. What then, think we, muſt they enjoy who ſhall obtain a ſuperior degree of honour and felicity? To theſe, they ſay, there are prepared, beſides all this, *ſuch things as eye hath not ſeen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entred into the heart of man to conceive*; an expreſſion moſt certainly borrowed from ſcripture [1]. That we may know wherein the felicity of thoſe who ſhall attain the higheſt degree will conſiſt, *Mohammed* is reported to have ſaid, that the meaneſt of the inhabitants of paradiſe will ſee his gardens, wives, ſervants, furniture, and other poſſeſſions take up the ſpace of a thouſand years journey (for ſo far and farther will the bleſſed ſee in the next life); but that he will be in the higheſt honour with GOD, who ſhall behold his face morning and evening: and this favour *al Ghazâli* ſuppoſes to be that *additional* or *ſuperabundant recompenſe*, promiſed in the *Korân* [2], which will give ſuch exquiſite delight, that in reſpect thereof all the other pleaſures of paradiſe will be forgotten and lightly eſteemed; and not without reaſon, ſince, as the ſame author ſays, every other enjoyment is equally taſted by the very brute beaſt who is turned looſe into luxuriant paſture [3]. The reader will obſerve, by the way, that this is a full confutation of thoſe who pretend the *Mohammedans* admit of no ſpiritual pleaſure in the next life, but make the happineſs of the bleſſed to conſiſt wholly in corporeal enjoyments [4].

Whence *Mohammed* took the greateſt part of his paradiſe, it is eaſy to ſhew. The *Jews* conſtantly deſcribe the future manſion of the juſt as a delicious garden, and make it alſo reach to the ſeventh heaven [5]; They alſo ſay it has three gates [6], or, as others will have it, two [7], and four rivers, (which laſt circumſtance they copied, to be ſure, from thoſe of the garden of *Eden* [8]) flowing with milk, wine, balſam,

[1] Iſaiah, lxiv. 4. 1 Corinth. ii. 9. [2] Chap. 10, *&c.* [3] V. Poc. in not. ad Port. Moſis, p. 305. [4] V. Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 2. §. 17. [5] V. Gemar. Tánith, f. 25. Beracoth, f. 34. & Midraſh rabboth, f. 37. [6] Megillah, Amkoth, p. 78. [7] Midraſh, Yalkut Shemuni. [8] Geneſ. ii. 10, &c.

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and honey [1]. Their *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*, which they pretend will be ſlain for the entertainment of the bleſſed [2], are ſo apparently the *Balâm* and *Nûn* of *Mohammed*, that his followers themſelves confeſs he is obliged to them for both [3]. The *Rabbins* likewiſe mention ſeven different degrees of felicity [4], and ſay that the higheſt will be of thoſe who perpetually contemplate the face of GOD [5]. The *Perſian Magi* had alſo an idea of the future happy eſtate of the good, very little different from that of *Mohammed*. Paradiſe they call *Behiſht*, and *Mînu*, which ſignifies *cryſtal*, where they believe the righteous ſhall enjoy all manner of delights, and particularly the company of the *Hurâni behiſht*, or *black-eyed nymphs of paradiſe* [6], the care of whom they ſay is committed to the angel *Zamiyâd* [7]; and hence *Mohammed* ſeems to have taken the firſt hint of his paradiſiacal ladies.

It is not improbable, however, but that he might have been obliged, in ſome reſpect, to the *Chriſtian* accounts of the felicity of the good in the next life. As it is ſcarce poſſible to convey, eſpecially to the apprehenſions of the generality of mankind, an idea of ſpiritual pleaſures without introducing ſenſible objects, the ſcriptures have been obliged to repreſent the celeſtial enjoyments by corporeal images; and to deſcribe the manſion of the bleſſed as a glorious and magnificent city, built of gold and precious ſtones, with twelve gates; through the ſtreets of which there runs a river of water of life, and having on either ſide the tree of life, which bears twelve ſorts of fruits, and leaves of a healing virtue [8]. Our Saviour likewiſe ſpeaks of the future ſtate of the bleſſed as of a kingdom, where they ſhall eat and drink at his table [9]. But then theſe deſcriptions have none of thoſe puerile imaginations [10] which reign throughout that of *Mohammed*, much leſs any the moſt diſtant intimation of ſenſual delights, which he was ſo fond of; on the contrary, we are expreſly aſſured, that *in the reſurrection they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be as the angels of* GOD *in heaven* [11]. *Mohammed*, however,

[1] Midraſh, Yalk. Shem. [2] Gemar. Bava Bathra. f. 78. Raſhi, in Job i. [3] V. Poc. not. in Port. Moſis, p. 298. [4] Niſhmat hayim, f. 32. [5] Midraſh, Tehillim, f. 11. [6] Sadder, porta 5. [7] Hyde, de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 265. [8] Revel. xxi. 10, *&c.* and xxii. 1, 2. [9] Luke, xxii. 29, 30, *&c.* [10] I would not, however, undertake to defend all the *Chriſtian* writers in this particular; witneſs that one paſſage of *Irenæus*, wherein he introduces a tradition of St. *John*, that our Lord ſhould ſay, *The days ſhall come, in which there ſhall be vines, which ſhall have each ten thouſand branches, and every of thoſe branches ſhall have ten thouſand leſſer branches, and every of theſe branches ſhall have ten thouſand twigs, and every one of theſe twigs ſhall have ten thouſand cluſters of grapes, and in every one of theſe cluſters there ſhall be ten thouſand grapes, and every one of theſe grapes being preſſed ſhall yield two hundred and ſeventy five gallons of wine; and when a man ſhall take hold of one of theſe ſacred bunches, another bunch ſhall cry out, I am a better bunch, take me, and bleſs the Lord by me*, &c. Iren. l. 5. c. 33. [11] Matth. xxii. 30.

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to enhance the value of paradiſe with his *Arabians*, choſe rather to imitate the indecency of the *Magians*, than the modeſty of the *Chriſtians* in this particular, and leſt his beatified *Moſlems* ſhould complain that any thing was wanting, beſtows on them wives, as well as the other comforts of life; judging, it is to be preſumed, from his own inclinations, that like *Panurgus*'s aſs [1], they would think all other enjoyments not worth their acceptance if they were to be debarred from this.

Had *Mohammed*, after all, intimated to his followers, that what he had told them of paradiſe was to be taken, not literally, but in a metaphorical ſenſe, (as it is ſaid the *Magians* do the deſcription of *Zoroaſtres* [2]) this might, perhaps, make ſome atonement; but the contrary is ſo evident from the whole tenor of the *Korân*, that altho' ſome *Mohammedans*, whoſe underſtandings are too refined to admit ſuch groſs conceptions, look on their prophet's deſcriptions as parabolical, and are willing to receive them in an allegorical or ſpiritual acceptation [3], yet the general and orthodox doctrine is, that the whole is to be ſtrictly believed in the obvious and literal acceptation; to prove which I need only urge the oath they exact from *Chriſtians* (who they know abhor ſuch fancies) when they would bind them in the moſt ſtrong and ſacred manner; for in ſuch a caſe they make them ſwear that if they falſify their engagement, they will affirm that there will be black-eyed girls in the next world, and corporeal pleaſures [4].

Whether women are excluded paradiſe.

Before we quit this ſubject, it may not be improper to obſerve the falſehood of a vulgar imputation on the *Mohammedans*, who are by ſeveral writers [5] reported to hold that women have no ſouls, or, if they have, that they will periſh, like thoſe of brute beaſts, and will not be rewarded in the next life. But whatever may be the opinion of ſome ignorant people among them, it is certain that *Mohammed* had too great a reſpect for the fair ſex to teach ſuch a doctrine; and there are ſeveral paſſages in the *Korân* which affirm that women, in the next life, will not only be puniſhed for their evil actions, but will alſo receive the rewards of their good deeds, as well as the men, and that in this caſe GOD will make no diſtinction of ſexes [6]. It is true,

[1] V. Rabelais, Pantagr. l. 5. c. 7. A better authority than this might however be alledged in favour of *Mohammed*'s judgment in this reſpect; I mean that of *Plato*, who is ſaid to have propoſed, in his ideal common-wealth, as the reward of valiant men and conſummate ſoldiers, the kiſſes of boys and beauteous damſels. V. Gell. Noct. Att. l. 18. c. 2. [2] V. Hyde, de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 266. [3] V. Eund. in not ad Bobov. Lit. Turcar. p. 21. [4] Poc. ad port. Moſ. p. 305. [5] Hornbek, Sum. Contr. p. 16. Grelot, Voyage de Conſtant. p. 275. *Ricaut*'s Preſent ſtate of the *Ottoman* empire, l. 2. c. 21. [6] See *Kor*. c. 3. p. 58. c. 4. p. 76. And alſo c. 13, 16, 40, 48, 57, *&c.* V. etiam Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 2. §. 18. & Hyde, in not. ad Bobov. de Viſit. ægr. p. 21.

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the general notion is, that they will not be admitted into the ſame abode as the men are, becauſe their places will be ſupplied by the paradiſiacal females, (tho' ſome allow that a man will there alſo have the company of thoſe who were his wives in this world, or at leaſt ſuch of them as he ſhall deſire [1];) but that good women will go into a ſeparate place of happineſs, where they will enjoy all ſorts of delights [2]; but whether one of thoſe delights will be the enjoyment of agreeable paramours created for them, to compleat the œconomy of the *Mohammedan* ſyſtem, is what I have no where found decided. One circumſtance relating to theſe beatified females, conformable to what he had aſſerted of the men, he acquainted his followers with in the anſwer he returned to an old woman; who deſiring him to intercede with GOD, that ſhe might be admitted into paradiſe, he told her that no old woman would enter that place; which ſetting the poor woman a crying, he explained himſelf by ſaying, that GOD would then make her young again [3].

Of GOD's abſolute decree.

The ſixth great point of faith, which the *Mohammedans* are taught by the *Korân* to believe, is GOD's abſolute decree, and predeſtination both of good and evil. For the orthodox doctrine is, that whatever hath or ſhall come to paſs in this world, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, proceedeth entirely from the divine will, and is irrevocably fixed and recorded from all eternity in the *preſerved table* [4]; GOD having ſecretly predetermined not only the adverſe and proſperous fortune of every perſon in this world, in the moſt minute particulars, but alſo his faith or infidelity, his obedience or diſobedience, and conſequently his everlaſting happineſs or miſery after death; which fate or predeſtination it is not poſſible, by any foreſight or wiſdom, to avoid.

Of this doctrine *Mohammed* makes great uſe in his *Korân* for the advancement of his deſigns; encouraging his followers to fight without fear, and even deſperately, for the propagation of their faith, by repreſenting to them that all their caution could not avert their inevitable deſtiny, or prolong their lives for a moment [5]; and deterring them from diſobeying or rejecting him as an impoſtor, by ſetting before them the danger they might thereby incur of being, by the juſt judgment of GOD, abandoned to ſeduction, hardneſs of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a puniſhment for their obſtinacy [6].

[1] See before, p. 98. [2] V. Chardin, Voy. Tom. 2. p. 328. & Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Mahomet, Rem. Q. [3] See *Korân*, c. 56, and the notes there. & Gagnier. not. in Abulfedæ vit. Moh. p. 145. [4] See before, p. 64. [5] Kor. c. 3. p. 52, 54. and c. 4. p. 70, *&c.* [6] Ib. c. 4. p. 67, and 79. And c. 2. p. 2, *&c.* paſſim.

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As this doctrine of abſolute election and reprobation has been thought by many of the *Mohammedan* divines to be derogatory to the goodneſs and juſtice of GOD, and to make GOD the author of evil; ſeveral ſubtle diſtinctions have been invented, and diſputes raiſed, to explicate or ſoften it; and different ſects have been formed, according to their ſeveral opinions, or methods of explaining this point: ſome of them going ſo far as even to hold the direct contrary poſition, of abſolute free will in man, as we ſhall ſee hereafter [1].

Of prayer, and the previous purifications.

Of the four fundamental points of religious practice required by the *Korân*, the firſt is *prayer*, under which, as has been ſaid, are alſo comprehended thoſe legal waſhings or purifications which are neceſſary preparations thereto.

Of theſe purifications there are two degrees, one called *Ghoſl*, being a total immerſion or bathing of the body in water; and the other called *Wodû*, (by the *Perſians*, *Abdeſt*) which is the waſhing of their faces, hands, and feet, after a certain manner. The firſt is required in ſome extraordinary caſes only, as after having lain with a woman, or been polluted by emiſſion of ſeed, or by approaching a dead body; women alſo being obliged to it after their courſes or childbirth. The latter is the ordinary ablution in common caſes, and before prayer, and muſt neceſſarily be uſed by every perſon before he can enter upon that duty [2]. It is performed with certain formal ceremonies, which have been deſcribed by ſome writers, but are much eaſier apprehended by ſeeing them done, than by the beſt deſcription.

Theſe purifications were perhaps borrowed by *Mohammed* of the *Jews*, at leaſt they agree in a great meaſure with thoſe uſed by that nation [3], who in proceſs of time burthened the precepts of *Moſes* in this point, with ſo many traditionary ceremonies, that whole books have been written about them, and who were ſo exact and ſuperſtitious therein even in our Saviour's time, that they are often reproved by him for it [4]. But as it is certain that the pagan *Arabs* uſed luſtrations of this kind [5], long before the time of *Mohammed*, as moſt nations did, and ſtill do in the eaſt, where the warmth of the climate requires a greater nicety and degree of cleanlineſs than theſe colder parts; perhaps *Mohammed* only recalled his countrymen to a more ſtrict obſervance of thoſe purifying rites, which had been probably neglected by them, or at leaſt performed in a careleſs and perfunctory manner. The *Mohammedans* however will have it that they are as

[1] Sect. VIII. [2] Kor. c. 4. p. 66, and c. 3. p. 83. V. Reland. de rel. Moh. l. 1. c. 8. [3] Poc. not. in Port. Moſis, p. 356, &c. [4] *Mark* vii. 3, &c. [5] V. Herodot. l. 3. c. 198.

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ancient as *Abraham* [1], who, they ſay, was enjoined by GOD to obſerve them, and was ſhewed the manner of making the ablution by the angel *Gabriel*, in the form of a beautiful youth [2]. Nay ſome deduce the matter higher, and imagine that theſe ceremonies were taught our firſt parents by the angels [3].

That his followers might be the more punctual in this duty, *Mohammed* is ſaid to have declared, that *the practice of religion is founded on cleanlineſs*, which is the *one half of the faith*, and *the key of prayer*, without which it will not be heard by GOD [4]. That theſe expreſſions may be the better underſtood, *al Ghazâli* reckons four degrees of purification; of which the firſt is, the cleanſing of the body from all pollution, filth, and excrements; the ſecond, the cleanſing of the members of the body from all wickedneſs and unjuſt actions; the third, the cleanſing of the heart from all blameable inclinations, and odious vices; and the fourth, the purging a man's ſecret thoughts from all affections which may divert their attendance on GOD: adding, that the body is but as the outward ſhell in reſpect to the heart, which is as the kernel. And for this reaſon he highly complains of thoſe who are ſuperſtitiouſly ſolicitous in exterior purifications, avoiding thoſe perſons as unclean who are not ſo ſcrupulouſly nice as themſelves, and at the ſame time have their minds lying waſte, and overrun with pride, ignorance, and hypocriſy [5]. Whence it plainly appears with how little foundation the *Mohammedans* have been charged, by ſome writers [6], with teaching or imagining that theſe formal waſhings alone cleanſe them from their ſins [7].

Leſt ſo neceſſary a preparation to their devotions ſhould be omitted, either where water cannot be had, or when it may be of prejudice to a perſon's health, they are allowed in ſuch caſes to make uſe of fine ſand or duſt in lieu of it [8]; and then they perform this duty by clapping their open hands on the ſand, and paſſing them over the parts, in the ſame manner as if they were dipped in water. But for this expedient *Mohammed* was not ſo much indebted to his

[1] Al Jannabi in vita Abrah. V. Poc. Spec. p. 303. [2] Herewith agrees the ſpurious Goſpel of S. *Barnabas*, the *Spaniſh* tranſlation of which (chap. 29.) has theſe words. *Dixo* Abraham, *Que harè yo para ſervir al Dios de los ſanctos y prophetas? Reſpondiò el angel, Ve a aquella fuente y lavate, porque Dios quiere hablar contigo. Dixo* Abraham, *Como tengo de lavarme? Luego el angel ſe le apareciò como uno bello mancebo, y ſe lavò en la fuente, y le dixo*, Abraham, *haz como yo. Y* Abraham *ſe lavò*, &c. [3] Al Keſſâï. V. Reland. de Rel. Mohamm. p. 81. [4] Al Ghazâli, Ebn al Athîr. V. Poc. Spec. p. 302, &c. [6] Barthol. Edeſſen. Confut. Hagaren. p. 360. G. Sionita & J. Heſronita, in Tract. de urb. & morib. Orient. ad calcem Geogr. Nubienſ. c. 15. Du Ryer, dans le Sommaire de la Rel. des Turcs, mis a la tête de ſa verſion de l'Alcor. St. Olon, Deſcr. du Royaume de Maroc, c. 2. Hyde, in Not. ad Bobov. de Prec. Moh. p. 1. Smith, de morib. & inſtit. Turcar. Ep. 1. p. 32. [7] V. Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 2. c. 11. [8] Korân, c. 3. p. 66, & 5. p. 83.

own cunning [1], as to the example of the *Jews*, or perhaps that of the *Perſian Magi*, almoſt as ſcrupulous as the *Jews* themſelves in their luſtrations, who both of them preſcribe the ſame method in caſes of neceſſity [2]; and there is a famous inſtance, in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, of ſand being uſed, for the ſame reaſon, inſtead of water, in the adminiſtration of the *Chriſtian* ſacrament of baptiſm, many years before *Mohammed*'s time [3].

Neither are the *Mohammedans* contented with bare waſhing, but think themſelves obliged to ſeveral other neceſſary points of cleanlineſs, which they make alſo parts of this duty; ſuch as combing the hair, cutting the beard, paring the nails, pulling out the hairs of their arm-pits, ſhaving their private parts, and circumciſion [4]; of which laſt I will add a word or two, leſt I ſhould not find a more proper place.

Of circumciſion.

Circumciſion, tho' it be not ſo much as once mention'd in the *Koràn*, is yet held by the *Mohammedans* to be an ancient divine inſtitution, confirmed by the religion of *Iſlâm*, and tho' not ſo abſolutely neceſſary but that it may be diſpenſed with in ſome caſes [5], yet highly proper and expedient. The *Arabs* uſed this rite for many ages before *Mohammed*, having probably learned it from *Iſmael*, tho' not only his deſcendants, but the *Hamyarites* [6], and other tribes, practiſed the ſame. The *Iſmaelites*, we are told [7], uſed to circumciſe their children, not on the eighth day, as is the cuſtom of the *Jews*, but when about twelve or thirteen years old, at which age their father underwent that operation [8]: and the *Mohammedans* imitate them ſo far as not to circumciſe children before they be able, at leaſt, diſtinctly to pronounce that profeſſion of their faith, *There is no* GOD *but* GOD, Mohammed *is the apoſtle of* GOD [9]; but pitch on what age they pleaſe for the purpoſe between ſix and ſixteen, or thereabouts [10]. Tho' the *Moſlem* doctors are generally of opinion, conformably to the ſcripture, that this precept was originally given to *Abraham*, yet ſome have imagined that *Adam* was taught it by the angel *Gabriel*, to ſatisfy an oath he had made to cut off that fleſh which, after his fall, had rebelled againſt his ſpirit; whence an odd argument has been drawn for the univerſal obligation of

[1] V. Smith, ubi ſup. [2] Gemar. Berachoth. c. 2. V. Poc. not. ad Port. Moſis, p. 389. Sadder, porta 84. [3] Cedren. p. 250. [4] V. Poc. Spec. p. 303. [5] V. Bobov. de circumciſ. p. 22. [6] Philoſtorg. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. [7] Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 23. [8] Geneſ. xvii. 25. [9] V. Bobov. ubi ſup. & Poc. Spec. p. 319. [10] V. Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 1. p. 75.

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circumciſion [1]. Tho' I cannot ſay the *Jews* led the *Mohammedans* the way here, yet they ſeem ſo unwilling to believe any of the principal patriarchs or prophets before *Abraham* were really uncircumciſed, that they pretend ſeveral of them, as well as ſome holy men who lived after his time, were born ready circumciſed, or without a foreſkin, and that *Adam*, in particular, was ſo created [2]; whence the *Mohammedans* affirm the ſame thing of their prophet [3].

Prayer was by *Mohammed* thought ſo neceſſary a duty, that he uſed to call it *the pillar of religion*, and *the key of paradiſe*; and when the *Thakifites*, who dwelt at *Tâyef*, ſending in the ninth year of the *Hejra* to make their ſubmiſſion to that prophet, after the keeping of their favourite idol had been denied them [4], begged, at leaſt, that they might be diſpenſed with as to their ſaying of the appointed prayers, he anſwered, *That there could be no good in that religion wherein was no prayer* [5].

That ſo important a duty, therefore, might not be neglected, *Mohammed* obliged his followers to pray five times every twenty-four hours, at certain ſtated times; *viz.* 1. In the morning, before ſun-riſe: 2. When noon is paſt, and the ſun begins to decline from the meridian: 3. In the afternoon, before ſun-ſet: 4. In the evening, after ſun-ſet, and before day be ſhut in: and 5. After the day is ſhut in, and before the firſt watch of the night [6]. For this inſtitution he pretended to have received the divine command from the throne of GOD himſelf, when he took his night-journey to heaven: and the obſerving of the ſtated times of prayer is frequently inſiſted on in the *Korân*, tho' they be not particularly preſcribed therein. Accordingly, at the aforeſaid times, of which public notice is given by the *Muedhdhins*, or *Cryers*, from the ſteeples of their *Moſques*, (for they uſe no bells,) every conſciencious *Moſlem* prepares himſelf for prayer, which he performs either in the *Moſque* or any other place, provided it be clean, after a preſcribed form, and with a certain number of praiſes or ejaculations (which the more ſcrupulous count by a ſtring of beads) and uſing certain poſtures of worſhip; all which

[1] This is the ſubſtance of the following paſſage of the Goſpel of *Barnabas*, (chap. 23) viz. *Entonces dixo* Jeſus; Adam *el primer hombre aviendo comido por engano del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el parayſo, ſe le rebelò ſu carne à ſu eſpiritu; por lo qual jurò diziendo, Por Dios que yo te quiero cortar; y rompiendo una piedra tomò ſu carne para cortarla con el corte de la piedra. Por loqual fue reprehendido del angel* Gabriel, *y el le dixo; Yo he jurado por Dios que lo he de cortar, y mentiroſo no lo ſerè jamas. Ala hora el angel le enſeno la ſuperfluidad de ſu carne, y a quella cortò. De manera que anſi como todo hombre toma carne de* Adam, *anſi eſta obligado a cumplir aquello que* Adam *con juramento prometiò.* [2] Shalſhel. hakkabala. V. Poc. Spec. p. 320. Gagnier, Not. in Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 2. [3] V. Poc. Spec. p. 304. [4] See before, p. 18. [5] Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 127. [6] V. ibid. p. 38, 39.

have been particularly ſet down and deſcribed, tho' with ſome few miſtakes, by other writers [1], and ought not to be abridged, unleſs in ſome ſpecial caſes; as on a journey, on preparing for battle, *&c.*

For the regular performance of the duty of prayer among the *Mohammedans*, beſides the particulars above-mentioned, it is alſo requiſite that they turn their faces, while they pray, towards the temple of *Mecca* [2]; the quarter where the ſame is ſituate being, for that reaſon, pointed out within their *Moſques* by a nich, which they call *al Mehrâb*, and without, by the ſituation of the doors opening into the galleries of the ſteeples: there are alſo tables calculated for the ready finding out their *Keblah*, or part towards which they ought to pray, in places where they have no other direction [3].

But what is principally to be regarded in the diſcharge of this duty, ſay the *Moſlem* doctors, is the inward diſpoſition of the heart, which is the life and ſpirit of prayer [4]; the moſt punctual obſervance of the external rites and ceremonies before-mentioned being of little or no avail, if performed without due attention, reverence, devotion, and hope [5]: ſo that we muſt not think the *Mohammedans*, or the conſiderate part of them at leaſt, content themſelves with the mere *opus operatum*, or imagine their whole religion to be placed therein [6].

I had like to have omitted two things which in my mind deſerve mention on this head, and may, perhaps, be better defended than our contrary practice. One is, that the *Mohammedans* never addreſs themſelves to GOD in ſumptuous apparel, tho' they are obliged to be decently cloathed; but lay aſide their coſtly habits and pompous ornaments, if they wear any, when they approach the divine preſence, leſt they ſhould ſeem proud and arrogant [7]. The other is, that they admit not their women to pray with them in public; that ſex being obliged to perform their devotions at home, or if they viſit the moſques, it muſt be at a time when the men are not there: for the *Moſlems* are of opinion that their preſence inſpires a different kind of devotion from that which is requiſite in a place dedicated to the worſhip of GOD [8].

The

[1] V. Hotting. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Tom. 8. p. 470.—529. Bohov. in Liturg. Turcic. p. 1, &c. Grelot, Voyage de Conſtant. p. 253.—264. Chardin, Voy. de Perſe. Tom. II. p. 388, &c. & Smith, de moribus ac inſtit. Turcar. Ep. 1. p. 33, &c. [2] Korân, chap. 2. p. 17. See the notes there. [3] V. Hyde, de Rel. vet. Perſ. p. 8, 9, & 126. [4] Al Ghazâli. [5] V. Poc. Spec. p. 305. [6] V. Smith, ubi ſup. p. 40. [7] Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 96. See Kor. chap. 7. p. 119. [8] A *Moor*, named *Ahmed Ebn Abdalla*, in a *Latin* epiſtle by him written to *Maurice* prince of *Orange*, and *Emanuel* prince of *Portugal*, containing a cenſure of the *Chriſtian* religion, (a copy of which, once belonging to Mr. *Selden*, who has thence tranſcribed a conſiderable paſſage in his treatiſe *De Syn-*

The greater part of the particulars comprized in the *Mohammedan* inſtitution of prayer, their prophet ſeems to have copied from others, and eſpecially the *Jews*; exceeding their inſtitutions only in the number of daily prayers [1]. The *Jews* are directed to pray three times a day [2], in the morning, in the evening, and within night; in imitation of *Abraham* [3], *Iſaac* [4], and *Jacob* [5]: and the practice was as early, at leaſt, as the time of *Daniel* [6]. The ſeveral poſtures uſed by the *Mohammedans* in their prayers are alſo the ſame with thoſe preſcribed by the *Jewiſh Rabbins*, and particularly the moſt ſolemn act of adoration by proſtrating themſelves ſo as to touch the ground with their forehead [7]; notwithſtanding the latter pretend the practice of the former, in this reſpect, to be a relic of their ancient manner of paying their devotions to *Baal-Peor* [8]. The *Jews* likewiſe conſtantly pray with their faces turned towards the temple of *Jeruſalem* [9], which has been their *Kebla* from the time it was firſt dedicated by *Solomon* [10]; for which reaſon *Daniel*, praying in *Chaldea*, had the windows of his chamber open towards that city [11]: and the ſame was the *Kebla* of *Mohammed* and his followers for ſix or ſeven months [12], and till he found himſelf obliged to change it for the *Caaba*. The *Jews* moreover are obliged by the precepts of their religion to be careful that the place they pray in, and the garments they have on when they perform their duty, be clean [13]: the men and women alſo among them pray apart, (in which particular they were imitated by the eaſtern *Chriſtians*;) and ſeveral other conformities might be remarked between the *Jewiſh* public worſhip, and that of the *Mohammedans* [14].

The next point of the *Mohammedan* religion is the giving of alms; which are of two ſorts, *legal*, and *voluntary*. The *legal alms* are of indiſpenſable obligation, being commanded by the law, which directs and determines both the portion which is to be given, and of what things Of alms.

Syndriis vett. Ebræor. l. 1. c. 12. is now in the *Bodleian* library,) finds great fault with the unedifying manner in which maſs is ſaid among the *Roman Catholics*, for this very reaſon, among others. His words are: *Ubicunque congregantur ſimul viri & fœminæ, ibi mens non eſt intenta & devota: nam inter celebrandum miſſam & ſacrificia, fœminæ & viri mutuis aſpectibus, ſignis, ac nutibus accendunt pravorum appetitum, & deſideriorum ſuorum ignes: & quando hoc non fieret, ſaltem humana fragilitas delectatur mutuo & reciproco aſpectu; & ita non poteſt eſſe mens quieta, attenta, et devota.*

[1] The *Sabians*, according to ſome, exceed the *Mohammedans* in this point, praying ſeven times a day. See before, p. 14. [2] Gemar. Berachoth. [3] Geneſ. xix. 27. [4] Geneſ. xxiv. 63. [5] Geneſ. xxviii. 11, *&c.* [6] Dan. vi. 10. [7] Vide Millium, de Mohammediſmo ante Moham. p. 427, &c. & Hyde, de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 5, &c. [8] Maimonid. in Epiſt. ad Proſelyt. relig. V. Poc. Spec. p. 306. [9] Gemar. Bava Bathra, & Berachoth. [10] 1 Kings, viii. 29, &c. [11] Dan. vi. 10. [12] Some ſay eighteen months. V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 54. [13] Maimon. in Halachoth Tephilla, c. 9, §. 8, 9. Menura hammeor, fol. 28. 2. [14] V. Millium, ubi ſupra, p. 424, & ſeq.

things it ought to be given; but the *voluntary alms* are left to every one's liberty, to give more or leſs, as he ſhall ſee fit. The former kind of alms ſome think to be properly called *Zacât*, and the latter *Sadakat*; tho' this name be alſo frequently given to the legal alms. They are called *Zacât*, either becauſe they *encreaſe* a man's ſtore, by drawing down a bleſſing thereon, and *produce* in his ſoul the virtue of liberality [1], or becauſe they *purify* the remaining part of one's ſubſtance from pollution, and the ſoul from the filth of avarice [2]; and *Sadakat*, becauſe they are a proof of a man's *ſincerity* in the worſhip of GOD. Some writers have called the legal alms *tythes*, but improperly, ſince in ſome caſes they fall ſhort, and in others exceed that proportion.

The giving of alms is frequently commanded in the *Korân*, and often recommended therein jointly with prayer; the former being held of great efficacy in cauſing the latter to be heard of GOD: for which reaſon the *Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* uſed to ſay, *that prayer carries us half way to* GOD, *faſting brings us to the door of his palace, and alms procures us admiſſion* [3]. The *Mohammedans* therefore eſteem almsdeeds to be highly meritorious, and many of them have been illuſtrious for the exerciſe thereof. *Haſan* the ſon of *Ali*, and grandſon of *Mohammed*, in particular, is related to have thrice in his life divided his ſubſtance equally between himſelf and the poor, and twice to have given away all he had [4]: and the generality are ſo addicted to the doing of good, that they extend their charity even to brutes [5].

Alms, according to the preſcriptions of the *Mohammedan* law, are to be given of five things; 1. Of cattle, that is to ſay, of camels, kine, and ſheep. 2. Of money. 3. Of corn. 4. Of fruits, *viz.* dates and raiſins. And 5. Of wares ſold. Of each of theſe a certain portion is to be given in alms, being uſually one part in forty, or two and a half *per Cent.* of the value. But no alms are due for them, unleſs they amount to a certain quantity or number; nor until a man has been in poſſeſſion of them eleven months, he not being obliged to give alms thereout before the twelfth month is begun: nor are alms due for cattle employed in tilling the ground, or in carrying of burthens. In ſome caſes a much larger portion than the before-mentioned is reckoned due for alms: thus of what is gotten out of mines, or the

[1] Al Beidawi. See Kor. chap. 2. p. 32. [2] Idem. Compare this with what our Saviour ſays, Luke xi. 41. *Give alms of ſuch things as ye have; and behold, all things are clean unto you.* [3] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 5. [4] Ibid. p. 422. [5] V. Busbeq. Epiſt. 3. p. 178. Smith, de morib. Turc. Ep. 1. p. 66, &c. Compare Eccleſ. xi. 1. and Prov. xii. 10.

ſea,

ſea, or by any art or profeſſion over and above what is ſufficient for the reaſonable ſupport of a man's family, and eſpecially where there is a mixture or ſuſpicion of unjuſt gain, a fifth part ought to be given in alms. Moreover, at the end of the faſt of *Ramadân*, every *Moſlem* is obliged to give in alms for himſelf and for every one of his family, if he has any, a meaſure [1] of wheat, barley, dates, raiſins, rice, or other proviſions commonly eaten [2].

The legal alms were at firſt collected by *Mohammed* himſelf, who employed them as he thought fit, in the relief of his poor relations and followers, but chiefly applied them to the maintenance of thoſe who ſerved in his wars, and fought, as he termed it, in the way of GOD. His ſucceſſors continued to do the ſame, till, in proceſs of time, other taxes and tributes being impoſed for the ſupport of the government, they ſeem to have been weary of acting as almoners to their ſubjects, and to have left the paying them to their conſciences.

In the foregoing rules concerning alms, we may obſerve alſo foot-ſteps of what the *Jews* taught and practiſed in reſpect thereto. Alms, which they alſo call *Sedaka*, i. e. *juſtice*, or *righteouſneſs* [3], are greatly recommended by their *Rabbins*, and preferred even to ſacrifices [4]; as a duty the frequent exerciſe whereof will effectually free a man from hell fire [5], and merit everlaſting life [6]: wherefore, beſides the corners of the field, and the gleanings of their harveſt and vineyard, commanded to be left for the poor and the ſtranger by the law of *Moſes* [7], a certain portion of their corn and fruits is directed to be ſet apart for their relief, which portion is called the tythes of the poor [8]. The *Jews* likewiſe were formerly very conſpicuous for their charity. *Zacheus* gave the half of his goods to the poor [9]; and we are told that ſome gave their whole ſubſtance: ſo that their doctors, at length, decreed that no man ſhould give above a fifth part of his goods in alms [10]. There were alſo perſons publickly appointed in every ſyn-agogue to collect and diſtribute the people's contributions [11].

The third point of religious practice is faſting; a duty of ſo great moment, that *Mohammed* uſed to ſay it was *the gate of religion*, and that *the odour of the mouth of him who faſteth, is more grateful to* Of faſting.

[1] This meaſure is a *Saâ*, and contains about ſix or ſeven pound weight. [2] V. Reland. de rel. Mohammed. l. 1. p. 99, &c. Chardin, Voy. de Perſe, t. II. p. 415, &c. [3] Hence alms are in the *New Teſtament* termed Δικαιοσύνη. Matth. vi. 1. (Ed. Steph.) and 2 Co. ix. 10. [4] Gemar. in Bava bathra. [5] Ibid. in Gittin. [6] Ibid. in Roſh haſhana. [7] Levit. xix. 9, 10. Deut. xxiv. 19, &c. [8] V. Gemar. Hieroſol. in Peah, & Maimon. in Halachoth matanoth Aniyyim. c. 6. Confer Pirke Avoth, v. 9. [9] Luke xix. 8. [10] V. Reland. Ant. ſacr. vet. Hebr. p. 402. [11] V. ibid. p. 138.

GOD.

GOD *than that of musk*; and *al Ghazâli* reckons faſting *one fourth part of the faith.* According to the *Mohammedan* divines, there are three degrees of faſting: 1. The reſtraining the belly and other parts of the body from ſatisfying their luſts; 2. The reſtraining the ears, eyes, tongue, hands, feet, and other members from ſin; and 3. The faſting of the heart from worldly cares, and refraining the thoughts from every thing beſides GOD [1].

The *Mohammedans* are obliged, by the expreſs command of the *Korân*, to faſt the whole month of *Ramadân*, from the time the new moon firſt appears, till the appearance of the next new moon; during which time they muſt abſtain from eating, drinking, and women, from day-break till night [2], or ſun-ſet. And this injunction they obſerve ſo ſtrictly, that while they faſt they ſuffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts of their body, eſteeming the faſt broken and null if they ſmell perfumes, take a clyſter or injection, bathe, or even purpoſely ſwallow their ſpittle; ſome being ſo cautious that they will not open their mouths to ſpeak, leſt they ſhould breath the air too freely [3]: the faſt is alſo deemed void if a man kiſs or touch a woman, or if he vomit deſignedly. But after ſun-ſet they are allowed to refreſh themſelves, and to eat and drink, and enjoy the company of their wives till day-break [4]; tho' the more rigid begin the faſt again at midnight [5]. This faſt is extreamly rigorous and mortifying when the month of *Ramadân* happens to fall in ſummer, (for the *Arabian* year being lunar [6], each month runs through all the different ſeaſons in the courſe of thirty three years) the length and heat of the days making the obſervance of it much more difficult and uneaſy then than in winter.

[1] Al Ghazâli, Al Moſtatraf. [2] Korân, chap. 2. p. 21, 22. [3] Hence we read that the Virgin *Mary*, to avoid anſwering the reflections caſt on her for bringing home a child, was adviſed by the angel *Gabriel* to feign ſhe had vowed a faſt, and therefore ought not to ſpeak. See Korân, chap. 19. p. 251. [4] The words of the *Korân* (chap. 2. p. 22.) are, *Until ye can diſtinguiſh a white thread from a black thread by the day-break*; a form of ſpeaking borrowed by *Mohammed* from the *Jews*, who determine the time when they are to begin their morning leſſon, to be ſo ſoon as a man can diſcern *blue from white*, i. e. the blue threads from the white threads in the fringes of their garments. But this explication the commentators do not approve; pretending that by the *white thread* and *the black thread* are to be underſtood the *light and dark ſtreaks of the day-break:* and they ſay the paſſage was at firſt revealed without the words *of the day-break*; but *Mohammed*'s followers taking the expreſſion in the firſt ſenſe, regulated their practice accordingly, and continued eating and drinking till they could diſtinguiſh a white thread from a black thread, as they lay before them; to prevent which for the future, the words *of the day-break* were added as explanatory of the former. Al Beidawi. V. Pocock. Not. in Carmen Tograi, p. 89, &c. Chardin, Voy. de Perſe, t. II. p. 423. [5] V. Chardin, ib. p. 421, &c. Reland. de Relig. Moh. p. 109, &c. [6] See hereafter, §. VI.

The

The reaſon given why the month of *Ramadân* was pitched on for this purpoſe is, that on that month the *Korân* was ſent down from heaven [1]. Some pretend that *Abraham*, *Moſes*, and *Jeſus* received their reſpective revelations in the ſame month [2].

From the faſt of *Ramadân* none are excuſed, except only travellers and ſick perſons, (under which laſt denomination the doctors comprehend all whoſe health would manifeſtly be injured by their keeping the faſt; as women with child, and giving ſuck, ancient people, and young children;) but then they are obliged, ſo ſoon as the impediment is removed, to faſt an equal number of other days: and the breaking the faſt is ordered to be expiated by giving alms to the poor [3].

Mohammed ſeems to have followed the guidance of the *Jews* in his ordinances concerning faſting, no leſs than in the former particulars. That nation, when they faſt, abſtain not only from eating and drinking, but from women, and from anointing themſelves [4], from day-break until ſun-ſet, and the ſtars begin to appear [5]; ſpending the night in taking what refreſhments they pleaſe [6]. And they allow women with child and giving ſuck, old perſons, and young children to be exempted from keeping moſt of the public faſts [7].

Tho' my deſign here be briefly to treat of thoſe points only which are of indiſpenſable obligation on a *Moſlem*, and expreſsly required by the *Korân*, without entring into their practice as to voluntary and ſupererogatory works; yet to ſhew how cloſely *Mohammed*'s inſtitutions follow the *Jewiſh*, I ſhall add a word or two of the voluntary faſts of the *Mohammedans*. Theſe are ſuch as have been recommended either by the example or approbation of their prophet; and eſpecially certain days of thoſe months which they eſteem ſacred: there being a tradition that he uſed to ſay, That a faſt of one day in a ſacred month, was better than a faſt of thirty days in another month; and that the faſt of one day in *Ramadân*, was more meritorious than a faſt of thirty days in a ſacred month [8]. Among the more commendable days is that of *Aſhûra*, the tenth of *Moharram*; which, tho' ſome writers tell us it was obſerved by the *Arabs*, and particularly the tribe of *Koreiſh*, before *Mohammed*'s time [9], yet, as others aſſure us, that prophet borrowed both the name and the

1. Korân, chap. 2. p. 21. See alſo chap. 97. 2 Al Beidawi, ex trad. Mohammedis. 3 See Korân, chap. 2. p. 21. 4 Siphra, fol. 252. 2. 5 Toſephoth ad Gemar. Yoma, f. 34. 6 V. Gemar. Yoma, f. 40, & Maimon. in Halachoth Tánieth, c. 5. & 5. 7 V. Gemar. Tánith, f. 12, & Yoma, fol. 83, & Es Hayim, Tánith, c. 1. 8 Al Ghazâli. 9 Al Bîreni, in Comment. ad Orat. Ebn Nobâtæ.

faſt from the *Jews*; it being, with them, the tenth of the ſeventh month, or *Tiſri*, and the great day of expiation commanded to be kept by the law of *Moſes* [1]. *Al Kazwîni* relates, that when *Mohammed* came to *Medina* and found the *Jews* there faſted on the day of *Aſhûra*, he aſked them the reaſon of it; and they told him, it was becauſe on that day *Pharaoh* and his people were drowned, *Moſes*, and thoſe who were with him, eſcaping: whereupon he ſaid, that he bore a nearer relation to *Moſes* than they; and ordered his followers to faſt on that day. However, it ſeems, afterwards he was not ſo well pleaſed in having imitated the *Jews* herein; and therefore declared, that if he lived another year, he would alter the day, and faſt on the ninth, abhorring ſo near an agreement with them [2].

Of the pilgrimage to *Mecca*.

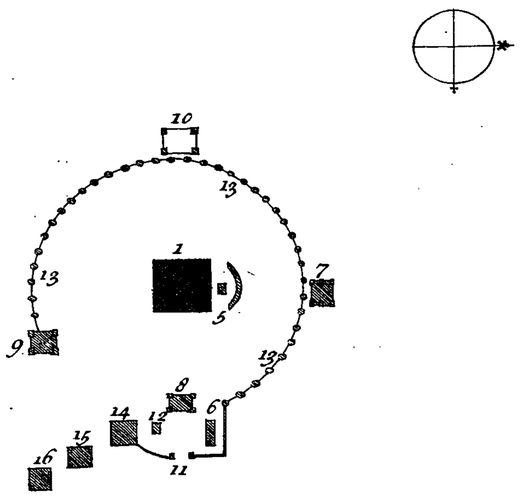
The pilgrimage to *Mecca* is ſo neceſſary a point of practice, that, according to a tradition of *Mohammed*, he who dies without performing it, may as well die a *Jew* or a *Chriſtian* [3]; and the ſame is expreſsly commanded in the *Korân* [4]. Before I ſpeak of the time and manner of performing this pilgrimage, it may be proper to give a ſhort account of the temple of *Mecca*, the chief ſcene of the *Mohammedan* worſhip; in doing which I need be the leſs prolix, becauſe that edifice has been already deſcribed by ſeveral writers [5], though they following different relations have been led into ſome miſtakes, and agree not with one another in ſeveral particulars: nor, indeed, do the *Arab* authors agree in all things, one great reaſon whereof is their ſpeaking of different times.

The temple briefly deſcribed.

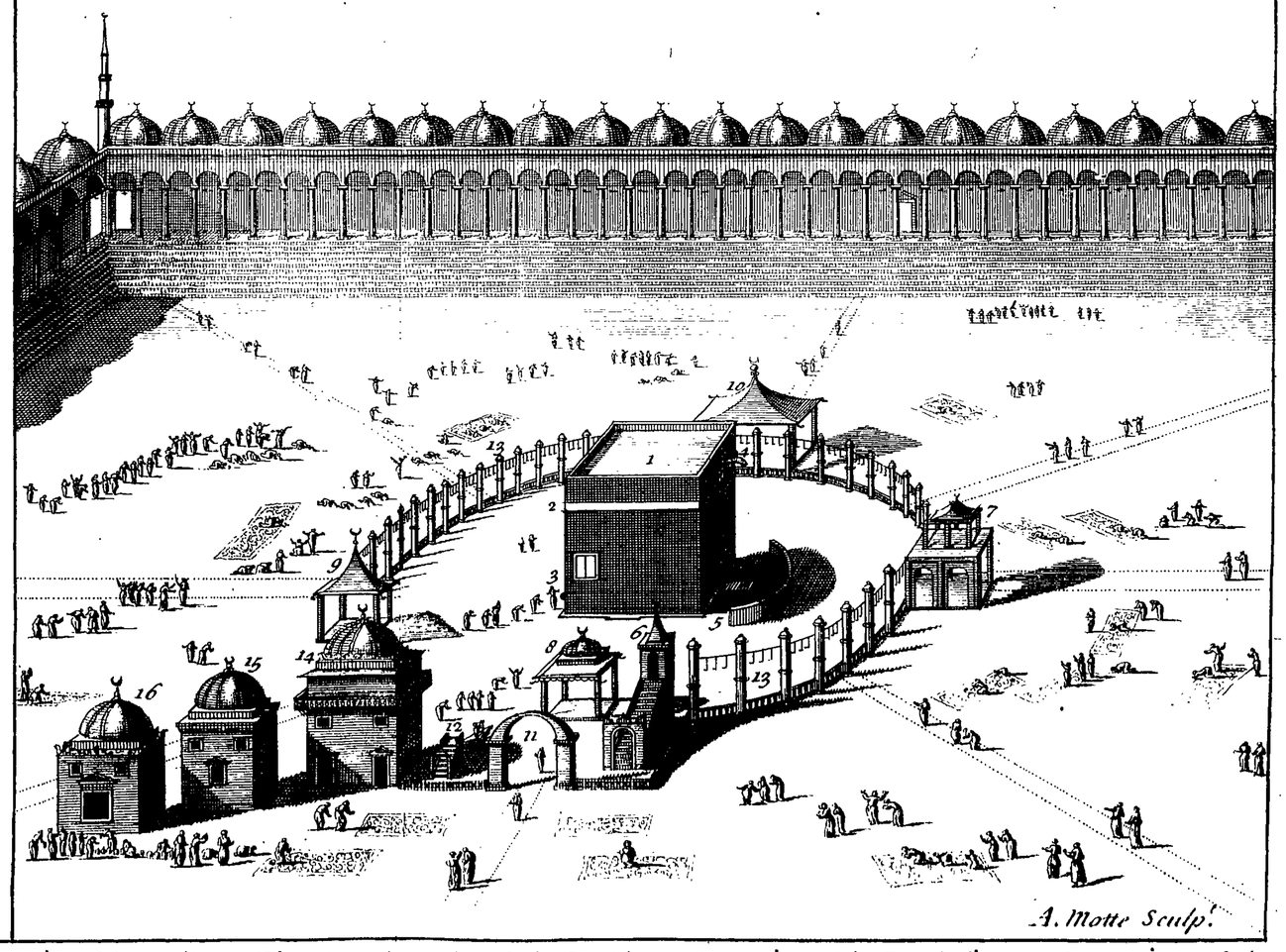
The temple of *Mecca* ſtands in the midſt of the city, and is honoured with the title of *Masjad al alharâm*, i. e. *the ſacred or inviolable temple*. What is principally reverenced in this place, and gives ſanctity to the whole, is a ſquare ſtone building, called the *Caaba*, as ſome fancy, from it's *height*, which ſurpaſſes that of the other buildings in *Mecca* [6], but more probably from its *quadrangular* form, and *Beit Allah*, i. e. the *houſe of* GOD, being peculiarly hallowed and ſet apart for his worſhip. The length of this edifice, from north to ſouth, is twenty four cubits, its breadth from eaſt to weſt twenty three cubits, and its height twenty ſeven cubits: the door, which is on the eaſt ſide, ſtands about four cubits from the ground; the floor being level with the bottom of the door [7]. In the corner

[1] Levit. xvi. 29. & xxiii. 27. [2] Ebn al Athîr. V. Pocock. Spec. p. 309. [3] Al Ghazâli. [4] Chap. 3. p. 47, 48. See alſo chap. 22. p. 276, & chap. 2. p. 16, &c. [5] Chardin, Voy. de Perſe, T. II. p. 428, &c. Bremond, Deſcrittioni dell'Egitto, &c. l. 1. c. 29. *Pitt*'s Account of the Rel. &c. of the *Mohametans*, p. 98, &c. & Boulainvilliers, Vie de Mahomed, p. 54, &c. which laſt author is the moſt particular. [6] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [7] Sharif al Edriſi, & Kitab Maſalec, apud Poc. Spec. p. 125, &c

PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF MECCA.



VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF MECCA.



1 The Caaba. 2 The band of gold. 3 The black Stone. 4 The golden Spout. 5 The Sepulchre of Ishmael. 6 The pulpit. 7 The Station of the Hanifites. 8 The place of Abraham & the Shafeites. 9 The Station of the Hanbalites. 10 The Station of the Malekites. 11 The old gate. 12 The steps moving on wheels to mount up to the door of the Caaba. 13 The inner Inclosure which at night is illuminated with lamps. 14 The building over the Well Zemzem. 15 The [illegible]. 16 The cupola of al Abbas. NB The numeral References are the same in the Plan as in the View and shew the same Things. ———

next this door is *the black ſtone*, of which I ſhall take notice by and by. On the north ſide of the *Caaba*, within a ſemicircular encloſure fifty cubits long, lies the *white ſtone*, ſaid to be the ſepulchre of *Iſmael*, which receives the rain-water that falls off the *Caaba* by a ſpout, formerly of wood [1], but now of gold. The *Caaba* has a double roof, ſupported within by three octangular pillars of aloes wood; between which, on a bar of iron, hang ſome ſilver lamps. The out-ſide is covered with rich black damaſk, adorned with an embroidered band of gold, which is changed every year, and was formerly ſent by the *Khalîfs*, afterwards by the *Soltâns* of *Egypt*, and is now provided by the *Turkiſh* emperors. At a ſmall diſtance from the *Caaba*, on the eaſt ſide, is the *ſtation* or *place* of *Abraham*, where is another ſtone much reſpected by the *Mohammedans*, of which ſomething will be ſaid hereafter.

The *Caaba*, at ſome diſtance, is ſurrounded, but not intirely, by a circular incloſure of pillars joined towards the bottom by a low baluſtrade, and towards the top by bars of ſilver. Juſt without this inner incloſure, on the ſouth, north, and weſt ſides of the *Caaba*, are three buildings, which are the oratories or places where three of the orthodox ſects aſſemble to perform their devotions, (the fourth ſect, *viz.* that of *al Shâfeï*, making uſe of the ſtation of *Abraham* for that purpoſe;) and towards the ſouth eaſt ſtand the edifice which covers the well *Zemzem*, the treaſury, and the cupola of *al Abbas* [2].

All theſe buildings are encloſed, at a conſiderable diſtance, by a magnificent piazza, or ſquare colonnade, like that of the *Royal Exchange* in *London*, but much larger, covered with ſmall domes or cupola's; from the four corners whereof riſe as many *Minârets* or ſteeples, with double galleries, and adorned with gilded ſpires and creſcents, as are the cupola's which cover the piazza and the other buildings. Between the pillars of both incloſures hang a great number of lamps, which are conſtantly lighted at night. The firſt foundations of this outward incloſure were laid by *Omar*, the ſecond *Khalîf*, who built no more than a low wall, to prevent the court of the *Caaba*, which before lay open, from being encroached on by private buildings; but the ſtructure has been ſince raiſed, by the liberality of many ſucceeding princes and great men, to its preſent luſtre [3].

This is properly all that is called the *temple*, but the whole territory of *Mecca* being alſo *Harâm* or *ſacred*, there is a third enclo-

[1] Sharîf al Edriſi, ibid. [2] Idem, ibid. [3] Poc. Spec. p. 116.

ſure, diſtinguiſhed at certain diſtances by ſmall turrets, ſome five, ſome ſeven, and others ten miles diſtant from the city [1]. Within this compaſs of ground it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch from a tree; which is the true reaſon why the pigeons at *Mecca* are reckoned ſacred, and not that they are ſuppoſed to be of the race of that imaginary pigeon which ſome authors, who ſhould have known better, would perſuade us *Mohammed* made paſs for the Holy Ghoſt [2].

The temple of *Mecca* was a place of worſhip, and in ſingular veneration with the *Arabs* from great antiquity, and many centuries before *Mohammed*. Though it was moſt probably dedicated at firſt to an idolatrous uſe [3], yet the *Mohammedans* are generally perſuaded that the *Caaba* is almoſt coeval with the world; for they ſay that *Adam*, after his expulſion from paradiſe, begged of GOD that he might erect a building like that he had ſeen there, called *Beit al Mámûr*, or the *frequented houſe*, and *al Dorâh*, towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he might compaſs, as the angels do the celeſtial one. Whereupon GOD let down a repreſentation of that houſe in curtains of light [4], and ſet it in *Mecca*, perpendicularly under its original [5], ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compaſs it by way of devotion [6]. After *Adam*'s death, his ſon *Seth* built a houſe in the ſame form, of ſtones and clay, which being deſtroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by *Abraham* and *Iſmael* [7], at GOD's command, in the place where the former had ſtood, and after the ſame model, they being directed therein by revelation [8].

After this edifice had undergone ſeveral reparations, it was a few years after the birth of *Mohammed* rebuilt by the *Koreiſh* on the old

[1] Gol. Not. in Alfrag. p. 99. [2] Gab. Sionita, & Joh. Heſronita, de nonnullis Orient. urbib. ad calc. Geogr. Nub. p. 21. Al Mogholtaï, in his life of *Mohammed*, ſays the pigeons of the temple of *Mecca* are of the breed of thoſe which laid their eggs at the mouth of the cave where the prophet and *Abu Becr* hid themſelves, when they fled from that city. See before, p. 51. [3] See before, p. 17. [4] Some ſay that the *Beït al Mámûr* itſelf was the *Caaba* of *Adam*, which, having been let down to him from heaven, was, at the flood, taken up again into heaven, and is there kept. *Al Zamakh.* in Kor. c. 2. [5] Al Jûzi, ex trad. Ebn Abbas. It has been obſerved, that the primitive *Chriſtian* church held a parallel opinion as to the ſituation of the celeſtial *Jeruſalem* with reſpect to the terreſtrial: for in the apocryphal book of the revelations of S. *Peter*, (chap. xxvii.) after *Jeſus* has mentioned unto *Peter* the creation of the ſeven heavens, (whence, by the way, it appears that this number of heavens was not deviſed by *Mohammed*,) and of the angels, begins the deſcription of the heavenly *Jeruſalem* in theſe words: *We have created the upper* Jeruſalem *above the waters which are above the third heaven, hanging directly over the lower* Jeruſalem, *&c.* V. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 28. [6] Al Shahreſtâni. [7] V. Kor. chap. 2. p. 16. [8] Al Jannâbi, in vita Abrah.

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foundation [1], and afterwards repaired by *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, the *Khalîf* of *Mecca*, and at length again rebuilt by *Yuſof*, ſurnamed *al Hejâj*, in the ſeventy fourth year of the *Hejra*, with ſome alterations, in the form wherein it now remains [2]. Some years after, however, the *Khalîf Harûn al Raſhîd*, (or, as others write, his father *al Mohdi*, or his Grandfather *al Manſûr*,) intended again to change what had been altered by *al Hejâj*, and to reduce the *Caaba* to the old form in which it was left by *Abd'allah*; but was diſſuaded from meddling with it, leſt ſo holy a place ſhould become the ſport of princes, and being new modelled after every one's fancy, ſhould loſe that reverence which was juſtly paid it [3]. But notwithſtanding the antiquity and holineſs of this building, they have a prophecy, by tradition from *Mohammed*, that in the laſt times the *Ethiopians* ſhall come and utterly demoliſh it; after which it will not be rebuilt again for ever [4].

Before we leave the temple of *Mecca*, two or three particulars deſerve further notice. One is the celebrated *black ſtone*, which is ſet in ſilver, and fixed in the ſouth eaſt corner of the *Caaba*, being that which looks toward *Baſra*, about two cubits and one third, or, which is the ſame thing, ſeven ſpans from the ground. This ſtone is exceedingly reſpected by the *Mohammedans*, and is kiſſed by the pilgrims with great devotion, being called by ſome the *right hand of* God *on earth*. They fable that it is one of the precious ſtones of paradiſe, and fell down to the earth with *Adam*, and being taken up again, or otherwiſe preſerved at the deluge, the angel *Gabriel* afterwards brought it back to *Abraham* when he was building the *Caaba*. It was at firſt whiter than milk, but grew black long ſince by the touch of a menſtruous woman, or, as others tell us, by the ſins of mankind [5], or rather by the touches and kiſſes of ſo many people; the ſuperficies only being black, and the inſide ſtill remaining white [6]. When the *Karmatians* [7], among other prophanations by them offered to the temple of *Mecca*, took away this ſtone, they could not be prevailed on for love or money to reſtore it, though thoſe of *Mecca* offered no leſs than five thouſand pieces of gold for it [8]. However, after they had kept it twenty two years, ſeeing they could not thereby

[1] V. Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 13. [2] Idem, in Hiſt. Gen. Al Jannâbi, &c. [3] Al Jannâbi. [4] Idem, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. V. Poc. Spec. p. 115, &c. [5] Al Zamakh. &c. in Kor. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [6] Poc. Spec. p. 117, &c [7] Theſe *Carmatians* were a ſect which aroſe in the year of the *Hejra* 278, and whoſe opinions overturned the fundamental points of *Mohammediſm*. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Carmath, and hereafter §. VIII. [8] D'Herbel. p. 40.

draw

draw the pilgrims from *Mecca*, they ſent it back of their own accord; at the ſame time bantering its devotees by telling them it was not the true ſtone: but, as it is ſaid, it was proved to be no counterfeit by its peculiar quality of ſwimming on water [1].

Another thing obſervable in this temple is the ſtone in *Abraham*'s place, wherein they pretend to ſhew his footſteps, telling us he ſtood on it when he built the *Caaba* [2], and that it ſerved him for a ſcaffold, riſing and falling of itſelf as he had occaſion [3]; though another tradition ſays he ſtood upon it while the wife of his ſon *Iſmael*, whom he paid a viſit to, waſhed his head [4]. It is now encloſed in an iron cheſt, out of which the pilgrims drink the water of *Zemzem* [5], and are ordered to pray at it by the *Korân* [6]. The officers of the temple took care to hide this ſtone when the *Karmatians* took the other [7].

The laſt thing I ſhall take notice of in the temple is the well *Zemzem* on the eaſt ſide of the *Caaba*, and which is covered with a ſmall building and cupola. The *Mohammedans* are perſuaded it is the very ſpring which guſhed out for the relief of *Iſmael*, when *Hagar* his mother wandered with him in the deſart [8]; and ſome pretend it was ſo named from her calling to him, when ſhe ſpied it, in the *Egyptian* tongue, *Zem*, *zem*, that is, *Stay*, *ſtay* [9], though it ſeems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. The water of this well is reckoned holy, and is highly reverenced; being not only drank with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but alſo ſent in bottles, as a great rarity, to moſt parts of the *Mohammedan* dominions. *Abd'allah*, ſurnamed *al Hâfedh*, from his great memory, particularly as to the traditions of *Mohammed*, gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of *Zemzem* water [10], to which I really believe it as efficacious as that of *Helicon* to the inſpiring of a poet.

To this temple every *Mohammedan*, who has health and means ſufficient [11], ought once, at leaſt, in his life to go on pilgrimage; nor are women excuſed from the performance of this duty. The pilgrims meet at different places near *Mecca*, according to the different parts from whence they come [12], during the months of *Shawâl* and *Dhu'lkaada*; being obliged to be there by the beginning of

[1] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Abulfeda. V. Poc. Spec. p. 119. [2] Abulfed. [3] V. Hyde. de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 35. [4] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Safio'ddin. [5] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [6] Chap. 2. p. 16. [7] V. Poc. Spec. p. 120, &c. [8] Geneſ. xxi. 19. [9] G. Sionit. & J. Heſr. de nonnull. urb. Orient. p. 19. [10] D'Herbel. p. 5. [11] See Kor. chap. 3. p. 48. and the notes thereon. [12] V. Bobov. de Peregr. Mecc. p. 12, &c.

Dhu'l-

Dhu'lhajja; which month, as its name imports, is peculiarly ſet apart for the celebration of this ſolemnity.

At the places above-mentioned the pilgrims properly commence ſuch; when the men put on the *Ihrâm* or ſacred habit, which conſiſts only of two woolen wrappers, one wrapped about their middle to cover their privities, and the other thrown over their ſhoulders, having their heads bare, and a kind of ſlippers which cover neither the heel nor the inſtep, and ſo enter the ſacred territory in their way to *Mecca*. While they have this habit on they muſt neither hunt nor fowl [1], (though they are allowed to fiſh [2],) which precept is ſo punctually obſerved, that they will not kill even a louſe or a flea, if they find them on their bodies: there are ſome noxious animals, however, which they have permiſſion to kill during the pilgrimage, as, kites, ravens, ſcorpions, mice, and dogs given to bite [3]. During the pilgrimage it behoves a man to have a conſtant guard over his words and actions, and to avoid all quarrelling, or ill language, and all converſe with women, and obſcene diſcourſe, and to apply his whole intention to the good work he is engaged in.

The pilgrims, being arrived at *Mecca*, immediately viſit the temple, and then enter on the performance of the preſcribed ceremonies, which conſiſt chiefly in going in proceſſion round the *Caaba*, in running between the mounts *Safâ* and *Merwâ*, in making the ſtation on mount *Arafat*, and ſlaying the victims, and ſhaving their heads in the valley of *Mina*. Theſe ceremonies have been ſo particularly deſcribed by others [4], that I may be excuſed if I but juſt mention the moſt material circumſtances thereof.

In compaſſing the *Caaba*, which they do ſeven times, beginning at the corner where the black ſtone is fixed, they uſe a ſhort quick pace the three firſt times they go round it, and a grave ordinary pace the four laſt; which, it is ſaid, was ordered by *Mohammed*, that his followers might ſhew themſelves ſtrong and active, to cut off the hopes of the infidels, who gave out that the immoderate heats of *Medina* had rendred them weak [5]. But the aforeſaid quick pace they are not obliged to uſe every time they perform this piece of devotion, but only at ſome particular times [6]. So often as they paſs by the black ſtone they either kiſs it, or touch it with their hand, and kiſs that.

[1] Korân, chap. 5. p. 95. [2] Ibid. [3] Al Beid. [4] Bobov. de Peregr. Mecc. p. 11, &c. Chardin, Voy. de Perſe, T. 2. p. 440, &c. See alſo *Pitts*'s account of the rel. &c. of the *Mohametans*, p. 92, &c. Gagnier, Vie de Mah. t. 2. p. 258, &c. Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 130, &c. and Reland de Rel. Moh. p. 113, &c. [5] Ebn al Athîr. [6] V. Poc. Spec. p. 314.

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The running between *Safâ* and *Merwâ* [1] is alſo performed ſeven times, partly with a ſlow pace, and partly running [2]: for they walk gravely till they come to a place between two pillars; and there they run, and afterwards walk again; ſometimes looking back, and ſometimes ſtopping, like one who has loſt ſomething, to repreſent *Hagar* ſeeking water for her ſon [3]: for the ceremony is ſaid to be as ancient as her time [4].

On the ninth of *Dhu'lhajja*, after morning prayer, the pilgrims leave the valley of *Mina*, whither they come the day before, and proceed in a tumultuous and ruſhing manner to mount *Arafat* [5], where they ſtay to perform their devotions till ſun-ſet: then they go to *Mozdalifa*, an oratory between *Arafat* and *Mina*, and there ſpend the night in prayer, and reading the *Korân*. The next morning by day-break they viſit *al Maſhér al harâm*, or the *ſacred monument* [6], and departing thence before ſun-riſe, haſte by *Batn Mohaſſer* to the valley of *Mina*, where they throw ſeven ſtones [7] at three marks or pillars, in imitation of *Abraham*, who meeting the devil in that place, and being by him diſturbed in his devotions, or tempted to diſobedience, when he was going to ſacrifice his ſon, was commanded by GOD to drive him away by throwing ſtones at him [8]; though others pretend this rite to be as old as *Adam*, who alſo put the devil to flight in the ſame place, and by the ſame means [9].

This ceremony being over, on the ſame day, the tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*, the pilgrims ſlay their victims in the ſaid valley of *Mina*; of which they and their friends eat part, and the reſt is given to the poor. Theſe victims muſt be either ſheep, goats, kine, or camels; males, if of either of the two former kinds, and females if of either of the latter, and of a fit age [10]. The ſacrifices being over, they ſhave their heads and cut their nails, burying them in the ſame place; after which the pilgrimage is looked on as compleated [11]: though they again viſit the *Caaba*, to take their leave of that ſacred building.

The above-mentioned ceremonies, by the confeſſion of the *Mohammedans* themſelves, were almoſt all of them obſerved by the pagan *Arabs* many ages before their prophet's appearance; and parti-

[1] See before, p. 20. [2] Al Ghazâli. [3] Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 121. [4] Ebn al Athîr. [5] See Kor. chap. 2. p. 23. [6] See ibid. Mr. *Gagnier* has been twice guilty of a miſtake in confounding this monument with the ſacred incloſure of the *Caaba*. V. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 131. & Vie de Mah. t. 2. p. 262. [7] Dr. *Pococke*, from *al Ghazâli*, ſays ſeventy, at different times and places. Spec. p. 315. [8] Al Ghazâli, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. [9] Ebn al Athîr. [10] V. Reland. ubi ſup. p. 117. [11] See Kor. chap. 2. p. 23.

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cularly the compaſſing of the *Caaba*, the running between *Safâ* and *Merwâ*, and the throwing of the ſtones in *Mina*; and were confirmed by *Mohammed*, with ſome alterations in ſuch points as ſeemed moſt exceptionable: thus, for example, he ordered that when they compaſſed the *Caaba*, they ſhould be *cloathed* [1], whereas before his time they performed that piece of devotion *naked*, throwing off their cloaths as a mark that they had caſt off their ſins [2], or as ſigns of their diſobedience towards GOD [3].

It is alſo acknowledged that the greater part of theſe rites are of no intrinſic worth, neither affecting the ſoul, nor agreeing with natural reaſon, but altogether arbitrary, and commanded meerly to try the obedience of mankind, without any farther view; and are therefore to be complied with, not that they are good in themſelves, but becauſe GOD has ſo appointed [4]. Some, however, have endeavoured to find out ſome reaſons for the arbitrary injunctions of this kind; and one writer [5], ſuppoſing men ought to imitate the heavenly bodies, not only in their purity, but in their circular motion, ſeems to argue the proceſſion round the *Caaba* to be therefore a rational practice. *Reland* [6] has obſerved that the *Romans* had ſomething like this in their worſhip, being ordered by *Numa* to uſe a circular motion in the adoration of the gods, either to repreſent the orbicular motion of the world, or the perfecting the whole office of prayer to that GOD who is maker of the univerſe, or elſe in alluſion to the *Egyptian* wheels, which were hieroglyphics of the inſtability of human fortune [7].

The pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and the ceremonies preſcribed to thoſe who perform it, are, perhaps, liable to greater exception than any other of *Mohammed*'s inſtitutions; not only as ſilly and ridiculous in themſelves, but as relics of idolatrous ſuperſtition [8]. Yet whoever ſeriouſly conſiders how difficult it is to make people ſubmit to the aboliſhing of ancient cuſtoms, how unreaſonable ſoever, which they are fond of, eſpecially where the intereſt of a conſiderable party is alſo concerned, and that a man may with leſs danger change many things than one great one [9], muſt excuſe *Mohammed*'s

[1] Kor. chap. 7. p. 118, 119. [2] Al Faïk, de tempore ignor. Arabum, apud Millium de Mohammediſmo ante Moh. p. 322. Compare *Iſaiah* lxiv. 6. [3] Jallal. al Beid. This notion comes very near, if it be not the ſame with that of the *Adamites*. [4] Al Ghazâli. V. Abulfar. Hiſt. Dyn. p. 171. [5] Abu Jáafar Ebn Tofail, in vita Hai Ebn Yokdhân, p. 151. See Mr. *Ockley*'s *Engliſh* tranſlation thereof, p. 117. [6] De Rel. Mah. p. 123. [7] Plutarch. in Numa. [8] Maimonides (in Epiſt. ad Proſel. rel.) pretends that the worſhip of *Mercury* was performed by throwing of ſtones, and that of *Chemoſh* by making bare the head, and putting on unſewn garments. [9] According to the maxim, *Tutius eſt multa mutare quàm unum magnum.*

yielding ſome points of leſs moment, to gain the principal. The temple of *Mecca* was held in exceſſive veneration by all the *Arabs* in general (if we except only the tribes of *Tay*, and *Khathâam*, and ſome of the poſterity of *al Hareth Ebn Caab* [1], who uſed not to go in pilgrimage thereto) and eſpecially by thoſe of *Mecca*, who had a particular intereſt to ſupport that veneration; and as the moſt ſilly and inſignificant things are generally the objects of the greateſt ſuperſtition, *Mohammed* found it much eaſier to aboliſh idolatry itſelf, than to eradicate the ſuperſtitious bigottry with which they were addicted to that temple, and the rites performed there: wherefore, after ſeveral fruitleſs trials to wean them therefrom [2], he thought it beſt to compromiſe the matter, and rather than to fruſtrate his whole deſign, to allow them to go on pilgrimage thither, and to direct their prayers thereto; contenting himſelf with transferring the devotions there paid, from their idols to the true GOD, and changing ſuch circumſtances therein as he judged might give ſcandal. And herein he followed the example of the moſt famous legiſlators, who inſtituted not ſuch laws as were abſolutely the beſt in themſelves, but the beſt their people were capable of receiving: and we find GOD himſelf had the ſame condeſcendance for the *Jews*, whoſe hardneſs of heart he humoured in many things, giving them therefore *ſtatutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they ſhould not live* [3].

[1] Al Shahreſtâni. [2] See Kor. chap. 2. p. 17. [3] Ezek. xx. 25. V. Spencer. de Urim & Thummim, cap. 4. §. 7.

SECTION V.

Of certain negative Precepts in the Korân.

The deſign of this and the two following ſections.

HAVING in the preceding ſection ſpoken of the fundamental points of the *Mohammedan* religion, relating both to faith and to practice, I ſhall in this and the two following diſcourſes, in the ſame brief method, of ſome other precepts and inſtitutions of the *Korân* which deſerve peculiar notice, and firſt of certain things which are thereby prohibited.

Of the prohibition of wine.

The drinking of *wine*, under which name all ſorts of ſtrong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, is forbidden in the *Korân* in more

more places than one [1]. Some indeed have imagined that exceſs therein is only forbidden, and that the moderate uſe of wine is allowed by two paſſages in the ſame book [2]: but the more received opinion is, that to drink any ſtrong liquors, either in a leſſer quantity, or in a greater, is abſolutely unlawful; and though libertines indulge themſelves in the contrary practice [3], yet the more conſcientious are ſo ſtrict, eſpecially if they have performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca* [4], that they hold it unlawful not only to taſte wine, but to preſs grapes for the making of it, to buy or to ſell it, or even to maintain themſelves with the money ariſing by the ſale of that liquor. The *Perſians*, however, as well as the *Turks*, are very fond of wine; and if one aſks them how it comes to paſs that they venture to drink it, when it is ſo directly forbidden by their religion, they anſwer, that it is with them as with the *Chriſtians*, whoſe religion prohibits drunkenneſs and whoredom as great ſins, and who glory, notwithſtanding, ſome in debauching girls and married women, and others in drinking to exceſs [5].

Whether coffee, tobacco, and opium be lawful.

It has been a queſtion whether *coffee* comes not under the above-mentioned prohibition [6], becauſe the fumes of it have ſome effect on the imagination. This drink, which was firſt publickly uſed at *Aden*, in *Arabia felix*, about the middle of the ninth century of the *Hejra*, and thence gradually introduced into *Mecca*, *Medina*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and other parts of the *Levant*, has been the occaſion of great diſputes and diſorders, having been ſometimes publickly condemned and forbidden, and again declared lawful and allowed [7]. At preſent the uſe of coffee is generally tolerated, if not granted, as is that of *tobacco*, though the more religious make a ſcruple of taking the latter, not only becauſe it inebriates, but alſo out of reſpect to a traditional ſaying of their prophet, (which, if it could be made out to be his, would prove him a prophet indeed,) *That in the latter days there ſhould be men who ſhould bear the name of* Moſlems, *but ſhould not be really ſuch*; *and that they ſhould ſmoke a certain weed, which ſhould be called* TOBACCO: however, the eaſtern nations are generally ſo addicted to both, that they ſay, *a diſh of coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainment*; and the *Per-*

[1] See chap. 2. p. 25, & chap. 5. p. 94. [2] Chap. 2. p. 25, & chap. 16. p. 219. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 696. [3] V. Smith. de morib. & inſtit. Turcar. Ep. 2. p. 28, &c. [4] V. Chardin, ubi ſupra, p. 212. [5] Chardin, ubi ſup. p. 344. [6] Abd'alkâder Mohammed al Anſâri has written a treatiſe concerning Coffee, wherein he argues for its lawfulneſs. V. D'Herbel. Art. Cahvah. [7] V. Le Traité hiſtorique de l'origine & du progres du Café, à la fin du Voy. de l'Arabie heur. de la Roque.

ſians have a proverb, that *coffee without tobacco, is meat without ſalt* [1].

Opium and *beng*, (which latter is the leaves of hemp in pills or conſerve) are alſo by the rigid *Mohammedans* eſteemed unlawful, though not mentioned in the *Korân*, becauſe they intoxicate and diſturb the underſtanding as wine does, and in a more extraordinary manner: yet theſe drugs are now commonly taken in the eaſt; but they who are addicted to them are generally looked upon as debauchees [2].

Why wine was forbidden.

Several ſtories have been told as the occaſion of *Mohammed*'s prohibiting the drinking of wine [3]: but the true reaſons are given in the *Korân*, *viz.* becauſe the ill qualities of that liquor ſurpaſs its good ones, the common effects thereof being quarrels and diſturbances in company, and neglect, or at leaſt indecencies, in the performance of religious duties [4]. For theſe reaſons it was, that the prieſts were, by the Levitical law, forbidden to drink wine or ſtrong drink when they entred the tabernacle [5], and that the *Nazarites* [6] and *Rechabites* [7], and many pious perſons among the *Jews* and primitive *Chriſtians*, wholly abſtained therefrom; nay, ſome of the latter went ſo far, as to condemn the uſe of wine as ſinful [8]. But *Mohammed* is ſaid to have had a nearer example than any of theſe, in the more devout perſons of his own tribe [9].

Of the prohibition of gaming.

Gaming is prohibited by the *Korân* [10] in the ſame paſſages, and for the ſame reaſons, as wine. The word *al Meiſar*, which is there uſed, ſignifies a particular manner of caſting lots by arrows, much practiſed by the pagan *Arabs*, and performed in the following manner. A young camel being bought and killed, and divided into ten, or twenty eight parts, the perſons who caſt lots for them, to the number of ſeven, met for that purpoſe; and eleven arrows were provided, without heads or feathers, ſeven of which were marked, the firſt with one notch, the ſecond with two, and ſo on, and the other four had no mark at all [11]: theſe arrows were put promiſcuouſly into a bag, and then drawn by an indifferent perſon, who had another near him to receive them, and to ſee he acted fairly; thoſe to whom the marked arrows fell, won ſhares in proportion to their

[1] Reland. Diſſert. Miſcell. T. 2. p. 280. V. Chardin, Voy. de Perſe, T. 2. p. 14, & 66. [2] V. Chardin, ibid. p. 68, &c. & D'Herbel. p. 200. [3] V. Prid. Life of Mah. p. 82, &c. Buſbeq. Epiſt. 3. p. 255, and Maundeville's Travels, p. 170. [4] Kor. chap. 2. p. 25, chap. 5. p. 94, & chap. 4. p. 66. See Prov. xxiii. 29, &c. [5] Levit. x. 9. [6] Numb. vi. 2. [7] Jerem. xxxv. 5, &c. [8] This was the hereſy of thoſe called *Encratitæ*, and *Aquarij*. *Khwâſ*, a Magian heretic, alſo declared wine unlawful; but this was after *Mohammed*'s time. Hyde, de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 300. [9] V. Reland. de rel. Moh. p. 271. [10] Chap. 2. p. 25. chap. 5. p. 94. [11] Some writers, as *al Zamakh.* and *al Shirâzi*, mention but three blank arrows.

lot,

lot, and thoſe to whom the blanks fell, were entitled to no part of the camel at all, but were obliged to pay the full price of it. The winners, however, taſted not of the fleſh, any more than the loſers, but the whole was diſtributed among the poor; and this they did out of pride and oſtentation, it being reckoned a ſhame for a man to ſtand out, and not venture his money on ſuch an occaſion [1]. This cuſtom, therefore, though it was of ſome uſe to the poor, and diverſion to the rich, was forbidden by *Mohammed* [2], as the ſource of greater inconveniences, by occaſioning quarrels and heart-burnings, which aroſe from the winners inſulting of thoſe who loſt.

Under the name of *lots* the commentators agree that all other games whatſoever, which are ſubject to hazard or chance, are comprehended and forbidden, as dice, cards, tables, *&c.* And they are reckoned ſo ill in themſelves, that the teſtimony of him who plays at them, is by the more rigid judged to be of no validity in a court of juſtice. Chefs is almoſt the only game which the *Mohammedan* doctors allow to be lawful, (though it has been a doubt with ſome [3],) becauſe it depends wholly on ſkill and management, and not at all on chance: but then it is allowed under certain reſtrictions, *viz.* that it be no hindrance to the regular performance of their devotions, and that no money or other thing be played for or betted; which laſt the *Turks* and *Sonnites* religiouſly obſerve, but the *Perſians* and *Mogols* do not [4]. But what *Mohammed* is ſuppoſed chiefly to have diſliked in the game of chefs, was the carved pieces, or men, with which the pagan *Arabs* played, being little figures of men, elephants, horſes, and dromedaries [5]; and theſe are thought, by ſome commentators, to be truly meant by the *images* prohibited in one of the paſſages of the *Korân* [6] quoted above. That the *Arabs* in *Mohammed*'s time actually uſed ſuch images for chefs-men appears from what is related, in the *Sonna*, of *Ali*, who paſſing accidentally by ſome who were playing at chefs, aſked, *What images they were which they were ſo intent upon* [7]? for they were perfectly new to him, that game having been but very lately introduced into *Arabia*, and not long before into *Perſia*, whither it was firſt brought from *India* in the reign of *Khoſrû Nûſhirwân* [8]. Hence the *Mohammedan* doctors infer that the game was diſapproved only for the ſake of the

[1] Auctores Nodhm al dorr, & Nothr al dorr, al Zamakh. al Firauzabâdi, al Shirâzi in Orat. al Harîri, al Beidâwi, &c. V. Poc. Spec. p. 324, &c. [2] Korân, chap. 5. p. 82. [3] V. Hyde, de Ludis oriental. in Proleg. ad Shahiludium. [4] V. Eund. ibid. [5] V. Eundem, ibid, & in Hiſt. Shahiludij, p. 135, &c. [6] Chap. 5. p. 94. [7] Sokeiker al Dimiſhki, & Auctor libri al Moſtatraf, apud Hyde, ubi ſup. p. 8. [8] Khondemir, apud eund. ib. p. 41.

images: wherefore the *Somites* always play with plain pieces of wood or ivory; but the *Perſians* and *Indians*, who are not ſo ſcrupulous, continue to make uſe of the carved ones [1].

The *Mohammedans* comply with the prohibition of gaming much better than they do with that of wine; for though the common people, among the *Turks* more frequently, and the *Perſians* more rarely, are addicted to play, yet the better ſort are ſeldom guilty of it [2].

Gaming, at leaſt to exceſs, has been forbidden in all well-ordered ſtates. Gaming-houſes were reckoned ſcandalous places among the *Greeks*, and a gameſter is declared by *Ariſtotle* [3] to be no better than a *thief*: the *Roman* ſenate made very ſevere laws againſt playing at games of hazard [4], except only during the *Saturnalia*; though the people played often at other times, notwithſtanding the prohibition: the civil law forbad all pernicious games [5]; and though the laity were, in ſome caſes, permitted to play for money, provided they kept within reaſonable bounds, yet the clergy were forbidden to play at *tables* (which is a game of hazard,) or even to look on while others played [6]. *Accurſius*, indeed, is of opinion they may play at cheſs, notwithſtanding that law, becauſe it is a game not ſubject to chance [7], and being but newly invented in the time of *Juſtinian*, was not then known in the weſtern parts. However the monks for ſome time were not allowed even cheſs [8].

As to the *Jews*, *Mohammed*'s chief guides, they alſo highly diſapprove gaming: gameſters being ſeverely cenſured in the *Talmud*, and their teſtimony declared invalid [9].

Of the prohibition of divining arrows.

Another practice of the idolatrous *Arabs* forbidden alſo in one of the above-mentioned paſſages [10], was that of *divining* by *arrows*. The arrows uſed by them for this purpoſe were like thoſe with which they caſt lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of ſome idol, in whoſe preſence they were conſulted. Seven ſuch arrows were kept at the temple of *Mecca* [11]; but generally in divination they made uſe of three only, on one of which was written, *My* LORD *hath commanded me*, on another,

[1] V. Hyde, ubi ſup. p. 9. [2] V. Eundem, in Proleg. & Chardin, Voy. de Perſe. T. 2. p. 46. [3] Lib. 4. ad Nicom. [4] V. Horat. l. 3. Carm. Od. 24. [5] ff. de aleatoribus. Novell. Juſt. 123, &c. V. Hyde, ubi ſup. in Hiſt. Aleæ, p. 119. [6] Authent. interdicimus, c. de epiſcopis. [7] In com. ad legem præd. [8] Du Freſne, in Gloſs. [9] Bava Meſii, 84. 1, Roſh haſhana, & Sanhedr. 24. 2. V. etiam Maimon. in tract. Gezila. Among the modern civilians, *Maſcardus* thought common gameſters were not to be admitted as witneſſes, being infamous perſons. V. Hyde, ubi ſup. in Proleg. & in Hiſt. Aleæ, §. III. [10] Kor. chap. 5. p. 94. [11] See before, p. 20.

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My LORD *hath forbidden me*, and the third was blank. If the firſt was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprize in queſtion; if the ſecond, they made a contrary concluſion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and drew over again, till a deciſive anſwer was given by one of the others. Theſe divining arrows were generally conſulted before any thing of moment was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the like [1]. This ſuperſtitious practice of divining by arrows was uſed by the ancient *Greeks* [2], and other nations; and is particularly mentioned in ſcripture [3], where it is ſaid, that *the king of* Babylon *ſtood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to uſe divination; he made* his *arrows bright*, (or, according to the verſion of the vulgate, which ſeems preferable in this place, *he mixed together*, or ſhook *the arrows*,) *he conſulted with images*, &c. the commentary of St. *Jerom* on which paſſage wonderfully agrees with what we are told of the aforeſaid cuſtom of the old *Arabs*: *He ſhall ſtand*, ſays he, *in the highway, and conſult the oracle after the manner of his nation, that he may caſt arrows into a quiver, and mix them together, being written upon or marked with the names of each people, that he may ſee whoſe arrow will come forth, and which city he ought firſt to attack* [4].

Of forbidden food.

A diſtinction of meats was ſo generally uſed by the eaſtern nations, that it is no wonder that *Mohammed* made ſome regulations in that matter. The *Korân*, therefore, prohibits the eating of blood, and ſwines fleſh, and whatever dies of itſelf, or is ſlain in the name or in honour of any idol, or is ſtrangled, or killed by a blow, or a fall, or by any other beaſt [5]. In which particulars *Mohammed* ſeems chiefly to have imitated the *Jews*, by whoſe law, as is well known, all thoſe things are forbidden; but he allowed ſome things to be eaten which *Moſes* did not [6], as camels fleſh [7] in particular. In caſes of neceſſity, however, where a man may be in danger of ſtarving, he is allowed by the *Mohammedan* law to eat any of the ſaid prohibited kinds of food [8]; and the *Jewiſh* doctors grant the ſame liberty in the like caſe [9]. Though the averſion to blood and what dies of itſelf may ſeem natural, yet ſome of the pagan *Arabs*

[1] Ebn al Athîr, al Zamakh. & al Beid. in Kor. c. 5. Al Moſtatraf, &c. V. Poc. Spec. p. 327, &c. & D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Acdâh. [2] V. Potter, Antiq. of Greece, Vol. 1. p. 334. [3] Ezek. xxi. 21. [4] V. Poc. Spec. p. 329, &c. [5] Chap. 2. p. 20. ch. 5. p. 82. chap. 6. p. 111, & 114, & chap. 16. p. 225. [6] Lev. xi. 4. [7] See Kor. chap. 3. p. 42, & 47, & chap. 6. p. 114. [8] Kor. chap. 5. p. 83. and in the other paſſages laſt quoted. [9] V. Maimon. in Halachoth Melachim. chap. 8. §. 1, &c.

uſed

uſed to eat both: of their eating of the latter ſome inſtances will be given hereafter; and as to the former, it is ſaid they uſed to pour blood, which they ſometimes drew from a live camel, into a gut, and then broiled it in the fire, or boiled it, and eat it [1]: this food they called *Moſwadd*, from *Aſwad*, which ſignifies *black*; the ſame nearly reſembling our *black-puddings* in name as well as compoſition [2]. The eating of meat offered to idols I take to be commonly practiſed by all idolaters, being looked on as a ſort of communion in their worſhip, and for that reaſon eſteemed by *Chriſtians*, if not abſolutely unlawful, yet as what may be the occaſion of great ſcandal [3]: but the *Arabs* were particularly ſuperſtitious in this matter, killing what they eat on ſtones erected on purpoſe round the *Caaba*, or near their own houſes, and calling, at the ſame time, on the name of ſome idol [4]. Swine's-fleſh, indeed, the old *Arabs* ſeem not to have eaten; and their prophet, in prohibiting the ſame, appears to have only confirmed the common averſion of the nation. Foreign writers tell us that the *Arabs* wholly abſtained from ſwine's-fleſh [5], thinking it unlawful to feed thereon [6], and that very few, if any, of thoſe animals are found in their country, becauſe it produces not proper food for them [7]; which has made one writer imagine that if a hog were carried thither, it would immediately die [8].

Of uſury.

In the prohibition of uſury [9] I preſume *Mohammed* alſo followed the *Jews*, who are ſtrictly forbidden by their law to exerciſe it among one another, though they are ſo infamouſly guilty of it in their dealing with thoſe of a different religion: but I do not find the prophet of the *Arabs* has made any diſtinction in this matter.

Superſtitious cuſtoms relating to cattle aboliſhed.

Several ſuperſtitious cuſtoms relating to cattle, which ſeem to have been peculiar to the pagan *Arabs*, were alſo aboliſhed by *Mohammed*. The *Korân* [10] mentions four names by them given to certain camels or ſheep, which for ſome particular reaſons were left at free liberty, and were not made uſe of as other cattle of the ſame kind. Theſe names are *Bahîra*, *Saïba*, *Waſîla*, and *Hâmi*: of each whereof in their order.

As to the firſt it is ſaid that when a ſhe-camel, or a ſheep, had borne young ten times, they uſed to ſlit her ear, and turn her looſe to feed at full liberty; and when ſhe died, her fleſh was eaten by

[1] Nothr al dorr, al Firauz. al Zamakh. & al Beid. [2] Poc. Spec. p. 320. [3] Compare *Acts* xv. 29, with 1 *Cor.* viii. 4, *&c.* [4] See the fifth chap. of the Kor. p. 82. and the notes there. [5] Solin. de Arab. cap. 33. [6] Hieronym. in Jovin. l. 2. c. 6. [7] Idem, ib. [8] Solinus, ubi ſupra. [9] Kor. chap. 2. p. 33. [10] Chap. 5. p. 96.

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the men only, the women being forbidden to eat thereof: and ſuch a camel or ſheep, from the *ſlitting of her ear*, they called *Bahîra*. Or the *Bahîra* was a ſhe-camel, which was turned looſe to feed, and whoſe fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by men and women promiſcuouſly; but if it proved a female, had its ear ſlit, and was diſmiſſed to free paſture, none being permitted to make uſe of its fleſh or milk, or to ride on it; though the women were allowed to eat the fleſh of it, when it died: or it was the female young of the *Sâïba*, which was uſed in the ſame manner as its dam; or elſe an ewe, which had yeaned five times [1]. Theſe, however, are not all the opinions concerning the *Bahîra*: for ſome ſuppoſe that name was given to a ſhe-camel, which after having brought forth young five times, (if the laſt was a male,) had her ear ſlit, as a mark thereof, and was let go looſe to feed, none driving her from paſture or water, nor uſing her for carriage [2]; and others tell us, that when a camel had newly brought forth, they uſed to ſlit the ear of her young one, ſaying, *O* God, *if it live, it ſhall be for our uſe, but if it die, it ſhall be deemed rightly ſlain*; and when it died, they eat it [3].

Saïba ſignifies a ſhe-camel *turned looſe* to go where ſhe will. And this was done on various accounts: as when ſhe had brought forth females ten times together; or in ſatisfaction of a vow; or when a man had recovered from ſickneſs, or returned ſafe from a journey, or his camel had eſcaped ſome ſignal danger either in battle or otherwiſe. A camel ſo turned looſe was declared to be *Saïba*, and, as a mark of it, one of the *vertebræ* or bones was taken out of her back, after which none might drive her from paſture or water, or ride on her [4]. Some ſay that the *Saïba*, when ſhe had ten times together brought forth females, was ſuffered to go at liberty, none being allowed to ride on her, and that her milk was not to be drank by any but her young one, or a gueſt, till ſhe died; and then her fleſh was eaten by men as well as women, and her laſt female young one had her ear ſlit, and was called *Bahîra*, and turned looſe as her dam had been [5].

This appellation, however, was not ſo ſtrictly proper to female camels, but that it was given to the male when his young one had begotten another young one [6]: nay a ſervant ſet at liberty and diſmiſſed by his maſter, was alſo called *Saïba* [7]; and ſome are of opi-

[1] Al Firauzabâdi. [2] Al Zamakh. al Beidâwi, al Moſtatraf. [3] Ebn al Athîr. [4] Al Firauzab, al Zamakh. [5] Al Jawhari. Ebn al Athîr. [6] Al Firauz. [7] Idem, al Jawhari, &c.

nion that the word denotes any animal which the *Arabs* uſed to turn looſe in honour of their idols, allowing none to make uſe of them, thereafter, except women only [1].

Waſîla is, by one author [2], explained to ſignify a ſhe-camel which had brought forth ten times, or an ewe which had yeaned ſeven times, and every time twins; and if the ſeventh time ſhe brought forth a male and a female, they ſaid, *Woſilat akhâha*, i. e. *She is joined*, or *was brought forth with her brother*, after which none might drink the dam's milk, except men only; and ſhe was uſed as the *Sâiba*. Or *Waſîla* was particularly meant of ſheep; as when an ewe brought forth a female, they took it to themſelves, but when ſhe brought forth a male, they conſecrated it to their gods, but if both a male and a female, they ſaid, *She is joined to her brother*, and did not ſacrifice that male to their gods: or *Waſîla* was an ewe which brought forth firſt a male, and then a female, on whoſe account, or becauſe *ſhe followed her brother*, the male was not killed; but if ſhe brought forth a male only, they ſaid, *Let this be an offering to our gods* [3]. Another [4] writes, that if an ewe brought forth twins ſeven times together, and the eighth time a male, they ſacrificed that male to their gods; but if the eighth time ſhe brought both a male and a female, they uſed to ſay, *She is joined to her brother*, and for the female's ſake they ſpared the male, and permitted not the dam's milk to be drank by women. A third writer tells us, that *Waſîla* was an ewe, which having yeaned ſeven times, if that which ſhe brought forth the ſeventh time was a male, they ſacrificed it, but if a female, it was ſuffered to go looſe, and was made uſe of by women only; and if the ſeventh time ſhe brought forth both a male and a female, they held them both to be ſacred, ſo that men only were allowed to make any uſe of them, or to drink the milk of the female: and a fourth [5] deſcribes it to be an ewe which brought forth ten females at five births one after another, *i. e.* every time twins, and whatever ſhe brought forth afterwards was allowed to men, and not to women, *&c.*

Hâmi was a male camel uſed for a ſtallion, which, if the females had conceived ten times by him, was afterwards *freed from labour*, and let go looſe, none driving him from paſture or from water; nor was any allowed to receive the leaſt benefit from him, not even to ſhear his hair [6].

[1] Nothr al dorr, & Nodhm al dorr. [2] Al Firauz. [3] Idem, al Zamakh. [4] Al Jawhari. [5] Al Motarrezi. [6] Al Firauz. al Jawhari.

Theſe

Theſe things were obſerved by the old *Arabs* in honour of their falſe gods [1], and as part of the worſhip which they paid them, and were aſcribed to the divine inſtitution; but are all condemned in the *Korân*, and declared to be impious ſuperſtitions [2].

The law of *Mohammed* alſo put a ſtop to the inhuman cuſtom, which had been long practiſed by the pagan *Arabs*, of burying their daughters alive, leſt they ſhould be reduced to poverty by providing for them, or elſe to avoid the diſpleaſure and diſgrace which would follow, if they ſhould happen to be made captives, or to become ſcandalous by their behaviour [3]; the birth of a daughter being, for theſe reaſons, reckoned a great misfortune [4], and the death of one as great a happineſs [5]. The manner of their doing this is differently related: ſome ſay that when an *Arab* had a daughter born, if he intended to bring her up, he ſent her, cloathed in a garment of wool or hair, to keep camels or ſheep in the deſart; but if he deſigned to put her to death, he let her live till ſhe became ſix years old, and then ſaid to her mother, *Perfume her, and adorn her, that I may carry her to her mothers*; which being done, the father led her to a well or pit dug for that purpoſe, and having bid her to look down into it, puſhed her in headlong, as he ſtood behind her, and then filling up the pit, levelled it with the reſt of the ground: but others ſay, that when a woman was ready to fall in labour, they dug a pit, on the brink whereof ſhe was to be delivered, and if the child happened to be a daughter, they threw it into the pit, but if a ſon, they ſaved it alive [6]. This cuſtom, though not obſerved by all the *Arabs* in general, was yet very common among ſeveral of their tribes, and particularly thoſe of *Koreiſh* and *Kendah*; the former uſing to bury their daughters alive in mount *Abu Dalâma*, near *Mecca* [7]. In the time of ignorance, while they uſed this method to get rid of their daughters, *Sáſaá*, grandfather to the celebrated poet *al Farazdak*, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two ſhe-camels big with young, and a he-camel; and hereto *al Farazdak* alluded when, vaunting himſelf before one of the *Khalîfs* of the family of *Omeyya*, he ſaid, *I am the ſon of the giver of life to the dead*; for which expreſſion being cenſured, he excuſed himſelf by alledging the following words of the *Korân* [8], *He who ſaveth a ſoul alive, ſhall be as if he had ſaved the lives of all*

The cuſtom of their burying their daughters alive, aboliſhed.

[1] Jallal. in Kor. [2] Kor. chap. 5. p. 96, and chap. 6. p. 113, 114. V. Poc. Specim. p. 330, 334. [3] Al Beidâwi, al Zamakh. al Moſtatraf. [4] See *Korân*, chap. 16. p. 218. [5] Al Meidâni. [6] Al Zamakh. [7] Al Moſtatraf. [8] Chap. 5. p. 87.

mankind [1]. The *Arabs*, in thus murdering of their children, were far from being ſingular; the practice of expoſing infants and putting them to death being ſo common among the ancients, that it is remarked as a thing very extraordinary in the *Egyptians*, that they brought up *all* their children [2]; and by the laws of *Lycurgus* [3] no child was allowed to be brought up, without the approbation of public officers. At this day, it is ſaid, in *China*, the poorer ſort of people frequently put their children, the females eſpecially, to death, with impunity [4].

This wicked practice is condemned by the *Korân* in ſeveral paſſages [5]; one of which, as ſome commentators [6] judge, may alſo condemn another cuſtom of the *Arabians*, altogether as wicked, and as common among other nations of old, *viz.* the ſacrificing of their children to their idols; as was frequently done, in particular, in ſatisfaction of a vow they uſed to make, that if they had a certain number of ſons born, they would offer one of them in ſacrifice.

Several other ſuperſtitious cuſtoms were likewiſe abrogated by *Mohammed*; but the ſame being of leſs moment, and not particularly mentioned in the *Korân*, or having been occaſionally taken notice of elſewhere, I ſhall ſay nothing of them in this place.

[1] Al Moſtatraf. V. Ebn Khalekân, in vita al Farazdak, & Poc. Spec. p. 334. [2] Strabo, l. 17. V. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. c. 80. [3] V. Plutarch. in Lycurgo. [4] V. Puſendorf. de Jure nat. & gent. l. 6. c. 7. §. 6. The *Græcians* alſo treated *daughters* eſpecially in this Manner; whence that ſaying of *Poſidippus*,

Τιὸν τρέφει τις κἂν πένης ὢν τύχῃ,
Θυγατέρα δὲ ἐκτίθησι κἂν ᾖ πλούσιος. i. e.
A man tho' poor will not expoſe his ſon,
But if he's rich, will ſcarce preſerve his daughter.

See *Potter*'s Antiq. of *Greece*, Vol. 2. p. 333. [5] Chap. 6. p. 113, 115. chap. 16. p. 218. and chap. 17. p. 230. See alſo chap. 81. p 482. [9] Al Zamakh. al Beid.

SECTION VI.

Of the Inſtitutions of the Korân *in Civil Affairs.*

The *Mohammedan* civil laws grounded on the *Korân*.

THE *Mohammedan* civil law is founded on the precepts and determinations of the *Korân*, as the civil laws of the *Jews* were on thoſe of the *Pentateuch*; yet being variouſly interpreted, according to the different deciſions of their civilians, and eſpecially of their four great doctors, *Abu Hanîfa*, *Malec*, *al Shâfeï*, and *Ebn Hanbal* [1], to treat thereof fully and diſtinctly, in the manner the curioſity and uſefulneſs of the ſubject deſerves, would require a large volume: wherefore the moſt that can be expected here, is a ſummary view of the principal inſtitutions, without minutely entring into a

[1] See §. VIII.

detail

detail of particulars. We ſhall begin with thoſe relating to marriage and divorce.

Of the laws of marriage and divorce.

That *polygamy*, for the moral lawfulneſs of which the *Mohammedan* doctors advance ſeveral arguments [1], is allowed by the *Korân*, every one knows; though few are acquainted with the limitations with which it is allowed. Several learned men have fallen into the vulgar miſtake, that *Mohammed* granted to his followers an unbounded plurality; ſome pretending that a man may have as many wives [2], and others as many concubines [3], as he can maintain: whereas, according to the expreſs words of the *Korân* [4], no man can have more than four, whether wives or concubines [5]; and if a man apprehend any inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is added, as an advice, (which is generally followed by the middling and inferior people [6]) that he marry one only, or if he cannot be contented with one, that he take up with his ſhe-ſlaves, not exceeding, however, the limited number [7]; and this is certainly the utmoſt *Mohammed* allowed his followers: nor can we urge, as an argument againſt ſo plain a precept, the corrupt manners of his followers, many of whom, eſpecially men of quality and fortune, indulge themſelves in criminal exceſſes [8]; nor yet the example of the prophet himſelf, who had peculiar privileges in this and other points, as will be obſerved hereafter. In making the above-mentioned limitation, *Mohammed* was directed by the deciſion of the *Jewiſh* doctors, who, by way of counſel, limit the number of wives to four [9]. though their law confines them not to any certain number [10].

Divorce is alſo well known to be allowed by the *Mohammedan* law, as it was by the *Moſaic*, with this difference only, that ac-

[1] See before, §. II. p. 49. [2] Nic. Cuſanus, in Cribrat. Alcor. l. 2. cap. 19. Olearius, in Itinerar. P. Greg. Tholoſanus, in Synt. juris, l. 9. c. 2. §. 22. Septemcaſtrenſis, (de morib. Turc. p. 24.) ſays the *Mohammedans* may have twelve lawful wives, and no more. *Ricaut* falſely aſſerts the reſtraint of the number of their wives to be no precept of their religion, but a rule ſuperinduced on a politic conſideration. Preſ. ſtate of the *Ottoman* empire, book 3. chap. 21. [3] Marracc. in Prodr. ad refut. Alcor. part 4. p. 52, & 71. Prideaux, life of Mah. p. 114. Chardin, Voy. de Perſe, T. 1. p. 166. Du Ryer, Sommaire de la Rel. des Turcs, mis à la tête de ſa verſion de l'Alcor. Ricaut, ubi ſupra, Pufendorf. de Jure nat. & gent. l. 6. c. 1. §. 18. [4] Chap. 4. p. 60. [5] V. Gagnier, in notis ad Abulfedæ vit. Moh. p. 150. Reland. de rel. Moh. p. 243, &c. & Selden. Ux. Hebr. l. 1. cap. 9. [6] V. Reland. ubi ſup. p. 244. [7] Kor. chap. 4. p. 60. [8] Sir *J. Maundeville*, (who, excepting a few ſilly ſtories he tells from hear-ſay, deſerves more credit than ſome travellers of better reputation,) ſpeaking of the *Alcoran*, obſerves, among ſeveral other truths, that *Mahomet* therein commanded a man ſhould have two wives, or three, or four; though the *Mahometans* then took nine wives, and lemmans as many as they might ſuſtain. Maundev. Travels, p. 164. [9] Maimon. in Halachoth Iſhoth, c. 14. [10] Idem, ib. V. Selden. Uxor. Hebr. l. 1. c. 9.

cording

cording to the latter a man could not take again a woman whom he had divorced, and who had been married or betrothed to another [1]; whereas *Mohammed*, to prevent his followers from divorcing their wives on every light occaſion, or out of an inconſtant humour, ordained that if a man divorced his wife the third time, (for he might divorce her twice without being obliged to part with her, if he repented of what he had done,) it ſhould not be lawful for him to take her again, until ſhe had been firſt married and bedded by another, and divorced by ſuch ſecond huſband [2]. And this precaution has had ſo good an effect, that the *Mohammedans* are ſeldom known to proceed to the extremity of divorce, notwithſtanding the liberty given them; it being reckoned a great diſgrace ſo to do: and there are but few, beſides thoſe who have little or no ſenſe of honour, that will take a wife again, on the condition enjoined [3]. It muſt be obſerved that though a man is allowed by the *Mohammedan*, as by the *Jewiſh* law [4], to repudiate his wife even on the ſlighteſt diſguſt, yet the women are not allowed to ſeparate themſelves from their huſbands, unleſs it be for ill uſage, want of proper maintenance, neglect of conjugal duty, impotency, or ſome cauſe of equal import; but then ſhe generally loſes her dowry [5], which ſhe does not, if divorced by her huſband, unleſs ſhe has been guilty of impudicity, or notorious diſobedience [6].

When a woman is divorced, ſhe is obliged, by the direction of the *Korân*, to wait till ſhe hath had her courſes thrice, or, if there be a doubt whether ſhe be ſubject to them or not, by reaſon of her age, three months, before ſhe marry another; after which time expired, in caſe ſhe be found not with child, ſhe is at full liberty to diſpoſe of herſelf as ſhe pleaſes; but if ſhe prove with child, ſhe muſt wait till ſhe be delivered: and during her whole term of waiting, ſhe may continue in the huſband's houſe, and is to be maintained at his expence; it being forbidden to turn a woman out before the expiration of the term, unleſs ſhe be guilty of diſhoneſty [7]. Where a man divorces a woman before conſummation, ſhe is not obliged to wait any particular time [8]; nor is he obliged to give her more than one half of her dower [9]. If the divorced woman have a

[1] Deut. xxiv. 3, 4. Jerem. iii. 1. V. Selden. ubi ſup. l. 1. c. 11. [2] Korân, chap. 2. p. 27. [3] V. Selden. ubi ſup. l. 3. cap. 21. and *Ricaut*'s State of the Ottom. empire, b. 2. chap. 21. [4] Deut. xxiv. 1. Leo Modena, Hiſt. de gli riti Hebr. part 1. c. 6. V. Selden. ubi ſup. [5] V. Busbeq. Ep. 3. p. 184. Smith, de morib. ac inſtit. Turcar. Ep. 2. p. 52. & Chardin, Voy. de Perſe. T. 1. p. 169. [6] Korân, chap. 4. p. 62. [7] Korân, chap. 2. p. 26, & 27. & chap. 65. p. 454. [8] Ib. chap. 33. p. 348. [9] Ib. chap. 2. p. 28.

young

young child, ſhe is to ſuckle it till it be two years old; the father, in the mean time, maintaining her in all reſpects: a widow is alſo obliged to do the ſame, and to wait four months and ten days before ſhe marry again [1].

Theſe rules are alſo copied from thoſe of the *Jews*, according to whom a divorced woman, or a widow, cannot marry another man, till ninety days be paſt, after the divorce or death of the huſband [2]: and ſhe who gives ſuck is to be maintained for two years, to be computed from the birth of the child; within which time ſhe muſt not marry, unleſs the child die, or her milk be dried up [3].

Whoredom, in ſingle women as well as married, was, in the beginning of *Mohammediſm*, very ſeverely puniſhed; ſuch being ordered to be ſhut up in priſon till they died: but afterwards it was ordained by the *Sonna*, that an adultreſs ſhould be ſtoned [4], and an unmarried woman guilty of fornication ſcourged with an hundred ſtripes, and baniſhed for a year [5]. A ſhe-ſlave, if convicted of adultery, is to ſuffer but half the puniſhment of a free woman [6], *viz.* fifty ſtripes, and baniſhment for ſix months; but is not to be put to death. To convict a woman of adultery, ſo as to make it capital, four witneſſes are expreſly required [7], and thoſe, as the commentators ſay, ought to be men: and if a man falſely accuſe a woman of reputation of whoredom of any kind, and is not able to ſupport the charge by that number of witneſſes, he is to receive fourſcore ſtripes, and his teſtimony is to be held invalid for the future [8]. Fornication, in either ſex, is by the ſentence of the *Korân* to be puniſhed with an hundred ſtripes [9].

If a man accuſe his wife of infidelity, and is not able to prove it by ſufficient evidence, and will ſwear four times that it is true, and the fifth time imprecate GOD's vengeance on him if it be falſe, ſhe is to be looked on as convicted, unleſs ſhe will take the like oaths, and make the like imprecation, in teſtimony of her innocency; which if ſhe do, ſhe is free from puniſhment, though the marriage ought to be diſſolved [10].

[1] Ib. chap. 2. p. 27. and chap. 65. [2] Miſhna, tit. Yabimoth. c. 4. Gemar. Babyl. ad eund. tit. Maimon. in Halach. Giruſhin, Shylhan Aruch, part 3. [3] Miſhna, & Gemara, & Maimon. ubi ſupra, Gem. Babyl. ad tit. Cetuboth, c. 5. & Joſ. Karo, in Shylhân Aruch, c. 50. §. 2. V. Seldeni Ux. Hebr. l. 2. c. 11, and l. 3. c. 10, in fin. [4] And the adulterer alſo, according to a paſſage once extant in the *Korân*, and ſtill in force as ſome ſuppoſe. See the notes to *Kor.* c. 3. p. 37. and the Prel. Diſc. p. 67. [5] Kor. chap. 4. p 62. See the notes there. [6] Ibid, p. 64. [7] Ibid, p. 62. [8] Kor. chap. 24. p. 288. [9] Ibid. p. 287. This law relates not to married people, as *Selden* ſuppoſes; Ux. Heb. l. 3. c. 12. [10] Ibid. p. 288. See the notes there.

In

In moſt of the laſt mentioned particulars the deciſions of the *Korân* alſo agree with thoſe of the *Jews*. By the law of *Moſes* adultery, whether in a married woman or a virgin betrothed, was puniſhed with death; and the man who debauched them was to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment [1]. The penalty of ſimple fornication was ſcourging, the general puniſhment in caſes where none is particularly appointed: and a betrothed bond-maid, if convicted of adultery, underwent the ſame puniſhment, being exempted from death, *becauſe ſhe was not free* [2]. By the ſame law no perſon was to be put to death on the oath of one witneſs [3]: and a man who ſlandered his wife was alſo to be *chaſtiſed*, that is ſcourged, and fined one hundred ſhekels of ſilver [4]. The method of trying a woman ſuſpected of adultery where evidence was wanting, by forcing her to drink the bitter water of jealouſy [5], though diſuſed by the *Jews* long before the time of *Mohammed* [6], yet, by reaſon of the oath of curſing with which the woman was charged, and to which ſhe was obliged to ſay *Amen*, bears great reſemblance to the expedient deviſed by that prophet on the like occaſion.

The inſtitutions of *Mohammed* relating to the pollution of women during their courſes [7], the taking of ſlaves to wife [8], and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees [9], have likewiſe no ſmall affinity with the inſtitutions of *Moſes* [10]; and the parallel might be carried farther in ſeveral other particulars.

As to the prohibited degrees it may be obſerved, that the pagan *Arabs* abſtained from marrying their mothers, daughters, and aunts both on the father's ſide and on the mother's, and held it a moſt ſcandalous thing to marry two ſiſters, or for a man to take his father's wife [11]; which laſt was notwithſtanding too frequently practiſed [12], and is expreſsly forbidden in the *Korân* [13].

[1] Lev. xx. 10. Deut. xxii. 22. The kind of death to be inflicted on adulterers in common caſes being not expreſſed, the *Talmudiſts* generally ſuppoſe it to be *ſtrangling*; which they think is deſigned where-ever the phraſe *ſhall be put to death*, or *ſhall die the death*, is uſed, as they imagine *ſtoning* is by the expreſſion *his blood ſhall be upon him*: and hence it has been concluded by ſome, that the woman taken in adultery, mentioned in the goſpel (*John* viii.) was a *betrothed maiden*, becauſe ſuch a one and her accomplice were plainly ordered to be ſtoned (*Deut.* xxii. 23, 24.) But the ancients ſeem to have been of a different opinion, and to have underſtood ſtoning to be the puniſhment of adulterers in general. V. Selden. Ux. Hebr. l. 3. c. 11, & 12. [2] Levit. xix. 20. [3] Deut. xix. 15. xvii. 6, and Numb. xxxv. 30. [4] Deut. xxii. 13,—19. [5] Numb. v. 11, &c. [6] V. Selden. ubi ſupr. l. 3. c. 15. & Leon. Modena, de' riti Hebraici, parte 4. c. 6. [7] Kor. chap. 2. p. 25. [8] Ib. chap. 4. p. 60, and 64, &c. [9] Chap. 4. p. 63. [10] See Lev. xv. 24. xviii. 19. and xx. 18. Exod. xxi. 8,—11. Deut. xxi. 10,—14. Levit. xviii. and xx. [11] Abulfed. Hiſt. Gen. al Shahreſtani, apud Poc. Spec. p. 321, & 338. [12] V. Poc. ib. p. 337, &c. [13] Chap. 4. p. 63.

Before

Before I leave the ſubject of marriages, it may be proper to take notice of ſome peculiar privileges in relation thereto, which were granted by GOD to *Mohammed*, as he gave out, excluſive of all other *Moſlems*. One of them was, that he might lawfully marry as many wives, and have as many concubines as he pleaſed, without being confined to any particular number [1]; and this he pretended to have been the privilege of the prophets before him. Another was, that he might alter the turns of his wives, and take ſuch of them to his bed as he thought fit, without being tied to that order and equality which others are obliged to obſerve [2]. A third privilege was, that no man might marry any of his wives [3], either ſuch as he ſhould divorce during his life-time, or ſuch as he ſhould leave widows at his death: which laſt particular exactly agrees with what the *Jewiſh* doctors have determined concerning the wives of their princes; it being judged by them to be a thing very indecent, and for that reaſon unlawful, for another to marry either the divorced wife or the widow of a king [4]; and *Mohammed*, it ſeems, thought an equal reſpect, at leaſt, due to the *prophetic*, as to the *regal* dignity, and therefore ordered that his relicts ſhould paſs the remainder of their lives in perpetual widowhood.

Of the peculiar privileges of *Mohammed* in reſpect to the laws of marriage.

The laws of the *Korân* concerning inheritances are alſo in ſeveral reſpects conformable to thoſe of the *Jews*, though principally deſigned to aboliſh certain practices of the pagan *Arabs*, who uſed to treat widows and orphan children with great injuſtice, frequently denying them any ſhare in the inheritance of their fathers or their huſbands, on pretence that the ſame ought to be diſtributed among thoſe only who were able to bear arms, and diſpoſing of the widows, even againſt their conſent, as part of their huſbands poſſeſſions [5]. To prevent ſuch injuries for the future, *Mohammed* ordered that women ſhould be reſpected, and orphans have no wrong done them; and in particular that women ſhould not be taken againſt their wills, as by right of inheritance, but ſhould themſelves be entitled to a diſtributive part of what their parents, huſbands, and near relations ſhould leave behind them, in a certain proportion [6].

Of the laws of inheritances.

The general rule to be obſerved in the diſtribution of the de-

[1] Kor. chap. 33. p. 348, &c. See alſo chap. 66, and the notes there. [2] Kor. chap. 33. p. 349. See the notes there. [3] Kor. chap. 33. p. 342, 350. [4] Miſhna, tit. Sanhedr. c. 2. & Gemar. in eund. tit. Maimon. Halachoth Melachim, c. 2. V. Selden. Ux. Hebr. l. 1. c. 10. *Prid.* life of *Mah.* p. 118. [5] See chap. 4. p. 60, 61, & 63, and the notes there. V. etiam Poc. Spec. p. 337. [6] Kor. chap. 4. ubi ſupra.

ceaſed's eſtate is, that a male ſhall have twice as much as a female [1]; but to this rule there are ſome few exceptions; a man's parents, for example, and alſo his brothers and ſiſters, where they are entitled not to the whole, but a ſmall part of the inheritance, being to have equal ſhares with one another in the diſtribution thereof, without making any difference on account of ſex [2]. The particular proportions, in ſeveral caſes, diſtinctly and ſufficiently declare the intention of *Mohammed*; whoſe deciſions expreſſed in the *Korân* [3] ſeem to be pretty equitable, preferring a man's children firſt, and then his neareſt relations.

If a man diſpoſe of any part of his eſtate by will, two witneſſes, at the leaſt, are required to render the ſame valid; and ſuch witneſſes ought to be of his own tribe, and of the *Mohammedan* religion, if ſuch can be had [4]. Though there be no expreſs law to the contrary, yet the *Mohammedan* doctors reckon it very wrong for a man to give away any part of his ſubſtance from his family, unleſs it be in legacies for pious uſes; and even in that caſe a man ought not to give all he has in charity, but only a reaſonable part in proportion to his ſubſtance. On the other hand, though a man make no will, and bequeath nothing for charitable uſes, yet the heirs are directed, on the diſtribution of the eſtate, if the value will permit, to beſtow ſomething on the poor, eſpecially ſuch as are of kin to the deceaſed, and to the orphans [5].

The firſt law, however, laid down by *Mohammed* touching inheritances was not very equitable; for he declared that thoſe who had fled with him from *Mecca*, and thoſe who had received and aſſiſted him at *Medina*, ſhould be deemed the neareſt of kin, and conſequently heirs to one another, preferably to and in excluſion of their relations by blood; nay tho' a man were a true believer, yet if he had not fled his country for the ſake of religion and joined the prophet, he was to be looked on as a ſtranger [6]: but this law continued not long in force, being quickly abrogated [7].

It muſt be obſerved that among the *Mohammedans* the children of their concubines or ſlaves are eſteemed as equally legitimate with thoſe of their legal and ingenuous wives; none being accounted baſtards, except ſuch only as are born of common women, and whoſe fathers are unknown.

[1] Ibid. p. 61, & 81. V. Chardin, Voy. de Perſe. T. 2. p. 293. [2] Kor. ibid. p. 61, 62.
[3] Ibid. & p. 81. [4] Kor. chap. 5. p. 96. [5] Kor. chap. 4. p. 61. [6] Chap. 8. p. 148.
[7] Ibid. & chap. 33. p. 342.

As

Of private contracts.

As to private contracts between man and man, the conſcientious performance of them is frequently recommended in the *Korân* [1]. For the preventing of diſputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witneſſes [2], and in caſe ſuch contracts are not immediately executed, the ſame ought to be reduced into writing in the preſence of two witneſſes [3] at leaſt, who ought to be *Moſlems* and of the male ſex; but if two men cannot be conveniently had, then one man and two women may ſuffice: the ſame method is alſo directed to be taken for the ſecurity of debts to be paid at a future day; and where a writer is not to be found, pledges are to be taken [4]. Hence, if people truſt one another without writing, witneſſes, or pledge, the party on whom the demand is made is always acquitted if he denies the charge on oath, and ſwears that he owes the plaintiff nothing, unleſs the contrary be proved by very convincing circumſtances [5].

Of murder and manſlaughter.

Wilful murder, though forbidden by the *Korân* under the ſevereſt penalties to be inflicted in the next life [6], is yet by the ſame book allowed to be compounded for, on payment of a fine to the family of the deceaſed, and freeing a *Moſlem* from captivity: but it is in the election of the next of kin, or the *revenger of blood*, as he is called in the *Pentateuch*, either to except of ſuch ſatisfaction, or to refuſe it; for he may, if he pleaſes, inſiſt on having the murtherer delivered into his hands, to be put to death in ſuch manner as he ſhall think fit [7]. In this particular *Mohammed* has gone againſt the expreſs letter of the *Moſaic* law, which declares that no ſatisfaction ſhall be taken for the life of a murderer [8]; and he ſeems, in ſo doing, to have had reſpect to the cuſtoms of the *Arabs* in his time, who, being of a vindictive temper, uſed to revenge murder in too unmerciful a manner [9], whole tribes frequently engaging in bloody wars on ſuch occaſions, the natural conſequence of their independency, and having no common judge or ſuperior.

If the *Mohammedan* laws ſeem light in caſe of murder, they may perhaps be deemed too rigorous in caſe of manſlaughter, or the killing of a man undeſignedly; which muſt be redeemed by fine, (unleſs the next of kin ſhall think fit to remit it out of charity,)

[1] Chap. 5. p. 82. chap. 17. p. 230. chap. 2. p. 34, &c. [2] Chap. 2. p. 34. [3] The ſame ſeems to have been required by the *Jewiſh* law, even in caſes where life was not concerned. See *Deut.* xix. 15. *Matth.* xviii. 16. *John* viii. 17. 2 *Cor.* xiii. 1. [4] Kor. c. 2. p. 33, 34. [5] V. Chardin, Voy. de Perſe. T. 2. p. 294, &c. and the notes to *Kor.* chap. 5. p. 97. [6] Kor. ch. 4 p. 72. [7] Chap. 2. p. 20, 21. chap. 17. p. 230. V. Chardin, ubi ſup. p. 299, &c. [8] *Numb.* xxxv. 31. [9] This is particularly forbidden in the *Korân*, chap. 17. p. 230.

and the freeing of a captive: but if a man be not able to do this, he is to faſt two months together, by way of penance [1]. The fine for a man's blood is ſet in the *Sonna* at an hundred camels [2]; and is to be diſtributed among the relations of the deceaſed, according to the laws of inheritances: but it muſt be obſerved, that tho' the perſon ſlain be a *Moſlem*, yet if he be of a nation or party at enmity, or not in confederacy with thoſe to whom the ſlayer belongs, he is not then bound to pay any fine at all; the redeeming a captive being, in ſuch caſe, declared a ſufficient penalty [3]. I imagine that *Mohammed*, by theſe regulations, laid ſo heavy a puniſhment on involuntary manſlaughter, not only to make people beware incurring the ſame, but alſo to humour, in ſome degree, the revengeful temper of his countrymen, which might be with difficulty, if at all, prevailed on to accept a lighter ſatisfaction. Among the *Jews*, who ſeem to have been no leſs addicted to revenge than their neighbours, the manſlayer who had eſcaped to a city of refuge was obliged to keep himſelf within that city, and to abide there till the death of the perſon who was high prieſt at the time the fact was committed, that his abſence and time might cool the paſſion and mitigate the reſentment of the friends of the deceaſed: but if he quitted his aſylum before that time, the revenger of blood, if he found him, might kill him without guilt [4]; nor could any ſatisfaction be made for the ſlayer to return home before the preſcribed time [5].

Of theft. Theft is ordered to be puniſhed by cutting off the offending part, the hand [6]; which, at firſt ſight, ſeems juſt enough: but the law of *Juſtinian*, forbidding a thief to be maimed [7], is more reaſonable; becauſe ſtealing being generally the effect of indigence, to cut off that limb would be to deprive him of the means of getting his livelihood in an honeſt manner [8]. The *Sonna* forbids the inflicting of this puniſhment, unleſs the thing ſtolen be of a certain value. I have mentioned in another place the further penalties which thoſe incur who continue to ſteal, and of thoſe who rob or aſſault people on the road [9].

Of retaliation. As to injuries done to men in their perſons, the law of retaliation, which was ordained by the law of *Moſes* [10], is alſo approved by

[1] Kor. chap. 4. p. 72. [2] See the notes to chap. 37. p. 369. [3] Kor. chap. 4. p. 72. [4] See *Numb.* xxxv. 26, 27, 28. [5] Ibid. ver. 32. [6] Korân, chap. 5. p. 87. [7] Novell. 134. c. 13. [8] V. Pufendorf, de Jure nat. & gent. l. 8. c. 3. §. 26. [9] See the notes to chap. 5. p. 87. [10] *Exod.* xxi. 24, *&c. Levit.* xxiv. 20. *Deut.* xix. 21.

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the *Korân* [1]: but this law, which ſeems to have been allowed by *Mohammed* to his *Arabians* for the ſame reaſons as it was to the *Jews*, *viz.* to prevent particular revenges, to which both nations were extreamly addicted [2], being neither ſtrictly juſt, nor practicable in many caſes, is ſeldom put in execution, the puniſhment being generally turned into a mulct or fine, which is paid to the party injured [3]. Or rather *Mohammed* deſigned the words of the *Korân* relating thereto ſhould be underſtood in the ſame manner as thoſe of the *Pentateuch* moſt probably ought to be; that is, not of an actual retaliation, according to the ſtrict literal meaning, but of a retribution proportionable to the injury: for a criminal had not his eyes put out, nor was a man mutilated, according to the law of *Moſes*, which, beſides, condemned thoſe who had wounded any perſon, where death did not enſue, to pay a fine only [4]; the expreſſion *eye for eye, and tooth for tooth* being only a proverbial manner of ſpeaking, the ſenſe whereof amounts to this, *That every one ſhall be puniſhed by the judges, according to the heinouſneſs of the fact* [5].

Of the puniſhment of leſſer crimes.

In injuries and crimes of an inferior nature, where no particular puniſhment is provided by the *Korân*, and where a pecuniary compenſation will not do, the *Mohammedans*, according to the practice of the *Jews* in the like caſe [6], have recourſe to *ſtripes* or *drubbing*, the moſt common chaſtiſement uſed in the eaſt at this day, as well as formerly; the cudgel, which for its virtue and efficacy in keeping their people in good order, and within the bounds of duty, they ſay came down from heaven, being the inſtrument wherewith the judge's ſentence is generally executed [7].

The deciſions of the doctors not always followed by the ſecular tribunals.

Notwithſtanding the *Korân* is by the *Mohammedans* in general regarded as the fundamental part of their civil law, and the deciſions of the *Sonna*, among the *Turks*, and of the *Imâms*, among thoſe of the *Perſian* ſect, with the explications of their ſeveral doctors, are uſually followed in judicial determinations, yet the ſecular tribunals do not think themſelves bound to obſerve the ſame in all caſes, but frequently give judgment againſt thoſe deciſions, which are not always conſonant to equity and reaſon; and therefore diſtinction is to be made between the written civil law, as adminiſtered in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and the law of nature or common law (if I may ſo

[1] Chap. 5. p. 88, 89. [2] V. Grotium, de Jure belli & pacis, l. 1. c. 2. §. 8. [3] V. Chardin, T. 2 p. 299. The *talio*, likewiſe eſtabliſhed among the old *Romans* by the laws of the twelve tables, was not to be inflicted, unleſs the delinquent could not agree with the perſon injured. V. A. Gell. Noct. Attic. l. 20. c. 1. & Feſtum, in voce *Talio*. [4] See *Exod.* xxi. 18, 19. and 22. [5] Barbeyrac, in Grot. ubi ſupra. V. Cleric. in Exod. xxi. 24, & Deut. xix. 21. [6] See *Deut.* xxv. 2, 3. [7] V. Grelot, Voy. de Conſtant. p. 220, & Chardin, ubi ſupra, p. 302.

call

call it) which takes place in the ſecular courts, and has the executive power on its ſide [1].

Of war againſt infidels.

Under the head of civil laws, may be comprehended the injunction of warring againſt infidels, which is repeated in ſeveral paſſages of the *Korân* [2], and declared to be of high merit in the ſight of GOD, thoſe who are ſlain fighting in defence of the faith being reckoned *martyrs*, and promiſed immediate admiſſion into paradiſe [3]. Hence this duty is greatly magnified by the *Mohammedan* divines, who call the ſword the *key of heaven and hell*, and perſuade their people that the leaſt drop of blood ſpilt *in the way of* GOD, as it is called, is moſt acceptable unto him, and that the defending the territories of the *Moſlems* for one night, is more meritorious than a faſt of two months [4]: on the other hand, deſertion, or refuſing to ſerve in theſe holy wars, or to contribute towards the carrying them on, if a man has ability, is accounted a moſt heinous crime, being frequently declaimed againſt in the *Korân* [5]. Such a doctrine, which *Mohammed* ventured not to teach till his circumſtances enabled him to put it in practice [6], it muſt be allowed, was well calculated for his purpoſe, and ſtood him and his ſucceſſors in great ſtead: for what dangers and difficulties may not be deſpiſed and overcome by the courage and conſtancy which theſe ſentiments neceſſarily inſpire? Nor have the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, how much ſoever they deteſt ſuch principles in others, been ignorant of the force of enthuſiaſtic heroiſm, or omitted to ſpirit up their reſpective partiſans by the like arguments and promiſes. *Let him who has liſted himſelf* in defence of the law, ſays *Maimonides* [7], *rely on him who is the hope of* Iſrael, *and the ſaviour thereof in the time of trouble* [8]; *and let him know that he fights for the profeſſion of the divine unity: wherefore let him put his life in his hand* [9], *and think neither of wife nor children, but baniſh the memory of them from his heart, having his mind wholly fixed on the war. For if he ſhould begin to waver in his thoughts, he would not only confound himſelf, but ſin againſt the law; nay the blood of the whole people hangeth on his neck: for if they are diſcomfited, and he has not fought ſtoutly with all his might, it is equally the ſame as if he had ſhed the blood of them all; according to that ſaying, let him return, leſt his brethrens heart*

[1] V. Chardin, ubi ſupra, p. 290, &c. [2] Chap. 22. p. 278. chap. 2. p. 22. chap. 4. p. 70, &c. chap. 8 p. 141, &c. chap. 9. p. 149, 154. chap. 47. & chap. 61. p. 449. &c. [3] Chap. 2. p. 18. chap. 3. p. 52, 55. chap. 47. p. 410. chap. 61. p. 449. [4] Reland. de jure milit. Moham. p. 5, &c. [5] V. chap. 9. p. 154, &c. chap. 3. p. 52, &c. [6] See before, p. 48. [7] Halach. Melachim, c. 7. [8] *Jerem.* xiv. 8. [9] *Job* xiii. 14.

fail

fail as his own [1]. *To the ſame purpoſe doth the* Kabala *accommodate that other paſſage, Curſed be he who doth the work of the* LORD *negligently, and curſed be he who keepeth back his ſword from blood* [2]. *On the contrary, he who behaveth bravely in battle, to the utmoſt of his endeavour, without trembling, with intent to glorify* GOD's *name, he ought to expect the victory with confidence, and to apprehend no danger or misfortune, but may be aſſured that he will have a houſe built him in* Iſrael, *appropriated to him and his children for ever; as it is ſaid,* GOD *ſhall certainly make my lord a ſure houſe, becauſe he hath fought the battles of the* LORD, *and his life ſhall be bound up in the bundle of life with the* LORD *his* GOD [3]. More paſſages of this kind might be produced from the *Jewiſh* writers; and the *Chriſtians* come not far behind them. *We are deſirous of knowing*, ſays one [4] writing to the *Franks* engaged in the holy war, *the charity of you all; for that every one (which we ſpeak not becauſe we wiſh it) who ſhall faithfully loſe his life in this warfare, ſhall be by no means denied the kingdom of heaven:* And another [5] gives the following exhortation; *Laying aſide all fear and dread, endeavour to act effectually againſt the enemies of the holy faith, and the adverſaries of all religions: for the Almighty knoweth, if any of you die, that he dieth for the truth of the faith, and the ſalvation of his country, and the defence of* Chriſtians; *and therefore he ſhall obtain of him a celeſtial reward.* The *Jews* indeed, had a divine commiſſion, extenſive and explicit enough, to attack, ſubdue and deſtroy the enemies of their religion; and *Mohammed* pretended to have received one in favour of himſelf and his *Moſlems*, in terms equally plain and full; and therefore it is no wonder that they ſhould act conſiſtently with their avowed principles: but that *Chriſtians* ſhould teach and practiſe a doctrine ſo oppoſite to the temper and whole tenour of the goſpel, ſeems very ſtrange; and yet the latter have carried matters farther, and ſhewn a more violent ſpirit of intolerance, than either of the former.

The laws of war according to the *Mohammedans*, have been already ſo exactly ſet down by the learned *Reland* [6], that I need ſay very little of them. I ſhall therefore only obſerve ſome conformity between their military laws and thoſe of the *Jews*.

While *Mohammediſm* was in its infancy, the oppoſers thereof taken in battle were doomed to death, without mercy; but this was

[1] *Deut.* xx. 8. [2] *Jerem.* xlviii. 10. [3] 1 *Sam.* xxv. 28, 29. [4] Nicolaus, in Jure canon. c. omnium, 23. quæſt. 5. [5] Leo IV. ib. quæſt. 8. [6] In his treatiſe *De Jure militari Mohammedanor.* in the third vol. of his *Diſſertationes Miſcellaneæ*.

judged

judged too ſevere to be put in practice when that religion came to be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, and paſt the danger of being ſubverted by its enemies [1]. The ſame ſentence was pronounced not only againſt the ſeven *Canaaniti∫h* nations [2], whoſe poſſeſſions were given to the *Iſraelites*, and without whoſe deſtruction, in a manner, they could not have ſettled themſelves in the country deſigned them, but againſt the *Amalekites* [3] and *Midianites* [4], who had done their utmoſt to cut them off in their paſſage thither. When the *Mohammedans* declare war againſt people of a different faith, they give them their choice of three offers, *viz.* either to embrace *Mohammedi∫m*, in which caſe they become not only ſecure in their perſons, families, and fortunes, but entitled to all the privileges of other *Moſlems*; or to ſubmit and pay tribute [5], by doing which they are allowed to profeſs their own religion, provided it be not groſs idolatry, or againſt the moral law; or elſe to decide the quarrel by the ſword, in which laſt caſe, if the *Moſlems* prevail, the women and children which are made captives become abſolute ſlaves, and the men taken in the battle may either be ſlain, unleſs they turn *Mohammedans*, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of the prince [6]. Herewith agree the laws of war given to the *Jews*, which relate to the nations not devoted to deſtruction [7]; and *Joſhua* is ſaid to have ſent even to the inhabitants of *Canaan*, before he entered the land, three ſchedules, in one of which was written, *Let him fly, who will*; in the ſecond, *Let him ſurrender, who will*; and in the third, *Let him fight, who will* [8]; though none of thoſe nations made peace with the *Iſraelites* (except only the *Gibeonites*, who obtained terms of ſecurity by ſtratagem, after they had refuſed thoſe offered by *Joſhua) it being of the* LORD *to harden their hearts, that he might deſtroy them utterly* [9].

On the firſt conſiderable ſucceſs of *Mohammed* in war, the diſpute which happened among his followers in relation to the dividing of

[1] See Kor. chap. 47. p. 409, 410. and the notes there; and chap. 4. p. 72. chap. 5. p. 87.
[2] *Deut.* xx. 16. — 18. [3] Ib. chap. xxv. 17. — 19. [4] *Numb.* xxxi. 17. [5] See chap. 9. p. 152, and the notes there. [6] See the notes to chap. 47. p. 410. [7] *Deut.* xx. 10 — 15.
[8] Talmud Hieroſol. apud Maimonid. Halach. Melachim, c. 6. §. 5. R. Bechai, ex lib. Siphre. V. Selden. de Jure nat. & gent. ſec. Hebr. l. 6. c. 13, & 14, & Schickardi Jus Regium Hebr. c. 5. Theor. 16. [9] *Joſh.* xi. 20. The *Jews.* however, ſay that the *Girgaſhites*, believing they could not eſcape the deſtruction with which they were threatned by GOD, if they perſiſted to defend themſelves, fled into *Africa* in great numbers; (V. Talm. Hieroſ. ubi ſup.) And this is aſſigned as the reaſon why the *Girgaſhites* are not mentioned among the other *Canaaniti∫h* nations who aſſembled to fight againſt *Joſhua*, (Joſh. ix. 1.) and who were doomed to utter extirpation (*Deut.* xx. 17.) But it is obſervable, that the *Girgaſhites* are not omitted by the *Septuagint* in either of thoſe texts, and that their name appears in the latter of them in the *Samaritan Pentateuch:* they are alſo joined with the other *Canaanites* as having fought againſt *Iſrael*, in *Joſh.* xxiv. 11.

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the ſpoil, rendered it neceſſary for him to make ſome regulation therein: he therefore pretended to have received the divine commiſſion to diſtribute the ſpoil among his ſoldiers at his own diſcretion [1], reſerving thereout, in the firſt place, one fifth part [2] for the uſes after mentioned; and in conſequence hereof, he took himſelf to be authorized on extraordinary occaſions to diſtribute it as he thought fit, without obſerving an equality. Thus he did, for example, with the ſpoil of the tribe of *Hawâzen* taken at the battle of *Honein*, which he beſtowed by way of preſents on the *Meccans* only, paſſing by thoſe of *Medina*, and highly diſtinguiſhing the principal *Koraſhites*, that he might ingratiate himſelf with them, after he had become maſter of their city [3]. He was alſo allowed in the expedition againſt thoſe of *al Nadîr* to take the whole booty to himſelf, and to diſpoſe thereof as he pleaſed, becauſe no horſes or camels were made uſe of in that expedition [4], but the whole army went on foot; and this became thenceforward a law [5]: the reaſon of which ſeems to be, that the ſpoil taken by a party conſiſting of infantry only, ſhould be conſidered as the more immediate gift of GOD [6], and therefore properly left to the diſpoſition of his apoſtle. According to the *Jews*, the ſpoil ought to be divided into two equal parts, one to be ſhared among the captors, and the other to be taken by the prince [7], and by him employed for his own ſupport and the uſe of the public. *Moſes*, it is true, divided one half of the plunder of the *Midianites* among thoſe who went to battle, and the other half among all the congregation [8]: but this, they ſay, being a peculiar caſe, and done by the expreſs order of GOD himſelf, muſt not be looked on as a precedent [9]. It ſhould ſeem, however, from the words of *Joſhua* to the two tribes and half, when he ſent them home into *Gilead* after the conqueſt and diviſion of the land of *Canaan*, that they were to *divide the ſpoil of their enemies with their brethren*, after their return [10]: and the half which was in ſucceeding times taken by the king, was in all probability taken by him as head of the community, and repreſenting the whole body. It is remarkable that the diſpute among *Mohammed*'s men about ſharing the booty at *Bedr* [11], aroſe on the ſame occaſion as did that among *David*'s ſoldiers in relation to the ſpoils recovered from the

[1] Kor. chap. 8. p. 139. [2] Ib. p. 144. [3] Abulfed. in vit. Moh. p. 118, &c. V. Kor. c. 9. p. 156. and the notes there. [4] Kor. chap. 59. p. 444. See the notes there. [5] V Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 91. [6] V. Kor. chap. 59. ubi ſupra. [7] Gemar. Babyl. ad tit. Sanhedr. c. 2. V. Selden. de Jure nat. & gent. ſec. Hebr. lib. 6. c. 16. [8] *Numb.* xxxi. 27. [9] V. Maim. Halach. Melach. c. 4. [10] *Joſh.* xxii. 8. [11] See Kor. c. 8. p. 139. and the notes there.

Amalekites [1]; thoſe who had been in the action inſiſting that they who *tarried by the ſtuff* ſhould have no part of the ſpoil; and that the ſame deciſion was given in both caſes, which became a law for the future, to wit, *that they ſhould part alike.*

The fifth part directed by the *Korân* to be taken out of the ſpoil before it be divided among the captors, is declared to belong to GOD, *and to the apoſtle, and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller* [2]: which words are variouſly underſtood. *Al Shâfei* was of opinion that the whole ought to be divided into five parts; the firſt, which he called GOD's *part*, to go to the treaſury, and be employed in building and repairing fortreſſes, bridges, and other public works, and in paying ſalaries to magiſtrates, civil officers, profeſſors of learning, miniſters of public worſhip, *&c.* the ſecond part to be diſtributed among the kindred of *Mohammed*, that is, the deſcendants of his grandfather *Hâſhem*, and of his great uncle *al Motalleb* [3], as well the rich as the poor, the children as the adult, the women as the men; obſerving only to give a female but half the ſhare of a male: the third part to go to the orphans: the fourth part to the poor, who have not wherewithal to maintain themſelves the year round, and are not able to get their livelihood: and the fifth part to travellers, who are in want on the road, notwithſtanding they may be rich men in their own country [4]. According to *Malec Ebn Ans* the whole is at the diſpoſition of the *Imâm* or prince, who may diſtribute the ſame at his own diſcretion, where he ſees moſt need [5]. *Abu'l Aliya* went according to the letter of the *Korân*, and declared his opinion to be that the whole ſhould be divided into ſix parts, and that GOD's part ſhould be applied to the ſervice of the *Caaba:* while others ſuppoſed GOD's part and the apoſtle's to be one and the ſame [6]. *Abu Hanîfa* thought that the ſhare of *Mohammed* and his kindred ſank at that prophet's death, ſince which the whole ought to be divided among the orphans, the poor, and the traveller [7]. Some inſiſt, that the kindred of *Mohammed* entitled to a ſhare of the ſpoils are the poſterity of *Hâſhem* only; but thoſe who think the deſcendants of his brother *al Motalleb* have alſo a right to a diſtributive part, alledge a tradition in their favour purporting that *Mohammed* himſelf divided the ſhare belonging to his relations among both families, and when *Othmân Ebn Affân* and *Jobeir Ebn Matám* (who were deſcended from *Abdſhams* and

[1] 1 *Sam.* xxx. 21 — 25. [2] Kor. chap. 8. p. 144. [3] Note, *al Shâfeï* himſelf was deſcended from this latter. [4] Al Beid. V. Reland. de Jure milit Moham. p. 42, &c. [5] Idem. [6] Idem. [7] Idem.

Nawfal

Nawfal the other brothers of *Hâſhem)* told him, that though they diſputed not the preference of the *Hâſhemites*, they could not help taking it ill to ſee ſuch difference made between the family of *al Motalleb* and themſelves, who were related to him in an equal degree, and yet had no part in the diſtribution, the prophet replied, that the deſcendants of *al Motalleb* had forſaken him neither in the time of ignorance, nor ſince the revelation of *Iſlam*; and joined his fingers together in token of the ſtrict union between them and the *Hâſhemites* [1]. Some exclude none of the tribe of *Koreiſh* from receiving a part in the diviſion of the ſpoil, and make no diſtinction between the poor and the rich; though, according to the more reaſonable opinion, ſuch of them as are poor only are intended by the text of the *Korân*, as is agreed in the caſe of the ſtranger: and others go ſo far as to aſſert that the whole fifth commanded to be reſerved belongs to them only, and that the *orphans*, and the *poor*, and the *traveller*, are to be underſtood of ſuch as are of that tribe [2]. It muſt be obſerved, that immoveable poſſeſſions, as lands, *&c.* taken in war, are ſubject to the ſame laws as the moveable; excepting only, that the fifth part of the former is not actually divided, but the income and profits thereof, or of the price thereof, if ſold, are applied to public and pious uſes, and diſtributed once a year, and that the prince may either take the fifth part of the land itſelf, or the fifth part of the income and produce of the whole, as he ſhall make his election.

[1] Idem. [2] Idem.

SECTION VII.

Of the Months commanded by the Korân *to be kept ſacred; and of the ſetting apart of* Friday *for the eſpecial Service of* GOD.

IT was a cuſtom among the ancient *Arabs* to obſerve four months in the year as *ſacred*, during which they held it unlawful to wage war, and took off the heads from their ſpears, ceaſing from incurſions and other hoſtilities. During thoſe months whoever was in fear of his enemy lived in full ſecurity; ſo that if a man met the murderer of his father or his brother, he durſt not offer him any

The old *Arabs* obſerved 4 months in the year as ſacred.

violence [1]: *a great argument*, ſays a learned writer, *of a humane diſpoſition in that nation; who being by reaſon of the independent governments of their ſeveral tribes, and for the preſervation of their juſt rights, expoſed to frequent quarrels with one another, had yet learned to cool their inflamed breaſts with moderation, and reſtrain the rage of war by ſtated times of truce* [2].

This inſtitution obtained among all the *Arabian* tribes, except only thoſe of *Tay* and *Khathâam*, and ſome of the deſcendants of *al Hareth Ebn Caab*, (who diſtinguiſhed no time or place as ſacred [3],) and was ſo religiouſly obſerved, that there are but few inſtances in hiſtory (four, ſay ſome, ſix, ſay others [4],) of its having been tranſgreſſed; the wars which were carried on without regard thereto, being therefore termed *impious*. One of thoſe inſtances was in the war between the tribes of *Koreiſh* and *Kais Ailân*, wherein *Mohammed* himſelf ſerved under his uncles, being then fourteen [5], or, as others ſay, twenty [6] years old.

The months which the *Arabs* held ſacred were *al Moharram*, *Rajeb*, *Dhu'lkaada*, and *Dhu'lhajja*; the firſt, the ſeventh, the eleventh and the twelfth in the year [7]. *Dhu'lhajja* being the month wherein they performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, not only that month, but alſo the preceding and the following were for that reaſon kept inviolable, that every one might ſafely and without interruption paſs and repaſs to and from the feſtival [8]. *Rajeb* is ſaid to have been more ſtrictly obſerved than any of the other three [9], probably becauſe in that month the pagan *Arabs* uſed to faſt [10]; *Ramadân*, which was afterwards ſet apart by *Mohammed* for that purpoſe, being in the time of *ignorance* dedicated to drinking in exceſs [11]. By reaſon of the profound peace and ſecurity enjoyed in this month, one part of the proviſions brought by the caravans of purveyors annually ſet out by the *Koreiſh* for the ſupply of *Mecca* [12], was diſtributed among

[1] Al Kazwîni, apud Golium in notis ad Alfrag. p. 4. &c. Al Shahreſtani, apud Poc. Spec. p. 311. Al Jawhari, al Firauzab. [2] Golius, ubi ſupra, p. 5. [3] Al Shahreſtâni, ubi ſupra. See before, p. 122. [4] Al Mogholtaï. [5] Abulfedâ, vit. Moh. p. 11. [6] Al Kodâï, al Firauz. apud Poc. Spec. p. 174. *Al Mogholtaï* mentions both opinions. [7] Mr. *Bayle* (*Dict. Hiſt. & Crit. Art.* la Mecque, *Rem. F.*) accuſes Dr. *Prideaux* of an inconſiſtency for ſaying in one place (Life of Mah. p. 64.) that theſe ſacred months were the firſt, the ſeventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth, and intimating in another place, (Ib. p. 89) that three of them were contiguous. But this muſt be mere abſence of mind in Mr. *Bayle*: for are not the eleventh, the twelfth, and the firſt months contiguous? The two learned profeſſors, *Golius* and *Reland*, have alſo made a ſmall ſlip in ſpeaking of theſe ſacred months, which, they tell us, are the two firſt and the two laſt in the year. V. Golii Lex. Arab. col. 601 & Reland. de Jure milit Mohammedanor. p. 5. [8] V. Gol. in Alfrag. p. 9. [9] V. ibid. p. 6. [10] Al Makrîzi, apud Poc. ubi ſupra. [11] Idem, & Auctor Neſhk al Azhâr, ibid. [12] See *Korân*, chap. 106. p. 503.

the

the people; the other part being, for the like reaſon, diſtributed at the pilgrimage [1].

The obſervance of the aforeſaid months ſeemed ſo reaſonable to *Mohammed*, that it met with his approbation; and the ſame is accordingly confirmed and enforced by ſeveral paſſages of the *Korân* [2], which forbid war to be waged during thoſe months againſt ſuch as acknowledge them to be ſacred, but grant, at the ſame time, full permiſſion to attack thoſe who make no ſuch diſtinction, in the ſacred months as well as in the prophane [3]. The obſervance of thoſe months confirmed by the *Korân*.

One practice, however, of the pagan *Arabs*, in relation to theſe ſacred months, *Mohammed* thought proper to reform: for ſome of them, weary of ſitting quiet for three months together, and eager to make their accuſtomed incurſions for plunder, uſed, by way of expedient, whenever it ſuited their inclinations or conveniency, to put off the obſerving of *al Moharram* to the following month *Safar* [4], thereby avoiding to keep the former, which they ſuppoſed it lawful for them to prophane, provided they ſanctified another month in lieu of it, and gave public notice thereof at the preceding pilgrimage. This *transferring* the obſervation of a ſacred month to a prophane month, is what is truly meant by the *Arabic* word *al Naſî*, and is abſolutely condemned, and declared to be an impious innovation, in a paſſage of the *Korân* [5] which Dr. *Prideaux* [6], miſled by *Golius* [7], imagines to relate to the *prolonging of the year*, by adding an *intercalary month* thereto. It is true, the *Arabs*, who imitated the *Jews* in their manner of computing by *lunar* years, had alſo learned their method of reducing them to *ſolar* years, by intercalating a month ſometimes in the third, and ſometimes in the ſecond year [8]; by which means they fixed the pilgrimage of *Mecca* (contrary to the original inſtitution) to a certain ſeaſon of the year, *viz.* to autumn, as moſt convenient for the pilgrims, by reaſon of the temperateneſs of the weather, and the plenty of proviſions [9]; and it is alſo true that *Mohammed* forbad ſuch intercalation by a paſſage in the ſame chapter of the *Korân*: but then it is not the paſſage abovementioned, which prohibits a different thing, but one a little before it, wherein the number of months in the year, according to the ordinance of GOD, is declared to be *twelve* [10]; whereas, if the intercalation of a month were al- The tranſferring of a ſacred month to a prophane month, and the reducing of lunar years to ſolar, by intercalating a month, forbidden.

[1] Al Edrîſi apud Poc. Specim. p. 127. [2] Chap. 9. p. 154. chap. 2. p. 22. chap. 4. p. 82. chap. 5. p 95, &c. [3] Chap. 9. p. 154. chap. 2. p. 22. [4] See the notes to chap. 9. ubi ſup. [5] Chap. 9. ibid. [6] Life of *Mah.* p. 66. [7] In Alfrag. p. 12. [8] See *Prid.* Preface to the firſt vol. of his Connect. p. vi, &c. [9] V. Gol. ubi ſupra. [10] Kor. chap. 9. p. 154. See alſo chap. 2. p. 22.

lowed,

lowed, every third or ſecond year would conſiſt of *thirteen*, contrary to GOD's appointment.

Of the ſetting apart of Friday.

The ſetting apart of one day in the week for the more peculiar attendance on GOD's worſhip, ſo ſtrictly required by the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* religions, appeared to *Mohammed* to be ſo proper an inſtitution, that he could not but imitate the profeſſors thereof in that particular; though, for the ſake of diſtinction, he might think himſelf obliged to order his followers to obſerve a different day from either. Several reaſons are given why the ſixth day of the week was pitched on for this purpoſe [1]; but *Mohammed* ſeems to have preferred that day chiefly becauſe it was the day on which the people uſed to be aſſembled long before his time [2], though ſuch aſſemblies were had, perhaps, rather on a civil than a religious account. However it be, the *Mohammedan* writers beſtow very extraordinary encomiums on this day, calling it the *prince of days*, and *the moſt excellent day on which the ſun riſes* [3]; pretending alſo that it will be the day whereon the laſt judgment will be ſolemnized [4]: and they eſteem it a peculiar honour to *Iſlam*, that GOD has been pleaſed to appoint this day to be the feaſt-day of the *Moſlems*, and granted them the advantage of having firſt obſerved it [5].

Though the *Mohammedans* do not think themſelves bound to keep their day of public worſhip ſo holy as the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are certainly obliged to keep theirs, there being a permiſſion, as is generally ſuppoſed, in the *Korân* [6], allowing them to return to their employments or diverſion after divine ſervice is over; yet the more devout diſapprove the applying of any part of that day to worldly affairs, and require it to be wholly dedicated to the buſineſs of the life to come [7].

Of the two *Beirâms*.

Since I have mentioned the *Mohammedan* weekly feaſt, I beg leave juſt to take notice of their two *Beirâms* [8], or principal annual feaſts. The firſt of them is called, in *Arabic*, *Id al fetr*, i. e. *The feaſt of breaking the faſt*, and begins the firſt of *Shawâl*, immediately ſucceeding the faſt of *Ramadân*; and the other is called *Id al korbân*, or *Id al adhâ*, i. e. *The feaſt of the ſacrifice*, and begins on the tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*, when the victims are ſlain at the pilgrimage of *Mecca* [9]. The former of theſe feaſts is properly the *leſſer Beirâm*,

[1] See chap. 63. p. 451. and the notes there. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Ebn al Athîr, & al Ghazâli, apud Poc. Spec. p. 317. [4] V. ibid. [5] Al Ghazâli, ibid. [6] Chap. 63. ubi ſupra. [7] Al Ghazâli, ubi ſup. p. 318. [8] The word *Beirâm* is *Turkiſh*, and properly ſignifies a *feaſt-day* or *holiday*. [9] See chap. 9. p. 49. and before, §. IV. p. 120.

and

and the latter, the *greater Beirâm* [1]: but the vulgar, and moſt authors who have written of the *Mohammedan* affairs [2], exchange the epithets, and call that which follows *Ramadân* the *greater Beirâm*, becauſe it is obſerved in an extraordinary manner, and kept for three days together at *Conſtantinople* and in other parts of *Turkey*, and in *Perſia* for five or ſix days, by the common people at leaſt, with great demonſtrations of public joy, to make themſelves amends, as it were, for the mortification of the preceding month [3]; whereas the *feaſt of ſacrifices*, though it be alſo kept for three days, and the firſt of them be the moſt ſolemn day of the pilgrimage, the principal act of devotion among the *Mohammedans*, is taken much leſs notice of by the generality of people, who are not ſtruck therewith becauſe the ceremonies with which the ſame is obſerved are performed at *Mecca*, the only ſcene of that ſolemnity.

[1] V. Reland de Relig Moh. p. 109, & D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. *Beirâm.* [2] Hyde, in notis ad Bobov. p 16. Chardin, Voy. de Perſe, Tom. II. p. 450. *Ricaut*'s State of the *Ottoman* Empire, l. 2. c. 24, &c. [3] V. Chardin, & Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

SECTION VIII.

Of the principal Sects among the Mohammedans; *and of thoſe who have pretended to Prophecy among the* Arabs, *in or ſince the Time of* Mohammed.

Of the ſcholaſtic and practical divinity of the *Mohammedans.*

BEFORE we take a view of the ſects of the *Mohammedans*, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the two ſciences by which all diſputed queſtions among them are determined, *viz.* their *Scholaſtic* and *Practical Divinity*.

Their *ſcholaſtic divinity* is a mongrel ſcience, conſiſting of logical, metaphyſical, theological, and philoſophical diſquiſitions, and built on principles and methods of reaſoning very different from what are uſed by thoſe who paſs among the *Mohammedans* themſelves for the ſounder divines or more able philoſophers [1], and therefore in the partition of the ſciences this is generally left out, as unworthy a place among them [2]. The learned *Maimonides* [3] has laboured to ex-

[1] Poc. Spec. p. 196. [2] Apud Ebn Sina, in libello de diviſione ſcientiar. & Naſiro'ddin al Tûſi, in præfat. ad Ethic. [3] More Nevoch. l. 1. c. 71. & 73.

poſe

poſe the principles and ſyſtems of the ſcholaſtic divines, as frequently repugnant to the nature of the world and the order of the creation, and intolerably abſurd.

This art of handling religious diſputes was not known in the infancy of *Mohammediſm*, but was brought in when ſects ſprang up, and articles of religion began to be called in queſtion, and was at firſt made uſe of to defend the truth of thoſe articles againſt innovators [1]; and while it keeps within thoſe bounds is allowed to be a commendable ſtudy, being neceſſary for defence of the faith: but when it proceeds farther, out of an itch of diſputation, it is judged worthy of cenſure.

This is the opinion of *al Ghazâli* [2], who obſerves a *medium* between thoſe who have too high a value for this ſcience, and thoſe who abſolutely reject it. Among the latter was *al Shâfei*, who declared that, in his judgment, if any man employed his time that way, he deſerved to be fixed to a ſtake, and carried about through all the *Arab* tribes, with the following proclamation to be made before him; *This is the reward of him who, leaving the* Korân *and the* Sonna, *applied himſelf to the ſtudy of ſcholaſtic divinity* [3]. *Al Ghazâli*, on the other hand, thinks that as it was introduced by the invaſion of hereſies, it is neceſſary to be retained in order to quell them: but then in the perſon who ſtudies this ſcience he requires three things, *diligence*, *acuteneſs of judgment*, *and probity of manners*; and is by no means for ſuffering the ſame to be publickly explained [4]. This ſcience, therefore, among the *Mohammedans*, is the *Art of controverſy*, by which they diſcuſs points of *faith*, concerning the eſſence and attributes of God, and the conditions of all poſſible things, either in reſpect to their creation, or final reſtauration, according to the rules of the religion of *Iſlam* [5].

The other ſcience is *practical divinity* or *juriſprudence*, and is the knowledge of the deciſions of the law which regard *practice*, gathered from diſtinct proofs.

Al Ghazâli declares that he had much the ſame opinion of this ſcience as of the former, its original being owing to the corruption of religion and morality; and therefore judged both ſciences to be neceſſary not in themſelves, but by accident only, to curb the irregular imaginations and paſſions of mankind (as guards become neceſſary in the highways by reaſon of robbers) the end of the firſt being the

[1] Al Ghazâli, apud Poc. ubi ſupra. [2] Ibid. [3] V. Poc. ib. p. 197. [4] Al Ghazâl. ibid. [5] Ebn al Koſſá, apud eund. ibid. p. 198.

ſup-

ſuppreſſing of hereſies, and of the other the deciſion of legal controverſies, for the quiet and peaceable living of mankind in this world, and for the preſerving the rule by which the magiſtrate may prevent one man from injuring another, by declaring what is lawful and what is unlawful, by determining the ſatisfaction to be given, or puniſhment to be inflicted, and by regulating other outward actions; and not only ſo, but to decide of religion itſelf and its conditions, ſo far as relates to the profeſſion made by the *mouth*, it not being the buſineſs of the civilian to enquire into the *heart* [1]: the depravity of mens manners, however, has made this knowledge of the laws ſo very requiſite, that it is uſually called *the ſcience*, by way of excellence, nor is any man reckoned learned, who has not applied himſelf thereto [2].

The points of faith in diſpute among the ſchoolmen.

The points of faith, ſubject to the examination and diſcuſſion of the ſcholaſtic divines, are reduced to four general heads, which they call the *four baſes*, or great fundamental articles [3].

The firſt baſis relates to the *attributes* of GOD, and his *unity* conſiſtent therewith. Under this head are comprehended the queſtions concerning the *eternal attributes*, which are aſſerted by ſome, and denied by others; and alſo the explication of the *eſſential attributes*, and *attributes of action*; what is proper for GOD to do, and what may be affirmed of him, and what it is impoſſible for him to do. Theſe things are controverted between the *Aſhárians*, the *Kerâmians*, the *Mojaſſemians* or *Corporaliſts*, and the *Mótazalites* [4].

The ſecond baſis regards *predeſtination*, and the juſtice thereof: which comprizes the queſtions concerning GOD's *purpoſe* and *decree*, man's *compulſion* or *neceſſity* to act, and his *co-operation* in producing actions, by which he may gain to himſelf good or evil; and alſo thoſe which concern GOD's *willing* good and evil, and what things are ſubject to his *power*, and what to his *knowledge*; ſome maintaining the affirmative, and others the negative. Theſe points are diſputed among the *Kadarians*, the *Najarians*, the *Jabarians*, the *Aſhárians*, and the *Kerâmians* [5].

The third baſis concerns the *promiſes* and *threats*, the preciſe acceptation of *names* uſed in divinity, and the divine *deciſions*; and comprehends queſtions relating to *faith*, *repentance*, *promiſes*, *threats*, *forbearance*, *infidelity* and *error*. The controverſies under this head

[1] Al Ghazâli. V. ibid. p. 198 — 204. [2] V. ib. p. 204. [3] V. Abulfarag. Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 166. [4] Al Shahreſtâni, apud Poc. ubi. ſup. p. 204, &c. [5] Idem, ib. p. 205.

are on foot between the *Morgians*, the *Waïdians*, the *Mótazalites*, the *Aſhárians*, and the *Kerâmians* [1].

The fourth baſis regards *hiſtory* and *reaſon*, that is, the juſt weight they ought to have in matters belonging to faith and religion; and alſo the *miſſion of prophets*, and the *office of* Imâm, or *chief pontiff*. Under this head are comprized all caſuiſtical queſtions relating to the moral *beauty* or *turpitude* of actions; enquiring whether things are allowed or forbidden by reaſon of their own nature, or by the poſitive law; and alſo queſtions concerning the *preference* of actions, the *favour* or *grace* of GOD, the *innocence* which ought to attend the prophetical office, and the *conditions* requiſite in the office of *Imâm*; ſome aſſerting it depends on *right of ſucceſſion*, others on the *conſent of the faithful*, and alſo the method of *transferring* it, with the former, and of *confirming* it, with the latter. Theſe matters are the ſubjects of diſpute between the *Shiites*, the *Mótazalites*, the *Kerâmians*, and the *Aſhárians* [2].

The *Mohammedan* ſects either *orthodox*, or *heretical*.

The different ſects of *Mohammedans* may be diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts; thoſe generally eſteemed *orthodox*, and thoſe which are eſteemed *heretical*.

The *Orthodox* or *Sonnites*,

The former, by a general name, are called *Sonnites* or *Traditioniſts*; becauſe they acknowledge the authority of the *Sonna*, or collection of moral traditions of the ſayings and actions of their prophet, which is a ſort of *ſupplement* to the *Korân*, directing the obſervance of ſeveral things omitted in that book, and in name, as well as deſign, anſwering to the *Miſhna* of the *Jews* [3].

Divided into four ſects.

The *Sonnites* are ſubdivided into four chief ſects, which, notwithſtanding ſome differences as to *legal concluſions* in their interpretation of the *Korân*, and matters of *practice*, are generally acknowledged to be orthodox in *radicals*, or matters of *faith*, and capable of ſalvation, and have each of them their ſeveral ſtations or oratories in the temple of *Mecca* [4]. The founders of theſe ſects are looked upon as the great maſters of juriſprudence, and are ſaid to have been men of great devotion and ſelf-denial, well verſed in the knowledge of thoſe things which belong to the next life and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of GOD. This is *al Ghazâli*'s encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour that their names ſhould be uſed by thoſe who, neg-

[1] Idem, ib. p. 206. [2] Idem, ibid. [3] V. Poc. Spec. p. 298. *Prid.* life of *Mah.* p. 51, &c. Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 68, &c. Millium, de Mohammediſmo ante Moh. p. 368, 369. [4] See before, p. 115.

lecting

lecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themselves only to attain their skill, and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice [1].

Of the sect of *Abu Hanîfa.*

The first of the four orthodox sects is that of the *Hanefites*, so named from their founder, *Abu Hanîfa al Nómân Ebn Thâbet*, who was born at *Cufâ*, in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, and died in the one hundredth and fiftieth, according to the more preferable opinion as to the time [2]. He ended his life in prison at *Baghdâd*, where he had been confined because he refused to be made *Kâdi* or *judge* [3]; on which account he was very hardly dealt with by his superiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill treatment, to undertake the charge, *chusing rather to be punished by them than by* God, says *al Ghazâli*; who adds, that when he excused himself from accepting the office by alledging that he was unfit for it, being asked the reason, he replied, *If I speak the truth, I am unfit*; *but if I tell a lye, a lyar is not fit to be a judge.* It is said that he read over the *Korân* in the prison where he died, no less than seven thousand times [4].

The *Hanefites* are called by an *Arabian* writer [5] *the followers of reason*, and those of the three other sects, *followers of tradition*; the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their decisions, and the latter adhering more tenaciously to the traditions of *Mohammed.*

The sect of *Abu Hanîfa* heretofore obtained chiefly in *Irâk* [6], but now generally prevails among the *Turks* and *Tartars:* his doctrine was brought into great credit by *Abu Yûsof*, chief justice under the *Khalifs al Hâdi* and *Harûn al Rashîd* [7].

Of the sect of *Malec.*

The second orthodox sect is that of *Mâlec Ebn Ans*, who was born at *Medina*, in the year of the *Hejra* 90, 93, 94 [8], or 95 [9], and died there in 177 [10], 178 [11] or 179 [12], (for so much do authors differ.) This doctor is said to have paid great regard to the traditions of *Mohammed* [13]. In his last illness, a friend going to visit him found him in tears, and asking him the reason of it, he answered, *How should I not weep; and who has more reason to weep than I? Would*

[1] V. Poc. Spec. p. 293. [2] Ebn Khalecân. [3] This was the true cause of his imprisonment and death, and not his refusing to subscribe to the opinion of absolute predestination, as *D'Herbelot* writes, (Bibl. Orient. p. 21.) misled by the dubious acceptation of the word *Kadâ*, which signifies not only God's *decree* in particular, but also *the giving sentence as a judge* in general: nor could *Abu Hanîfa* have been reckoned orthodox, had he denied one of the principal articles of faith. [4] Poc. Spec. p. 297, 298. [5] Al Shahrestâni, ibid. [6] Idem. [7] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 21. & 22. [8] Abu'lfeda. [9] Ebn Khalecân. [10] Idem. [11] Abu'lfeda. [12] Elmacinus, p. 114. [13] Ebn Khalec. V. Poc. Spec. p. 294.

to GOD *that for every queſtion decided by me according to my own opinion, I had received ſo many ſtripes! then would my accounts be eaſier. Would to* GOD *I had never given any deciſion of my own* [1]! *Al Ghazali* thinks it a ſufficient proof of *Malec*'s directing his knowledge to the glory of GOD, that being once aſked his opinion as to forty eight queſtions, his anſwer to thirty two of them was, that he did not know; it being no eaſy matter for one who has any other view than GOD's glory, to make ſo frank a confeſſion of his ignorance [2].

The doctrine of *Malec* is chiefly followed in *Barbary* and other parts of *Africa*.

Of the ſect of *al Shâfeï*.

The author of the third orthodox ſect was *Mohammed Ebn Edrîs al Shâfeï*, born either at *Gaza* or *Aſcalon* in *Paleſtine*, in the year of the *Hejra* one hundred and fifty, the ſame day (as ſome will have it) that *Abu Hanîfa* died, and was carried to *Mecca* at two years of age, and there educated [3]. He died in two hundred and four [4], in *Egypt*, whither he went about five years before [5]. This doctor is celebrated for his excellency in all parts of learning, and was much eſteemed by *Ebn Hanbal* his contemporary, who uſed to ſay that *he was as the ſun to the world, and as health to the body*. *Ebn Hanbal*, however, had ſo ill an opinion of *al Shâfeï* at firſt, that he forbad his ſcholars to go near him; but ſome time after one of them, meeting his maſter trudging on foot after *al Shâfeï*, who rode on a mule, aſked him how it came about that he forbad them to follow him, and did it himſelf? to which *Ebn Hanbal* replied, *Hold thy peace; if thou but attend his mule thou wilt profit thereby* [6].

Al Shâfeï is ſaid to have been the firſt who diſcourſed of juriſprudence, and reduced that ſcience into a method [7]; one wittily ſaying, that the relators of the traditions of *Mohammed* were aſleep till *al Shâfeï* came and waked them [8]. He was a great enemy to the ſcholaſtic divines, as has been already obſerved [9]. *Al Ghazâli* tells us that *al Shâfeï* uſed to divide the night into three parts, one for ſtudy, another for prayer, and the third for ſleep. It is alſo related of him that he never ſo much as once ſwore by GOD, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falſhood; and that being once aſked his opinion, he remained ſilent for ſome time, and when the reaſon of his ſilence was demanded, he anſwered, *I am conſidering firſt*

[1] Idem, apud eund. ibid. [2] Al Ghazâli, ibid. [3] Ebn Khalecân. [4] Yet *Abu'lfedâ* ſays he lived fifty eight years. [5] Ebn Khalecân. [6] Idem. [7] Idem. [8] Al Záfarâni, apud Poc. Spec. p. 296. [9] See before, p. 152.

whether

whether it be better to ſpeak or to hold my tongue. The following ſaying is alſo recorded of him, *viz. Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the ſame time, is a lyar* [1]. The followers of this doctor are from him called *Shâfeïtes*, and were formerly ſpread into *Mâwara'lnahr* and other parts eaſtward, but are now chiefly of *Arabia*, & *Perſia*.

Of the ſect of *Ebn Hanbal.*

Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the founder of the fourth ſect, was born in the year of the *Hejra* 164; but as to the place of his birth there are two traditions: ſome ſay he was born at *Merû* in *Khoraſân*, of which city his parents were, and that his mother brought him from thence to *Baghdâd* at her breaſt; while others aſſure us that ſhe was with child of him when ſhe came to *Baghdâd*, and that he was born there. [2]. *Ebn Hanbal* in proceſs of time attained a great reputation on account of his virtue and knowledge; being ſo well verſed in the traditions of *Mohammed*, in particular, that it is ſaid he could repeat no leſs than a million of them [3]. He was very intimate with *al Shâfeï*, from whom he received moſt of his traditionary knowledge, being his conſtant attendant till his departure for *Egypt* [4]. Refuſing to acknowledge the *Korân* to be created [5], he was, by order of the *Khalif al Mótaſem*, ſeverely ſcourged and impriſoned [6]. *Ebn Hanbal* died at *Baghdâd*, in the year 241, and was followed to his grave by eight hundred thouſand men, and ſixty thouſand women. It is related, as ſomething very extraordinary, if not miraculous, that on the day of his death no leſs than twenty thouſand *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, and *Magians*, embraced the *Mohammedan* faith [7]. This ſect encreaſed ſo faſt, and became ſo powerful and bold, that in the year 323, in the *Khalifat* of *al Râdi*, they raiſed a great commotion in *Baghdâd*, entring people's houſes, and ſpilling their wine, if they found any, and beating the ſinging-women they met with, and breaking their inſtruments; and a ſevere edict was publiſhed againſt them, before they could be reduced to their duty [8]: but the *Hanbalites* at preſent are not very numerous, few of them being to be met with out of the limits of *Arabia*.

Of the heretical ſects among the *Mohammedans*.

The *heretical* ſects among the *Mohammedans* are thoſe which hold heterodox opinions in *fundamentals*, or matters of *faith*.

When they began.

The firſt controverſies relating to *fundamentals* began when moſt of the companions of *Mohammed* were dead [9]: for in their days was no diſpute, unleſs about things of ſmall moment, if we except only the

[1] V. Poc. Spec. p. 295 — 297. [2] Ebn Khalecân. [3] Idem. [4] Idem. [5] See before, ſect. III. p. 67, &c. [6] Ebn Khalecân, Abu'lfarag. Hiſt. Dyn p. 252, &c. [7] Ebn Khalecân. [8] Abu'lfar. ubi ſup. p. 301, &c. [9] Al Shahreſtâni, apud Poc. Spec. p. 194. Auctor Sharh al Mawâkef, apud eund. p. 210.

diſſen-

diſſenſions concerning the *Imâms*, or rightful ſucceſſors of their prophet, which were ſtirred up and fomented by intereſt and ambition; the *Arabs* continual employment in the wars, during that time, allowing them little or no leiſure to enter into nice enquiries and ſubtle diſtinctions: but no ſooner was the ardour of conqueſt a little abated than they began to examine the *Korân* more nearly; whereupon differences in opinion became unavoidable, and at length ſo greatly multiplied, that the number of their ſects, according to the common opinion, are ſeventy three. For the *Mohammedans* ſeem ambitious that their religion ſhould exceed others even in this reſpect; ſaying, that the *Magians* are divided into ſeventy ſects, the *Jews* into ſeventy one, the *Chriſtians* into ſeventy two, and the *Moſlems* into ſeventy three, as *Mohammed* had foretold [1]; of which ſects they reckon one to be always orthodox, and intitled to ſalvation [2].

The firſt hereſy was that of the *Khârejites*, who *revolted* from *Ali* in the 37th year of the *Hejra*; and not long after, *Mábad al Johni*, *Ghailân* of *Damaſcus*, and *Jonas al Aſwâri* broached heterodox opinions concerning predeſtination, and the aſcribing of good and evil unto GOD; whoſe opinions were followed by *Wâſel Ebn Atâ* [3]. This latter was the ſcholar of *Haſan* of *Baſra*, in whoſe ſchool a queſtion being propoſed, whether he who had committed a grievous ſin was to be deemed an infidel or not, the *Khârejites* (who uſed to come and diſpute there) maintaining the affirmative, and the orthodox the negative, *Wâſel*, without waiting his maſter's deciſion, withdrew abruptly, and began to publiſh among his fellow ſcholars a new opinion of his own, to wit, that ſuch a ſinner was in a middle ſtate; and he was thereupon expelled the ſchool; he and his followers being thenceforth called *Mótazalites*, or *Separatiſts* [4].

The ſeveral ſects which have ariſen ſince this time are variouſly compounded and decompounded of the opinions of four chief ſects, the *Mótazalites*, the *Sefâtians*, the *Khârejites*, and the *Shiites* [5].

Of the *Mótazalites*.

I. The *Mótazalites* were the followers of the before-mentioned *Wâſel Ebn Atâ*. As to their chief and general tenets, 1. They entirely

[1] V. Poc. ibid. [2] Al Shahreſtâni, apud eund. p. 211. [3] Idem, & Auctor Sharh al Mawâfek, ubi ſup. [4] Iidem, ib. p. 211, 212. Et Ebn Khalecân, in vita Waſeli. [5] *Al Shahreſtâni*, who alſo reduces them to four chief ſects, puts the *Kadarians* in the place of the *Mótazalites*. *Abu'lfaragius* (Hiſt. Dyn. p. 166.) reckons ſix principal ſects, adding the *Jabarians* and the *Morgians*; and the author of *Sharh al Mawâkef*, eight, *viz.* the *Mótazalites*, the *Shiites*, the *Khârejites*, the *Morgians*, the *Najarians*, the *Jabarians*, the *Moſhabbehites*, and the ſect which he calls *al Nâjia*, becauſe that alone will be *ſaved*, being according to him the ſect of the *Aſhárians*. V. Poc. Spec. p. 209.

rejected

rejected all *eternal attributes* of GOD, to avoid the diſtinction of perſons made by the *Chriſtians*; ſaying that *eternity* is the proper or formal attribute of his *eſſence*; that GOD *knows* by his *eſſence*, and not by his *knowledge* [1]; and the ſame they affirmed of his other attributes [2] (though all the *Mótazalites* do not underſtand theſe words in one ſenſe;) and hence this ſect were alſo named *Moattalites*, from their *diveſting* GOD of his attributes [3]: and they went ſo far as to ſay, that to affirm theſe attributes is the ſame thing as to make more eternals than one, and that the unity of GOD is inconſiſtent with ſuch an opinion [4]; and this was the true doctrine of *Wâſel* their maſter, who declared that whoever aſſerted *an eternal attribute*, aſſerted there were *two* GODS [5]. This point of ſpeculation concerning the divine attributes was not ripe at firſt, but was at length brought to maturity by *Wâſel*'s followers, after they had read the books of the philoſophers [6]. 2. They believed the word of GOD to have been created *in ſubjecto* (as the ſchoolmen term it,) and to conſiſt of letters and ſound; copies thereof being written in books, to expreſs or imitate the original. They alſo went farther, and affirmed that whatever is created *in ſubjecto*, is alſo an *accident*, and liable to periſh [7]. 3. They denied *abſolute predeſtination*, holding that GOD was not the author of evil, but of good only; and that man was a free agent [8]: which being properly the opinion of the *Kadarians*, we defer what may be farther ſaid thereof till we come to ſpeak of that ſect. On account of this tenet and the firſt, the *Mótazalites* look on themſelves as the defenders of the unity and juſtice of GOD [9]. 4. They held that if a profeſſor of the true religion be guilty of a grievous ſin, and die without repentance, he will be eternally damned, though his puniſhment will be lighter than that of the infidels [10]. 5. They denied all viſion of GOD in paradiſe by the corporeal eye, and rejected all compariſons or ſimilitudes applied to GOD [11].

This ſect are ſaid to have been the firſt inventors of ſcholaſtic divinity [12], and are ſubdivided into ſeveral inferior ſects, amounting, as ſome reckon, to twenty, which mutually brand one another with infidelity [13]: the moſt remarkable of them are,

[1] *Maimonides* teaches the ſame, not as the doctrine of the *Mótazalites*, but his own. V More Nev. l. 1. c. 57. [2] Al Shahreſtâni, apud Poc Spec. p. 214. Abu'lfarag. p 167. [3] V. Poc. Spec. p. 224. [4] Sharh al Mawâkef, & al Shahreſt. apud Poc. p. 216 *Maimonides* (in Proleg. ad Pirke Aboth, §. viii) aſſerts the ſame thing. [5] V. Poc. ibid. [6] Al Shahreſt. ib p. 215. [7] Abulfarag. & al Shahreſt. ubi ſup. p. 217. See before, ſect. III. p. 67. [8] V. Poc. Spec. p 240. [9] Al Shahreſt. & Sharh al Mawâkef, apud Poc. ubi ſup. p. 214. [10] Maracc. Prodr. ad ref. Alcor. part. III. p. 74. [11] Idem, ib. [12] V. Poc. Spec. p. 213. & D'Herbel. Art. Motazelah. [13] Auctor al Mawâkef. apud Poc. ib.

1. The

1. The *Hodeilians*, or followers of *Hamdân Abu Hodeil*, a *Mótazalite* doctor, who differed ſomething from the common form of expreſſion uſed by this ſect, ſaying that GOD *knew* by his *knowledge*, but that his *knowledge* was his *eſſence*; and ſo of the other attributes: which opinion he took from the philoſophers, who affirm the eſſence of GOD to be ſimple, and without multiplicity, and that his attributes are not poſterior or acceſſory to his eſſence, or ſubſiſting therein, but are his eſſence itſelf: and this the more orthodox take to be next kin to making diſtinctions in the deity, which is the thing they ſo much abhor in the *Chriſtians* [1]. As to the *Korân*'s being created, he made ſome diſtinction; holding the word of GOD to be partly not *in ſubjecto*, (and therefore uncreated,) as when he ſpake the word *Kûn*, i. e. *Fiat*, at the creation, and partly in *ſubjecto*, as the precepts, prohibitions, *&c* [2]. *Marracci* [3] mentions an opinion of *Abu Hodeil*'s concerning predeſtination, from an *Arab* writer [4], which being by him expreſſed in a manner not very intelligible, I chuſe to omit.

2. The *Jobbâïans*, or followers of *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Abd al Wahhâb*, ſurnamed *al Jobbâï*, whoſe meaning when he made uſe of the common expreſſion of the *Mótazalites*, that GOD *knows by his eſſence*, &c. was, that GOD's *being knowing* is not an *attribute*, the ſame with *knowledge*, nor ſuch a ſtate as rendred his *being knowing* neceſſary [5]. He held GOD's word to be created *in ſubjecto*, as in the preſerved table, for example, the memory of *Gabriel*, *Mohammed*, &c [6]. This ſect, if *Marracci* has given the true ſenſe of his author, denied that GOD could be ſeen in paradiſe without the aſſiſtance of corporeal eyes; and held that man produced his acts by a power ſuperadded to health of body, and ſoundneſs of limbs; that he who was guilty of a mortal ſin, was neither a believer nor an infidel, but a tranſgreſſor, (which was the original opinion of *Wâſel*,) and if he died in his ſins, would be doomed to hell for eternity; and that GOD conceals nothing of whatever he knows from his ſervants [7].

3. The *Haſhemians*; who were ſo named from their maſter *Abu Hâſhem Abd al Salâm*, the ſon of *Abu Ali al Jobbâï*, and whoſe tenets nearly agreed with thoſe of the preceding ſect [8]. *Abu Hâſhem* took the *Mótazalite* form of expreſſion, that GOD *knows by his eſſence*,

[1] Al Shahreſtâni, apud Poc. p. 215, 216, 217. [2] Idem, apud eund. p. 217, &c. [3] In Prodr. part. 3. p. 74. [4] Al Shahreſt. [5] Idem, apud Poc. Spec. p. 215. [6] Idem, & Auctor al Mawâkef, ib. p. 218. [7] Marracci, ubi ſup. p. 75. ex al Shahreſt. [8] V. Eund. ibid.

ſence, in a different ſenſe from others, ſuppoſing it to mean, that GOD hath or is endued with a *diſpoſition*, which is a *known property*, or *quality*, poſterior or acceſſory to his exiſtence [1]. His followers were ſo much afraid of making GOD the author of *evil*, that they would not allow him to be ſaid to *create an infidel*; becauſe, according to their way of arguing, an infidel is a compound of *infidelity* and *man*, and GOD is not the creator of *infidelity* [2]. *Abu Hâſhem*, and his father *Abu Ali al Jobbâi*, were both celebrated for their ſkill in ſcholaſtic divinity [3].

4. The *Nodhâmians*, or followers of *Ibrahim al Nodhâm*; who having read books of philoſophy, ſet up a new ſect, and imagining he could not ſufficiently remove GOD from being the author of evil, without diveſting him of his *power* in reſpect thereto, taught that no power ought to be aſcribed to GOD concerning evil and rebellious actions: but this he affirmed againſt the opinion of his own diſciples, who allowed that GOD *could* do evil, but *did not*, becauſe of its turpitude [4]. Of his opinion as to the *Korân*'s being created we have ſpoken elſewhere [5].

5. The *Hâyetians*, ſo named from *Ahmed Ebn Hâyet*, who had been of the ſect of the *Nodhâmians*, but broached ſome new notions on reading the philoſophers. His peculiar opinions were, 1. That *Chriſt* was the *eternal word incarnate*, and took a true and real body, and will judge all creatures in the life to come [6]: he alſo farther aſſerted, that there are two GODS, or Creators; the one eternal, *viz.* the moſt high GOD, and the other not eternal, *viz.* Chriſt [7]; which opinion, though Dr. *Pocock* urges the ſame as an argument that he did not rightly underſtand the *Chriſtian* myſteries [8], is not much different from that of the *Arians* and *Socinians*. 2. That there is a ſucceſſive tranſmigration of the ſoul from one body into another; and that the laſt body will enjoy the reward or ſuffer the puniſhment due to each ſoul [9]; and 3. That GOD will be ſeen at the reſurrection, not with the bodily eyes, but thoſe of the underſtanding [10].

6. The *Jâhedhians*, or followers of *Amru Ebn Bahr* ſurnamed *al Jâhedh*, a great doctor of the *Mótazalites*, and very much admired for the elegance of his compoſures [11]; who differed from his brethren in that he imagined the damned would not be eternally tormented in

[1] Al Shahreſt. apud Poc. p. 215. [2] Idem, ib. p. 242. [3] Ebn Khalecân, in vitis eorum. [4] Al Shahreſt. ubi ſup. p. 241, 242. V. Marracc. Prod. part. 3. p. 74. [5] See before, ſect. III. p. 68. [6] Al Shahreſt. ubi ſup. p. 218. Abu'lfarag. p. 167. [7] Al Shahreſt. al Mawâkef, & Ebn Koſſá, apud Poc. ubi ſup. p. 219. [8] V. Poc. ib. [9] Marracc. & al Shahreſt. ubi ſup. [10] Marracc. ib. p. 75. [11] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. art. Giahedh.

hell, but would be changed into the nature of fire, and that the fire would of itſelf attract them, without any neceſſity of their going into it [1]. He alſo taught that if a man believed GOD to be his *Lord*, and *Mohammed* the *apoſtle* of GOD, he became one of the faithful, and was obliged to nothing further [2]. His peculiar opinion as to the *Korân* has been taken notice of before [3].

7. The *Mozdârians*, who embraced the opinions of *Iſa Ebn Sobeih al Mozdâr*, and thoſe very abſurd ones: for, beſides his notions relating to the *Korân* [4], he went ſo directly counter to the opinion of thoſe who abridged GOD of the *power* to do *evil*, that he affirmed it poſſible for GOD to be a *lyar*, and *unjuſt* [5]. He alſo pronounced him to be an infidel who thruſt himſelf into the ſupream government [6]: nay he went ſo far as to affert men to be infidels while they ſaid *There is no* GOD *but* GOD, and even condemned all the reſt of mankind as guilty of infidelity; upon which *Ibrahim Ebn al Sendi* aſked him whether paradiſe, whoſe breadth equals that of heaven and earth, was created only for him and two or three more who thought as he did? to which it is ſaid he could return no anſwer [7].

8. The *Baſharians*, who maintained the tenets of *Baſhar Ebn Mótamer*, the maſter of *al Mozdâr* [8], and a principal man among the *Mótazalites*. He differed in ſome things from the general opinion of that ſect, carrying man's free agency to a great exceſs, making it even independent: and yet he thought GOD might doom an infant to eternal puniſhment, but granted he would be unjuſt in ſo doing. He taught that GOD is not always obliged to do that which is beſt, for, if he pleaſed, he could make all men true believers. Theſe ſectaries alſo held that if a man repent of a mortal ſin, and afterwards return to it, he will be liable to ſuffer the puniſhment due to the former tranſgreſſion [9].

9. The *Thamamians*, who follow *Thamâma Ebn Baſhar*, a chief *Mótazalite*. Their peculiar opinions were, 1. That ſinners ſhould remain in hell forever. 2. That free actions have no producing author. 3. That at the reſurrection all infidels, idolaters, atheiſts, *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, *Magians*, and heretics ſhall be reduced to duſt [10].

10. The *Kadarians*; which is really a more ancient name than that of *Mótazalites*; *Mábad al Johni* and his adherents being ſo called, who diſputed the doctrine of predeſtination before *Waſel*

[1] Al Shahreſt. ubi ſup. p. 260. [2] Marracc. ubi ſup. [3] Sect. III. p. 68. [4] V. ib. & p. 67. [5] Al Shahreſt. apud Poc. p. 241. [6] Marracc. ubi ſup. p. 75. [7] Al Shahreſtâr., ubi ſup. p. 220. [8] Poc. Spec. p. 221. [9] Marracc. ubi ſup. [10] Idem, ib.

quitted

quitted his maſter [1]: for which reaſon ſome uſe the denomination of *Kadarians* as more extenſive than the other, and comprehend all the *Mótazalites* under it [2]. This ſect deny abſolute predeſtination, ſaying that evil and injuſtice ought not to be attributed to GOD, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or puniſhed for his actions, which GOD has granted him power either to do or to let alone [3]. And hence it is ſaid they are called *Kadarians*, becauſe they deny *al Kadr*, or GOD's *abſolute decree*; though others, thinking it not ſo proper to affix a name to a ſect from a doctrine which they *combat*, will have it come from *Kadr*, or *Kodrat*, i. e. *power*, becauſe they *aſſert man's power* to act freely [4]. Thoſe, however, who give the name of *Kadarians* to the *Mótazalites* are their enemies, for they diſclaim it, and give it to their antagoniſts the *Jabarians*, who likewiſe refuſe it as an infamous appellation [5], becauſe *Mohammed* is ſaid to have declared the *Kadarians* to be the *Magians* of his followers [6]. But what the opinion of theſe *Kadarians* in *Mohammed*'s time was, is very uncertain: the *Mótazalites* ſay the name belongs to thoſe who *aſſert predeſtination*, and make GOD the author of good and evil [7], *viz.* the *Jabarians*; but all the other *Mohammedan* ſects agree to fix it on the *Mótazalites*, who they ſay are like the *Magians* in eſtabliſhing two principles, *light*, or GOD, the author of good, and *darkneſs*, or the *Devil*, the author of evil: but this cannot abſolutely be ſaid of the *Mótazalites*, for they (at leaſt the generality of them) aſcribe men's good deeds to GOD, but their evil deeds to themſelves; meaning thereby that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is maſter of his actions; and for this reaſon it is that the other *Mohammedans* call them *Magians*, becauſe they aſſert another author of actions beſides GOD [8]. And, indeed, it is a difficult matter to ſay what *Mohammed*'s own opinion was in this matter; for on the one ſide the *Korân* itſelf is pretty plain for abſolute predeſtination, and many ſayings of *Mohammed* are recorded to that purpoſe [9], and one in particular, wherein he introduces *Adam* and *Moſes* diſputing before GOD in this manner: *Thou*, ſays *Moſes*, *art* Adam; *whom* GOD *created, and animated with the breath of life, and cauſed to be worſhipped by the angels, and placed in paradiſe, from whence mankind have been expelled for thy fault:* whereto *Adam* anſwered, *Thou art* Moſes;

[1] Al Shahreſt. [2] Al Firauzab. V. Poc. Spec. p. 231, 232, & 214. [3] Al Shahreſt. V. Poc. Spec. p. 235, & 240, &c. [4] V. Poc. ib. p. 238. [5] Al Motarrezi, al Shahreſt. V. ib. p. 232. [6] Iidem, &c. ibid. [7] Iidem, ib. [8] V. Poc. ib. p. 233, &c. [9] V. ib. p. 237.

whom GOD *choſe for his apoſtle, and intruſted with his word, by giving thee the tables of the law, and whom he vouchſafed to admit to diſcourſe with himſelf: how many years doſt thou find the law was written before I was created?* Says *Moſes, Forty: And doſt thou not find*, replied *Adam, theſe words therein*; *And* Adam *rebelled againſt his Lord and tranſgreſſed?* which *Moſes* confeſſing, *Doſt thou therefore blame me*, continued he, *for doing that which* GOD *wrote of me that I ſhould do, forty years before I was created; nay, for what was decreed concerning me fifty thouſand years before the creation of heaven and earth?* In the concluſion of which diſpute *Mohammed* declared that *Adam* had the better of *Moſes* [1]. On the other ſide, it is urged in the behalf of the *Motazalites*, that *Mohammed* declaring that the *Kadarians* and *Morgians* had been curſed by the tongues of ſeventy prophets, and being aſked who the *Kadarians* were, anſwered, *Thoſe who aſſert that* GOD *predeſtinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet puniſhes them for it: al Haſan* is alſo ſaid to have declared, that GOD ſent *Mohammed* to the *Arabs* while they were *Kadarians*, or *Jabarians*, and laid their ſins upon GOD: and to confirm the matter this ſentence of the *Korân* is quoted [2]; *When they commit a filthy action, they ſay, We found our fathers practiſing the ſame, and* GOD *hath commanded us ſo to do: Say, Verily* GOD *commandeth not filthy actions* [3].

Of the ſect of the *Sefâtians.*

11. The *Sefâtians* held the oppoſite opinion to the *Mótazalites* in reſpect to the *eternal attributes* of GOD, which they *affirmed*; making no diſtinction between the *eſſential* attributes and thoſe of *operation*: and hence they were named *Sefâtians*, or *Attributiſts.* Their doctrine was that of the firſt *Mohammedans*, who were not yet acquainted with theſe nice diſtinctions: but this ſect afterwards introduced another ſpecies of *declarative attributes*, or ſuch as were neceſſarily uſed in hiſtorical narration, as *hands*, *face*, *eyes*, &c. which they did not offer to explain, but contented themſelves with ſaying they were in the law, and that they called them *declarative attributes* [4]. However, at length, by giving various explications and interpretations of theſe attributes, they divided into many different opinions: ſome, by taking the words in the literal ſenſe, fell into the notion of a *likeneſs* or *ſimilitude* between GOD and created beings; to which it is ſaid the *Karaïtes* among the *Jews*, who are for the literal interpretation of *Moſes*'s law, had ſhewn them the way [5]: others explained them in another manner, ſaying that no creature was like GOD,

[1] Ebn al Athîr, al Bokhari, apud Poc. p. 236. [2] Chap. 7. p. 119. [3] Al Motarrezi, apud eund. p. 237, 238. [4] Al Shahreſt. apud Poc. Spec. p. 223. [5] V. Poc. ib. p. 224.

but

but that they neither underſtood, nor thought it neceſſary to explain the preciſe ſignification of the words which ſeem to affirm the ſame of both; it being ſufficient to believe that GOD hath no companion or ſimilitude. Of this opinion was *Malec Ebn Ans*, who declared as to the expreſſion of GOD's *ſitting on his throne*, in particular, that though the *meaning* is *known*, yet the *manner* is *unknown*; and that it is neceſſary to believe it, but hereſy to make any queſtions about it [1].

The ſects of the *Sefâtians* are,

1. The *Aſhárians*, the followers of *Abu'l Haſan al Aſhári*, who was firſt a *Mótazalite*, and the ſcholar of *Abu Ali al Jobbâi*, but diſagreeing from his maſter in opinion as to GOD's *being bound* (as the *Mótazalites* aſſert) to do always that which is *beſt* or moſt *expedient*, left him, and ſet up a new ſect of himſelf. The occaſion of this difference was the putting a caſe concerning three brothers, the firſt of whom lived in *obedience* to GOD, the ſecond in *rebellion* againſt him, and the third *died an infant*. *Al Jobbâi* being aſked what he thought would become of them, anſwered, that the firſt would be *rewarded* in paradiſe, the ſecond *puniſhed* in hell, and the third *neither rewarded nor puniſhed*: but what, objected *al Aſhári*, if the third ſay, O LORD, *if thou hadſt given me longer life, that I might have entred paradiſe with my believing brother, it would have been better for me*; to which *al Jobbâi* replied, that GOD would anſwer, *I knew that if thou hadſt lived longer, thou wouldſt have been a wicked perſon, and therefore caſt into hell.* Then, retorted *al Aſhári*, the ſecond will ſay, O LORD, *why didſt thou not take me away while I was an infant, as thou didſt my brother, that I might not have deſerved to be puniſhed for my ſins, nor to be caſt into hell?* To which *al Jobbâi* could return no other anſwer, than that GOD prolonged his life to give him an opportunity of obtaining the higheſt degree of perfection, which was beſt for him: but *al Aſhári* demanding farther, why he did not for the ſame reaſon grant the other a longer life to whom it would have been equally advantageous; *Al Jobbâi* was ſo put to it, that he aſked whether the devil poſſeſſed him? *No*, ſays *al Aſhári*, *but the maſter's aſs will not paſs the bridge* [2]; i. e. *he is poſed.*

The opinions of the *Aſhárians* were, 1. That they allowed the attributes of GOD to be diſtinct from his eſſence, yet ſo as to *forbid any compariſon* to be made between GOD and his creatures [3]. This was alſo the opinion of *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, and *David al Iſpahâni*,

[1] V. eund. ib. [2] Auctor al Mawâkef, & al Safadi, apud Poc. ubi ſup. p. 230, &c. Ebn Khalec. in vita al Jobbâï. [3] Al Shahreſt. apud Poc. Spec. p. 230.

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and others, who herein followed *Malec Ebn Ans*, and were ſo cautious of any aſſimilation of GOD to created beings, that they declared whoever *moved his hand* while he read theſe words, *I have created with my hand*, or *ſtretched forth his finger*, in repeating this ſaying of *Mohammed*, *The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the Merciful*, ought to have his *hand* and *finger* cut off [1]; and the reaſons they gave for not explaining any ſuch words were, that it is forbidden in the *Korân*, and that ſuch explications were neceſſarily founded on *conjecture* and *opinion*, from which no man ought to ſpeak of the attributes of GOD, becauſe the words of the *Korân* might by that means come to be underſtood differently from the author's meaning: nay ſome have been ſo ſuperſtitiouſly ſcrupulous in this matter as not to allow the words *hand*, *face*, and the like, when they occur in the *Korân*, to be rendred into *Perſian* or any other language, but require them to be read in the very original words, and this they call *the ſafe way* [2]. 2. As to predeſtination, they held that GOD hath *one eternal will*, which is applied to whatſoever he *willeth*, both of his own actions and thoſe of men, ſo far as they are *created* by him, but not as they are *acquired* or *gained* by them; that he *willeth* both their *good* and their *evil*, their *profit* and their *hurt*, and as he *willeth* and *knoweth*, he *willeth* concerning men that which he *knoweth*, and hath commanded the *pen* to write the ſame in the preſerved Table: and this is his *decree*, and *eternal immutable counſel* and *purpoſe* [3]. They alſo went ſo far as to ſay, that it may be agreeable to the way of GOD that man ſhould be commanded what he is not able to perform [4]. But while they allow man *ſome power*, they ſeem to reſtrain it to ſuch a power as cannot *produce* any thing *new*; only GOD, ſay they, ſo orders his providence, that he *creates*, *after*, or *under*, and *together with* every *created* or *new power*, an *action* which is ready whenever a man *wills* it, and *ſets about it*: and this *action* is called *Casb*, i. e. *Acquiſition*, being in reſpect to its *creation*, from GOD, but in reſpect to its being *produced*, *employed*, and *acquired*, from *man* [5]. And this being generally eſteemed the orthodox opinion, it may not be improper farther to explain the ſame in the words of ſome other writers. The elective actions of men, ſays one, fall under the power of GOD alone; nor is their own power effectual thereto: but GOD cauſeth to exiſt in man *power* and *choice*; and if there be no impediment, he cauſeth *his action* to exiſt alſo, ſubject

[1] Idem, apud eund. p. 228, &c. [2] V. Poc. ib. [3] Al Shahreſt. apud eund. p. 245, &c. [4] Idem, ib. p. 246. [5] Al Shahreſt. apud Poc. p 245, &c.

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to his *power*, and joined with that and his *choice*; which action, as *created*, is to be aſcribed to GOD, but as *produced*, *employed*, or *acquired*, to *man*. So that by the *acquiſition* of an action is properly meant a man's *joining* or *connecting the ſame with his power and will*, yet allowing herein no *impreſſion* or *influence* on the exiſtence thereof, ſave only that it is ſubject to his power [1]. Others, however, who are alſo on the ſide of *al Aſhári*, and reputed orthodox, explain the matter in a different manner, and grant the *impreſſion* or *influence* of the created power of man on his action, and that this *power* is what is called *Acquiſition* [2]. But the point will be ſtill clearer, if we hear a third author, who rehearſes the various opinions, or explications of the opinion of this ſect in the following words, *viz. Abu'l Haſan al Aſhári* aſſerts all the actions of men to be ſubject to the power of GOD, being created by him, and that the power of man hath no influence at all on that which he is impowered to do; but that both the power, and what is ſubject thereto, fall under the power of GOD: *al Kâdi Abu Becr* ſays that the *eſſence* or *ſubſtance* of the action is the effect of the power of GOD, but its being either an action of *obedience*, as prayer, or an action of *diſobedience*, as fornication, are *qualities* of the action, which proceed from the power of man: *Abd' almalec*, known by the title of *Imâm al Haramein*, *Abu'l Hoſein* of *Baſra*, and other learned men, held that the actions of men are effected by the power which GOD hath created in man, and that GOD cauſeth to exiſt in man both *power* and *will*, and that this power and will do neceſſarily produce that which man is impowered to do: and *Abu Iſhâk al Iſfarâyeni* taught, that that which maketh *impreſſion*, or hath *influence* on an action, is a *compound* of the power of GOD and the power of man [3]. The ſame author obſerves, that their anceſtors, perceiving a manifeſt difference between thoſe things which are the effects of the *election* of man, and thoſe things which are the *neceſſary* effects of inanimate agents, deſtitute both of knowledge and choice, and being at the ſame time preſſed by the arguments which prove that GOD is the *Creator of all things*, and conſequently of thoſe things which are done by men, to conciliate the matter, choſe the middle way, aſſerting actions to proceed from the *power* of GOD, and the *acquiſition* of *man*; GOD's way of dealing with his ſervants being, that when man intendeth obedience, GOD createth in him an action of obedience, and when he intendeth

[1] Auctor Sharh al Mawâkef, apud eund. p. 247. [2] Al Shahreſt. ib. p. 248. [3] Auctor Sharh al Tawâlea, apud eund. ib. p. 248, &c.

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diſobedience, he createth in him an action of diſobedience; ſo that man *ſeemeth* to be the effective producer of his action, though he really be not [1]. But this, proceeds the ſame writer, is again preſſed with its difficulties, becauſe the very *intention* of the mind is the *work* of GOD, ſo that no man hath any ſhare in the production of his own actions; for which reaſon the ancients diſapproved of too nice an inquiry into this point, the end of the diſpute concerning the ſame being, for the moſt part, either the taking away of all precepts poſitive as well as negative, or elſe the aſſociating of a *companion* with GOD, by introducing ſome other independent agent beſides him. Thoſe, therefore, who would ſpeak more accurately, uſe this form: *There is neither compulſion, nor free liberty, but the way lies between the two*; the power and will in man being both created by GOD, though the *merit* or *guilt* be imputed unto man. Yet, after all, it is judged the ſafeſt way to follow the ſteps of the primitive *Moſlems*, and, avoiding ſubtle diſputations and too curious enquiries to leave the knowledge of this matter, wholly unto GOD [2]. 3. As to mortal ſin

[1] Idem, ib. p. 249, 250. [2] Idem, ib. p. 250, 251. I truſt the reader will not be offended if, as a farther illuſtration of what has been ſaid on this ſubject (in producing of which I have purpoſely kept to the original *Mohammedan* expreſſions) I tranſcribe a paſſage or two from a poſtſcript ſubjoined to the epiſtle I have quoted above (§. iv. p. 108.) in which the point of free-will is treated *ex profeſſo*. Therein the *Mooriſh* author, having mentioned the two oppoſite opinions of the *Kadarians*, who allow free will, and the *Jabarians*, who make man a neceſſary agent (the former of which opinions, he ſays, ſeems to approach neareſt to that of the greater part of *Chriſtians*, and of the *Jews*) declares the true opinion to be that of the *Sonnites*, who aſſert that man hath power and will to chuſe good and evil, and can moreover know he ſhall be rewarded if he do well, and ſhall be puniſhed if he do ill; but that he depends notwithſtanding on GOD's power, and willeth, if GOD willeth, but not otherwiſe. Then he proceeds briefly to refute the two extream opinions, and firſt to prove that of the *Kadarians*, though it be agreeable to GOD's juſtice, inconſiſtent with his attributes of wiſdom and power: *Sapientia enim Dei*, ſays he, *comprehendit quicquid fuit & futurum eſt ab æternitate in finem uſque mundi & poſtea. Et ita novit ab æterno omnia opera creaturarum, ſive bona, ſive mala, quæ fuerint creata cum potentia Dei, & ejus libera & determinata voluntate, ſicut ipſi viſum fuit. Denique novit eum qui futurus erat malus, & tamen creavit eum, & ſimiliter bonum, quem etiam creavit: neque negari poteſt quin, ſi ipſi libuiſſet, potuiſſet omnes creare bonos: placuit tamen Deo creare bonos & malos, cùm Deo ſoli ſit abſoluta & libera voluntas, & perfecta electio, & non homini. Ita enim* Salomon *in ſuis proverbiis dixit, Vitam & mortem, bonum & malum, divitias & paupertatem, eſſe & venire à Deo.* Chriſtiani *etiam dicunt* S. Paulum *dixiſſe in ſuis epiſtolis; Dicet etiam lutum figulo, quare facis unum vas ad honorem, & aliud vas ad contumeliam? Cum igitur miſer homo fuerit creatus à voluntate Dei & potentia, nihil aliud poteſt tribui ipſi quàm ipſe ſenſus cognoſcendi & ſentiendi an bene vel male faciat. Quæ unica cauſa (id eſt, ſenſus cognoſcendi) erit ejus gloriæ vel pœnæ cauſa: per talem enim ſenſum novit quid boni vel mali adverſus Dei præcepta fecerit.* The opinion of the *Jabarians*, on the other hand, he rejects as contrary to man's conſciouſneſs of his own power and choice, and inconſiſtent with GOD's juſtice, and his having given mankind laws, to the obſerving or tranſgreſſing of which he has annexed rewards and puniſhments. After this he proceeds to explain the third opinion in the following words. *Tertia opinio* Zunis (i. e. *Sonnitarum,*) *quæ vera eſt, affirmat homini poteſtatem eſſe, ſed limitatam à ſua cauſa, id eſt, dependentem à Dei potentia & voluntate, & propter illam cognitionem qua deliberat benè vel malè facere, eſſe dignum pœna*

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ſin the *Aſhárians* taught, that if a believer guilty of ſuch ſin die without repentance, his ſentence is to be left to GOD, whether he pardon him out of his mercy, or whether the prophet intercede for him, (according to that ſaying recorded of him, *My interceſſion ſhall be employed for thoſe among my people who ſhall have been guilty of grievous crimes,)* or whether he puniſh him in proportion to his demerit, and afterwards, through his mercy, admit him into paradiſe: but that it is not to be ſuppoſed he will remain forever in hell with the infidels, ſeeing it is declared that whoever ſhall have faith in his heart but of the weight of an ant, ſhall be delivered from hell-fire [1]. And this is generally received for the orthodox doctrine in this point, and is diametrically oppoſite to that of the *Mótazalites.*

Theſe were the more rational *Sefatians*, but the ignorant part of them, not knowing how otherwiſe to explain the expreſſions of the *Korân* relating to the declarative attributes, fell into moſt groſs and abſurd opinions, making GOD *corporeal*, and *like created beings* [2]. Such were,

2. The *Moſhabbehites*, or *Aſſimilators*; who allowed a *reſemblance* between GOD and his creatures [3], ſuppoſing him to be a figure

vel præmio. Manifeſtum eſt in æternitate non fuiſſe aliam potentiam præter Dei noſtri omnipotentis, e cujus potentia pendebant omnia poſſibilia, id eſt, quæ poterant eſſe, cum ab ipſo fuerint creata. Sapientia verò Dei novit etiam quæ non ſunt futura; & potentia ejus, etſi non creaverit ea, potuit tamen, ſi ita Deo placuiſſet. Ita novit ſapientia Dei quæ erant impoſſibilia, id eſt, quæ non poterant eſſe; quæ tamen nullo pacto pendent ab ejus potentia: ab ejus enim potentia nulla pendent niſi poſſibilia.—Dicimus enim à Dei potentia non pendere creare Deum alium ipſi ſimilem, nec creare aliquid quod moveatur & quieſcat ſimul eodem tempore, cùm hæc ſint ex impoſſibilibus: comprehendit tamen ſuâ ſapientiâ talc aliquid non pendere ab ejus potentiâ.—A potentiâ igitur Dei pendet ſolùm quod poteſt eſſe, & poſſibile eſt eſſe; quæ ſemper parata eſt dare eſſe poſſibilibus. Et ſi hoc penitus cognoſcamus, cognoſcemus pariter omne quod eſt, ſeu futurum eſt, ſive ſint opera noſtra, ſive quidvis aliud, pendere à ſola potentia Dei. Et hoc non privatim intelligitur, ſed in genere de omni eo quod eſt & movetur, ſive in cælis ſive in terrâ; & nec aliquâ potentiâ poteſt impediri Dei potentia, cùm nulla alia potentia abſoluta ſit, præter Dei; potentia verò noſtra non eſt à ſe, niſi à Dei potentia: & cum potentia noſtra dicitur eſſe a cauſa ſua, ideo dicimus potentiam noſtram eſſe ſtraminis comparatam cum potentia Dei: eo enim modo quo ſtramen movetur à motu maris, ita noſtra potentia & voluntas à Dei potentia. Itaque Dei potentia ſemper eſt parata etiam ad occidendum aliquem; ut ſi quis hominem occidat, non dicimus potentiâ hominis id factum, ſed æterna potentia Dei: error enim eſt id tribuere potentiæ hominis. Potentia enim Dei, cùm ſemper ſit parata, & ante ipſum hominem, ad occidendum; ſi ſolâ hominis potentiâ id factum eſſe diceremus, & mereretur, potentia ſanè Dei (quæ antè erat) jam ibi eſſet fruſtrà: quia poſt mortem non poteſt potentia Dei eum iterum occidere; ex quo ſequeretur potentiam Dei impediri à potentia hominis, & potentiam hominis anteire & antecellere potentiam Dei; quod eſt abſurdum & impoſſibile. Igitur Deus eſt qui operatur æternâ ſuâ potentiâ: ſi verò homini injiciatur culpa, ſive in tali homicidio, ſive in aliis, hoc eſt quantùm ad præcepta & legem. Homini tribuitur ſolùm opus externè, & ejus electio, quæ eſt a voluntate ejus & potentia; non verò internè.— Hoc eſt punctum illud indiviſibile & ſecretum, quod à pauciſſimis capitur, ut ſapientiſſimus Sidi Abo Hamet Elgaceli (i. e. *Dominus* Abu Hàmed al Ghazâli) *affirmat (cujus ſpiritui Deus concedat gloriam, Amen!) ſequentibus verbis: Ita abditum & profundum & abſtruſum eſt intelligere punctum illud Liberi Arbitrii, at neque characteres ad ſcribendum, neque ullæ rationes ad exprimendum ſufficiant, & omnes, quotquot de hac re locuti ſunt, hæſerunt confuſi in ripa tanti & tam ſpacioſi maris.*

[1] Al Shahreſt. apud Poc. Spec. p. 258. [2] V. Poc. ib. p. 255, &c. Abulfar. p. 167, &c. [3] Al Mawâkef, apud Poc. ib.

compoſed of members or parts, either ſpiritual or corporeal, and capable of local motion, of aſcent and deſcent, *&c* [1]. Some of this ſect inclined to the opinion of the *Holûlians*, who believed that the divine nature might be united with the human in the ſame perſon; for they granted it poſſible that GOD might appear in a human form, as *Gabriel* did: and to confirm their opinion they alledge *Mohammed*'s words, that he ſaw his LORD in *a moſt beautiful form*, and *Moſes*'s talking with GOD *face to face* [2]. And

3. The *Kerâmians*, or followers of *Mohammed Ebn Kerâm*, called alſo *Mojaſſemians*, or *Corporaliſts*; who not only admitted a *reſemblance* between GOD and created beings, but declared GOD to be *corporeal* [3]. The more ſober among them, indeed, when they applied the word *body* to GOD, would be underſtood to mean, that he is a *ſelf-ſubſiſting being*, which with them is the definition of *body*: but yet ſome of them affirmed him to be *finite*, and circumſcribed either on all ſides, or on ſome only, (as *beneath*, for example,) according to different opinions [4]; and others allowed that he might be felt by the hand, and ſeen by the eye. Nay, one *David al Jawâri* went ſo far as to ſay, that his deity was a body compoſed of fleſh and blood, and that he had members, as hands, feet, a head, a tongue, eyes, and ears; but that he was a body, however, not like other bodies, neither was he like to any created being: he is alſo ſaid farther to have affirmed that from the crown of the head to the breaſt he was hollow, and from the breaſt downward ſolid, and that he had black curled hair [5]. Theſe moſt blaſphemous and monſtrous notions were the conſequence of the *literal* acceptation of thoſe paſſages in the *Korân* which figuratively attribute corporeal actions to GOD, and of the words of *Mohammed*, when he ſaid, that GOD created man *in his own image*, and that himſelf had *felt the fingers of* GOD, which he laid on his back, to be *cold*: beſides which, this ſect are charged with fathering on their prophet a great number of ſpurious and forged traditions to ſupport their opinion, the greater part whereof they borrowed from the *Jews*, who are accuſed as naturally prone to aſſimilate GOD to men, ſo that they deſcribe him as weeping for *Noah*'s flood till his eyes were ſore [6]. And indeed, though we grant the *Jews* may have impoſed on *Mohammed* and his followers in many inſtances, and told them as ſolemn truths things which themſelves believed not or had invented, yet many expreſſions of this

[1] Al Shahreſt. apud eund. ib. p. 226. [2] V. Marracc. Prodr. part iii. p. 76. [3] Al Shahreſt. ubi ſupra. [4] Idem, ib. p. 225. [5] Idem, ib. p. 226, 227. [6] Idem, ib. p. 227, 228.

kind

kind are to be found in their writings; as when they introduce GOD roaring like a lyon at every watch of the night, and crying, *Alas! that I have laid waſte my houſe, and ſuffered my temple to be burnt, and ſent my children into baniſhment among the heathen*, &c [1].

4. The *Jabarians*; who are the direct opponents of the *Kadarians*, denying free agency in man, and aſcribing his actions wholly unto GOD [2]. They take their denomination from *al Jabr*, which ſignifies *neceſſity*, or *compulſion*; becauſe they hold man to be *neceſſarily* and *inevitably conſtrained* to act as he does, by force of GOD's eternal and immutable decree [3]. This ſect is diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral ſpecies; ſome being more rigid and extream in their opinion, who are thence called *pure Jabarians*, and others more moderate, who are therefore called *middle Jabarians*. The former will not allow men to be ſaid either to *act*, or to have any *power* at all, either *operative* or *acquiring*; aſſerting that man can do nothing; but produces all his actions by *neceſſity*, having neither *power*, nor *will*, nor *choice*, any more than an inanimate agent: they alſo declare that *rewarding* and *puniſhing* are alſo the effects of *neceſſity*; and the ſame they ſay of the impoſing of commands. This was the doctrine of the *Jahmians*, the followers of *Jahm Ebn Safwân*, who likewiſe held that paradiſe and hell will vaniſh, or be annihilated, after thoſe who are deſtined thereto reſpectively ſhall have entred them, ſo that at laſt there will remain no exiſting being beſides GOD [4]; ſuppoſing thoſe words of the *Korân*, which declare that the inhabitants of paradiſe and of hell *ſhall remain therein forever*, to be hyperbolical only, and intended for corroboration, and not to denote an eternal duration in reality [5]. The moderate *Jabarians* are they who aſcribe ſome *power* to man, but ſuch a power as hath *no influence* on the action: for as to thoſe who grant the power of man to have a certain *influence* on the action, which influence is called *Acquiſition*, ſome [6] will not admit them to be called *Jabarians*; though others reckon thoſe alſo to be called *middle Jabarians*, and to contend for the *middle* opinion between *abſolute neceſſity* and *abſolute liberty*, who attribute to man *acquiſition*, or *concurrence* in producing the action, whereby he *gaineth* commendation or blame, (yet without admitting it to have any *influence* on the action,) and therefore make the *Aſhárians* a branch of this ſect [7]. Having again mentioned the term *Acquiſition*, we may

[1] Talm. Berachoth, c. 1. V. Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 228. [2] V. Abulfarag. p. 168. [3] Al Shahreſt. al Mawâkef, & Ebn al Koſſá, apud Poc. ib. p. 238, &c. [4] Al Shahreſt. al Motarezzi, & Ebn al Koſſá, apud eund. p. 239, 243, &c. [5] Idem, ib p. 260. [6] Al Shahreſt. Ebn al Koſſá, & al Mawâkef.

perhaps have a clearer idea of what the *Mohammedans* mean thereby, when told, that it is defined to be *an action directed to the obtaining of profit, or the removing of hurt*, and for that reaſon never applied to any action of GOD, who acquireth to himſelf neither profit nor hurt [1]. Of the *middle* or *moderate Jabarians*, were the *Najârians*, and the *Derârians*. The *Najârians* were the adherents of *Al Haſan Ebn Mohammed al Najâr*, who taught that GOD was he who *created* the actions of men, both good and bad, and that man *acquired* them, and alſo that man's power had an *influence* on the action, or a certain *cooperation*, which he called *Acquiſition*; and herein he agreed with *al Aſhâri* [2]. The *Derârians* were the diſciples of *Derâr Ebn Amru*, who held alſo that men's actions are really *created* by GOD, and that man really *acquired* them [3]. The *Jabarians* alſo ſay; that GOD is abſolute Lord of his creatures, and may deal with them according to his own pleaſure, without rendring account to any, and that if he ſhould admit all men without diſtinction into paradiſe, it would be no impartiality, or if he ſhould caſt them all into hell it would be no injuſtice [4]. And in this particular likewiſe they agree with the *Aſhárians*, who aſſert the ſame [5], and ſay that *reward* is a *favour* from GOD, and *puniſhment* a piece of *juſtice*; obedience being by them conſidered as a *ſign* only of future reward, and tranſgreſſion as a *ſign* of future puniſhment [6].

5. The *Morgians*; who are ſaid to be derived from the *Jabarians* [7]. Theſe teach that the judgment of every true believer, who hath been guilty of a grievous ſin, will be deferred till the reſurrection; for which reaſon they paſs no ſentence on him in this world, either of abſolution or condemnation. They alſo hold that *diſobedience* with *faith* hurteth not; and that, on the other hand, *obedience* with

[1] Ebn al Koſſá, apud Poc. ubi ſup. p. 240. [2] Al Shahreſt. apud eund. p. 245. [3] Idem, ib. [4] Abulfarag. p. 168, &c. [5] Al Shahreſtâni, ubi ſup. pag. 252, &c. [6] Sharh al Tawâlea, ib. To the ſame effect writes the *Mooriſh* author quoted above, from whom I will venture to tranſcribe the following paſſage, with which he concludes his diſcourſe on Free-will. *Intellectus ferè lumine naturali novit Deum eſſe rectum judicem & juſtum, qui non aliter afficit creaturam quàm juſte: etiam Deum eſſe abſolutum Dominum, & hanc orbis machinam eſſe ejus, & ab eo creatam; Deum nullis debere rationem reddere, cùm quicquid agat, agat jure proprio ſibi: & ita abſolute poterit afficere præmio vel pœna quem vult, cùm omnis creatura ſit ejus, nec facit cuiquam injuriam, etſi eam tormentis & pœnis æternis afficiat: plus enim boni & commodi accepit creatura quando accepit eſſe a ſuo creatore, quàm incommodi & damni quando ab eo damnata eſt & affecta tormentis & pœnis. Hoc autem intelligitur ſi Deus abſolute id faceret. Quando enim Deus, pietate & miſericordia motus, eligit aliquos ut ipſi ſerviant, Dominus Deus gratiâ ſuâ id facit ex infinitâ bonitate; & quando aliquos derelinquit, & pœnis & tormentis afficit, ex juſtitia & rectitudine. Et tandem dicimus omnes pœnas eſſe juſtas quæ a Deo veniunt, & noſtrâ tantùm culpâ, & omnia bona eſſe à pietate & miſericordia ejus infinita.* [7] Al Shahreſt. ubi ſup. p. 256.

infi-

infidelity profiteth not [1]. As to the reaſon of their name the learned differ, becauſe of the different ſignifications of its root, each of which they accommodate to ſome opinion of the ſect. Some think them ſo called becauſe they *poſtpone* works to intention, that is, eſteem works to be inferior in degree to intention and profeſſion of the faith [2]; others, becauſe they *allow hope*, by aſſerting that diſobedience with faith hurteth not, *&c.* others take the reaſon of the name to be, their *deferring* the ſentence of the heinous ſinner till the reſurrection [3]; and others, their *degrading* of *Ali*, or removing him from the firſt degree to the fourth [4]: for the *Morgians*, in ſome points relating to the office of *Imâm*, agree with the *Khârejites*. This ſect is divided into four ſpecies: three of which, according as they happen to agree in particular dogms with the *Khârejites*, the *Kadarians*, or the *Jabarians*, are diſtinguiſhed as *Morgians* of thoſe ſects, and the fourth is that of the *pure Morgians*; which laſt ſpecies is again ſub-divided into five others [5]. The opinions of *Mokâtel* and *Baſhar*, both of a ſect of the *Morgians* called *Thaubanians*, ſhould not be omitted. The former aſſerted that diſobedience hurts not him who profeſſes the unity of GOD, and is endued with faith; and that no true believer ſhall be caſt into hell: he alſo taught that GOD will ſurely forgive all crimes beſides infidelity; and that a diſobedient believer will be puniſhed, at the day of reſurrection, on the bridge [6] laid over the midſt of hell, where the flames of hell-fire ſhall catch hold on him, and torment him in proportion to his diſobedience, and that he ſhall then be admitted into paradiſe [7]. The latter held, that if GOD do caſt the believers guilty of grievous ſins into hell, yet they will be delivered thence after they ſhall have been ſufficiently puniſhed; but that it is neither poſſible nor conſiſtent with juſtice, that they ſhould remain therein forever: which, as has been obſerved, was the opinion of *al Aſhâri*.

Of the ſect of the *Khârejites*.

III. The *Khârejites* are they who *depart* or *revolt from* the lawful prince eſtabliſhed by public conſent; and thence comes their name, which ſignifies *revolters* or *rebels* [8]. The firſt who were ſo called, were twelve thouſand men who revolted from *Ali*, after they had fought under him at the battle of *Seffein*, taking offence at his ſubmitting the deciſion of his right to the *Khaliſat*, which *Moâwiyah* diſputed with him, to arbitration, though they themſelves had firſt

[1] Abulfar. p. 169. [2] Al Firauz. [3] Ebn al Athîr, Al Motarrezi. [4] Al Shahreſt. ubi ſup. p. 254, &c. [5] Idem, ibid. [6] See before, §. IV. p. 91. [7] Al Shahreſt. ubi ſupra, p. 257. [8] Idem, ib. p. 269.

obliged

obliged him to it [1]. Theſe were alſo called *Mohakkemites*, or *Judiciarians*; becauſe the reaſon which they gave for their revolt was, that *Ali* had referred a matter concerning the religion of GOD to the *judgment* of men, whereas the *judgment*, in ſuch caſe, belonged only unto GOD [2]. The hereſy of the *Khârejites* conſiſted chiefly in two things. 1. In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of *Imâm*, or prince, though he was not of the tribe of *Koraiſh*, nor even a freeman, provided he was a juſt and pious perſon, and endued with the other requiſite qualifications; and alſo held, that if the *Imâm* turned aſide from the truth, he might be put to death or depoſed; and that there was no abſolute neceſſity for any *Imâm* at all in the world. 2. In that they charged *Ali* with ſin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men, which ought to have been determined by GOD alone; and went ſo far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curſe him, on that account [3]. In the 38th year of the *Hejra*, which was the year following the revolt, all theſe *Kharejites* who perſiſted in their rebellion, to the number of four thouſand, were cut to pieces by *Ali*, and as ſeveral hiſtorians [4] write, even to a man: but others ſay nine of them eſcaped, and that two fled into *Omân*, two into *Kermân*, two into *Sejeſtân*, two into *Meſopotamia*, and one to *Tel Mawrûn*; and that theſe propagated their hereſy in thoſe places, the ſame remaining there to this day [5]. The principal ſects of the *Khârejites*, beſides the *Mohakkemites* abovementioned, are ſix; which, though they greatly differ among themſelves in other matters, yet agree in theſe, *viz.* that they abſolutely reject *Othmân* and *Ali*, preferring the doing of this to the greateſt *obedience*, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms; that they account thoſe who are guilty of grievous ſins to be infidels; and that they hold it neceſſary to reſiſt the *Imâm* when he tranſgreſſes the law. One ſect of them deſerves more particular notice, *viz.*

The *Waïdians*; ſo called from *al Waïd*, which ſignifies the *threats* denounced by GOD againſt the wicked. Theſe are the antagoniſts of the *Morgians*, and aſſert that he who is guilty of a grievous ſin ought to be declared an infidel or apoſtate, and will be eternally puniſhed in hell, though he were a true believer [6]: which opinion of theirs, as has been obſerved, occaſioned the firſt riſe of the *Mótaza-*

[1] See *Ockley*'s Hiſt. of the *Saracens*, V. 1. p. 60, &c. [2] Al Shahreſt. ubi ſup. p. 270. [3] Idem, ib. [4] Abu'lfeda, al Jannâbi, Elmacinus, p. 40. [5] Al Shahreſtâni. See *Ockley*'s Hiſt. of the *Saracens*, ubi ſup. p. 63. [6] Abulfar. p. 169. Al Shahreſt. apud Poc. Spec. p. 256.

Hiſt.

lives. One *Jaafar Ebn Mobashshar*, of the sect of the *Nodhâmians*, was yet more severe than the *Waïdians*, pronouncing him to be a reprobate and an apostate who steals but a grain of corn [1].

Of the sect of the *Shiites.*

IV. The *Shiites* are the opponents of the *Khârejites*: their name properly signifies *sectaries* or *adherents* in general, but is peculiarly used to denote those of *Ali Ebn Abi Tâleb*; who maintain him to be lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*, and that the supream authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. They also teach, that the office of *Imâm* is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, so that they may set up whom they please; but a fundamental affair of religion, and an article which the prophet could not have neglected, or left to the fancy of the common people [2]: nay some, thence called *Imâmians*, go so far as to assert, that religion consists solely in the knowledge of the true *Imâm* [3]. The principal sects of the *Shiites* are five, which are sub-divided into an almost innumerable number; so that some understand *Mohammed*'s prophecy of the seventy odd sects, of the *Shiites* only. Their general opinions are, 1. That the peculiar designation of the *Imâm*, and the testimonies of the *Korân* and *Mohammed* concerning him, are necessary points. 2. That the *Imâms* ought necessarily to keep themselves free from light sins as well as more grievous. 3. That every one ought publickly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself, by word, deed, and engagement; and that herein there should be no dissimulation. But in this last point some of the *Zeidians*, a sect so named from *Zeid*, the son of *Ali* surnamed *Zein al âbedîn*, and great grandson of *Ali*, dissented from the rest of the *Shiites* [4]. As to other articles, wherein they agreed not, some of them came pretty near to the notions of the *Mótazalites*, others to those of the *Mosshabbehites*, and others to those of the *Sonnites* [5]. Among the latter of these *Mohammed al Báker*, another son of *Zein al âbedîn*'s, seems to claim a place: for his opinion as to the will of GOD was, that GOD willeth something *in* us, and something *from* us, and that what he willeth *from* us he hath *revealed* to us; for which reason he thought it preposterous that we should employ our thoughts about those things which GOD willeth *in* us, and neglect those which he willeth *from* us: and as to GOD's decree, he held that the way lay in the *middle*, and that there was

[1] V. Poc. ib. p. 257. [2] Al Shahrest. ib. p. 261. Abulfar. p. 169. [3] Al Shahrest. ib. p. 262. [4] Idem, ib. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Schiah. [5] V. Poc. ib.

neither

neither compulſion, nor free liberty [1]. A tenet of the *Khattâbians*, or diſciples of one *Aba'l Khattâb*, is too peculiar to be omitted. Theſe maintained *paradiſe* to be no other than the *pleaſures of this world*, and *hell-fire* to be the *pains* thereof, and that the world will never decay: which propoſition being firſt laid down, it is no wonder they went farther, and declared it lawful to indulge themſelves in drinking wine and whoring, and to do other things forbidden by the law, and alſo to omit doing the things commanded by the law [2].

Many of the *Shiites* carried their veneration for *Ali* and his deſcendants ſo far, that they tranſgreſſed all bounds of reaſon and decency; though ſome of them were leſs extravagant than others. The *Gholâites*, who had their name from their *exceſſive* zeal for their *Imâms*, were ſo highly tranſported therewith, that they raiſed them above the degree of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them; tranſgreſſing on either hand, by deifying of mortal men, and by making GOD corporeal: for one while they liken one of their *Imâms* to GOD, and another while they liken GOD to a creature [3]. The ſects of theſe are various, and have various appellations in different countries. *Abd'allah Ebn Saba* (who had been a *Jew*, and had aſſerted the ſame thing of *Joſhua* the ſon of *Nun*) was the ring-leader of one of them. This man gave the following ſalutation to *Ali*, viz. *Thou art Thou*, i. e. *Thou art* GOD: and hereupon the *Gholâites* became divided into ſeveral ſpecies; ſome maintaining the ſame thing, or ſomething like it, of *Ali*, and others of ſome of one of his deſcendants; affirming that he was not dead, but would return again in the clouds, and fill the earth with juſtice [4]. But howmuchſoever they diſagreed in other things, they unanimouſly held a *metempſychoſis*, and what they call *al Holûl*, or *the deſcent* of GOD on his creatures; meaning thereby that GOD is preſent in every place, and ſpeaks with every tongue, and appears in ſome individual perſon [5]: and hence ſome of them aſſerted their *Imâms* to be *prophets*, and at length *gods* [6]. The *Noſairians* and the *Iſhâkians* taught that ſpiritual ſubſtances appear in groſſer bodies; and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner. They alſo aſſert that GOD hath appeared in the form of certain men; and ſince, after *Mohammed*, there hath been no man more excellent than *Ali*, and, after him, his ſons have excelled all other men, that GOD hath appeared in their form, ſpoken with their tongue, and made uſe of their

[1] Al Shahreſt. ib. p. 263. [2] Idem, & Ebn al Koffa, ib. p. 260. &c. [3] Idem, ibid [4] Idem, ib. p. 264. V. Marracc. Prodr. part. iii. p. 80, &c. [5] Idem, ib p. 265. [6] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Or. Art. Hakem beamrillah.

hands,

hands, for which reaſon, ſay they, *we attribute divinity to them* [1]. And to ſupport theſe blaſphemies, they tell ſeveral miraculous things of *Ali*, as his moving the gates of *Khaibar* [2], which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity and with ſovereign power, and that he was the perſon in whoſe form GOD appeared, with whoſe hands he created all things, and with whoſe tongue he publiſhed his commands; and therefore they ſay he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth [3]. In ſo impious a manner do they ſeem to wreſt thoſe things which are ſaid in ſcripture of CHRIST, by applying them to *Ali*. Theſe extravagant fancies of the *Shiites*, however, in making their *Imâms* partakers of the divine nature, and the impiety of ſome of thoſe *Imâms* in laying claim thereto, are ſo far from being peculiar to this ſect, that moſt of the other *Mohammedan* ſects are tainted with the ſame madneſs; there being many found among them, and among the *Sûfis* eſpecially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boaſt of ſtrange revelations before the credulous people [4]. It may not be amiſs to hear what *al Ghazâli* has written on this occaſion. *Matters are come to that paſs*, ſays he, *that ſome boaſt of an union with* GOD, *and of diſcourſing familiarly with him, without the interpoſition of a vail, ſaying, It hath been thus ſaid to us, and We have thus ſpoken; affecting to imitate* Hoſein al Hallâj, *who was put to death for ſome words of this kind uttered by him, he having ſaid (as was proved by credible witneſſes,)* I am the Truth [5], *or* Abu Yazîd al Baſtâmi, *of whom it is related that he often uſed the expreſſion*, Sobhâni, *i. e.* Praiſe be unto me [6]! *But this way of talking is the cauſe of great miſchief among the common people; inſomuch that husbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges; nature being tickled with diſcourſes of this kind, which furniſh men with an excuſe for leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their ſouls, and attaining I know not what degrees and conditions. Nor is there any thing to hinder the moſt ſtupid fellows from forming the like pretenſions, and catching at ſuch vain expreſſions: for whenever what they ſay is denied to be true, they fail not to reply, that our unbelief proceeds from learning and logic; affirming learning to be a vail, and logic the work of the mind; whereas what they tell us appears only within, being diſcovered by the light of truth. But this is that truth the ſparks whereof have*

[1] Idem, ib. Abulfar. p. 169. [2] See *Prid.* Life of *Mah.* p. 93. [3] Al Shah. ubi ſupr. p. 266. [4] Pocock. Spec. p. 267. [5] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Hallage. [6] V. Ibid. Art. Baſtham.

flown into ſeveral countries, and occaſioned great miſchiefs; ſo that it is more for the advantage of God's *true religion to put to death one of thoſe who utter ſuch things, than to beſtow life on ten others* [1].

Thus far have we treated of the chief ſects among the *Mohammedans* of the firſt ages; omitting to ſay any thing of the more modern ſects, becauſe the ſame are taken little or no notice of by their own writers, and would be of no uſe to our preſent deſign [2]. It may be proper, however, to mention a word or two of the great ſchiſm at this day ſubſiſting between the *Sonnites* and the *Shiites*, or partiſans of *Ali*, and maintained on either ſide with implacable hatred and furious zeal. Tho' the difference aroſe at firſt on a political occaſion, it has notwithſtanding been ſo well improved by additional circumſtances, and the ſpirit of contradiction, that each party deteſt and anathematize the other as abominable heretics, and farther from the truth than either the *Chriſtians* or the *Jews* [3]. The chief points wherein they differ are, 1. That the *Shiites* reject *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*, the three firſt *Khalîfs*, as uſurpers and intruders; whereas the *Sonnites* acknowledge and reſpect them as rightful *Imâms*. 2. The *Shiites* prefer *Ali* to *Mohammed*, or, at leaſt, eſteem them both equal; but the *Sonnites* admit neither *Ali*, nor any of the prophets, to be equal to *Mohammed*. 3. The *Sonnites* charge the *Shiites* with corrupting the *Korân*, and neglecting its precepts; and the *Shiites* retort the ſame charge on the *Sonnites*. 4. The *Sonnites* receive the *Sonna*, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority; whereas the *Shiites* reject it as apocryphal and unworthy of credit. And to theſe diſputes, and ſome others of leſs moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has long reigned between the *Turks*, who are *Sonnites*, and the *Perſians*, who are of the ſect of *Ali*. It ſeems ſtrange that *Spinoſa*, had he known of no other ſchiſm among the *Mohammedans*, ſhould yet never have heard of one ſo publickly notorious as this between the *Turks* and *Perſians*; but it is plain he did not, or he would never have aſſigned it as the reaſon of his preferring the order of the *Mohammedan* church to that of the *Roman*, that there have ariſen no ſchiſms in the former ſince its birth [4].

[1] Al Ghazâli, apud Poc. ubi ſup. [2] The reader may meet with ſome account of them in *Rycaut*'s State of the *Ottom.* Empire, l. 2. chap. 12. [3] V. ib. ch. 10. & Chardin. Voy. de Perſe, T. II. p. 169, 170, &c. [4] The words of *Spinoſa* are; *Ordinem* Romanæ *eccleſiæ*—— *politicum & plurimis lucroſum eſſe fateor; nec ad decipiendam plebem, & hominum animos coercendum commodiorem iſto crederem, ni ordo* Mahumedanæ *eccleſiæ eſſet, qui longè eundem antecellit. Nam à quo tempore hæc ſuperſtitio incepit, nulla in eorum eccleſia ſchiſmata orta ſunt.* Opera Poſth. p. 613.

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As ſucceſs in any project ſeldom fails to draw in imitators, *Mohammed*'s having raiſed himſelf to ſuch a degree of power and reputation by acting the prophet, induced others to imagine they might arrive at the ſame height by the ſame means. His moſt conſiderable competitors in the prophetic office were *Moſeilama* and *al Aſwad*, whom the *Mohammedans* uſually call *the two lyars*. Of perſons pretending to propheſy in *Mohammed*'s time and ſince.

The former was of the tribe of *Honeifa*, who inhabited the province of *Yamâma*, and a principal man among them. He headed an embaſſy ſent by his tribe to *Mohammed* in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, and profeſſed himſelf a *Moſlem* [1]: but on his return home, conſidering that he might poſſibly ſhare with *Mohammed* in his power, the next year he ſet up for a prophet alſo, pretending to be joined with him in the commiſſion to recal mankind from idolatry to the worſhip of the true GOD [2]; and he publiſhed written revelations, in imitation of the *Korân*, of which *Abu'lfaragius* [3] has preſerved the following paſſage, *viz. Now hath* GOD *been gracious unto her that was with child, and hath brought forth from her the ſoul, which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels.* *Moſeilama*, having formed a conſiderable party among thoſe of *Honeifa*, began to think himſelf upon equal terms with *Mohammed*, and ſent him a letter, offering to go halves with him [4], in theſe words: *From* Moſeilama *the apoſtle of* GOD, *to* Mohammed *the apoſtle of* GOD. *Now let the earth be half mine, and half thine.* But *Mohammed*, thinking himſelf too well eſtabliſhed to need a partner, wrote him this anſwer: *From* Mohammed *the apoſtle of* GOD, *to* Moſeilama *the lyar. The earth is* GOD's: *he giveth the ſame for inheritance unto ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth; and the happy iſſue ſhall attend thoſe who fear him* [5]. During the few months which *Mohammed* lived after this revolt, *Moſeilama* rather gained than loſt ground, and grew very formidable; but *Abu Becr*, his ſucceſſor, in the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, ſent a great army againſt him, under the command of that conſummate general *Khâled Ebn al Walîd*, who engaged *Moſeilama* in a bloody battle, wherein the falſe prophet happening to be ſlain by *Wahſha*, the negro ſlave who had killed *Hamza* at *Obod*, and by the ſame lance [6], the *Moſlems* gained an entire victory, ten thouſand of the apoſtates being left dead on the ſpot, and the reſt returning to *Mohammediſm* [7]. Of *Moſeilama*.

[1] Abulfed. p. 160. [2] Idem, Elmac. p. 9. [3] Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 164. [4] Abulfed. ubi ſup. [5] Al Beidâwi, in Kor. c. 5. [6] Abulfed. ubi ſup. [7] Idem, ib. Abulfarag. p. 173. Elmac. p. 16, &c. See *Ockley*'s Hiſt. of the *Saracens*. Vol. I. p. 15, &c.

Of *al Aſwad al Anſi.*

Al Aſwad, whoſe name was *Aihala*, was of the tribe of *Ans*, and governed that and the other tribes of *Arabs* deſcended from *Madhhaj* [1]. This man was likewiſe an apoſtate from *Mohammediſm*, and ſet up for himſelf the very year that *Mohammed* died [2]. He was ſurnamed *Dhu'lhemâr*, or the *maſter of the aſs*, becauſe he uſed frequently to ſay, *The maſter of the aſs is coming unto me* [3]; and pretended to receive his revelations from two angels named *Sohaik* and *Shoraik* [4]. Having a good hand at legerdemain, and a ſmooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multitude by the ſtrange feats which he ſhewed them, and the eloquence of his diſcourſe [5]: by theſe means he greatly encreaſed his power, and having made himſelf maſter of *Najrân* and the territory of *al Tâyef* [6], on the death of *Badhân*, the governor of *Yaman* for *Mohammed*, he ſeized that province alſo, killing *Shahr*, the Son of *Badhân*, and taking to wife his widow, whoſe father, the uncle of *Firûz* the *Deilamite*, he had alſo ſlain [7]. Theſe news being brought to *Mohammed*, he ſent to his friends, and to thoſe of *Hamdân*; a party of whom, conſpiring with *Kais Ebn Abd'al Yaghûth*, who bore *al Aſwad* a grudge, and with *Firûz* and *al Aſwad*'s wife, broke by night into his houſe, where *Firûz* ſurprized him and cut off his head. While he was diſpatching he roared like a bull; at which his guards came to the chamber door, but were ſent away by his wife, who told them the prophet was only agitated by the divine inſpiration. This was done the very night before *Mohammed* died. The next morning the conſpirators cauſed the following proclamation to be made, viz. *I bear witneſs that* Mohammed *is the apoſtle of* God, *and that* Aihala *is a lyar*; and letters were immediately ſent away to *Mohammed*, with an account of what had been done: but a meſſenger from heaven outſtripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions but a little before his death; the letters themſelves not arriving till *Abu Becr* was choſen *Khalîf*. It is ſaid that *Mohammed* on this occaſion told thoſe who attended him, that before the day of judgment thirty more impoſtors, beſides *Moſeilama* and *al Aſwad*, ſhould appear, and every one of them ſet up for a prophet. The whole time from the beginning of *al Aſwad*'s rebellion to his death, was about four months [8].

[1] Al Soheili, apud Gagnier. in not. ad Abulf. vit. Moh. p. 158. [2] Elmac. p. 9. [3] Abulfed. ubi ſup. [4] Al Soheili, ubi ſupra. [5] Abulfed. ubi ſupr. [6] Idem, & Elmac. ubi ſupr. [7] Idem, al Jannâbi, ubi ſup. [8] Idem, ibid.

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In the ſame eleventh year of the *Hejra*, but after the death of *Mohammed*, as ſeems moſt probable, *Toleiha Ebn Khowailed* ſet up for a prophet, and *Sejâj Bint al Mondar* [1] for a propheteſs. Of *Toleiha.*

Toleiha was of the tribe of *Aſad*, which adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of *Ghatfân* and *Tay*. Againſt them likewiſe was *Khâled* ſent, who engaged and put them to flight, obliging *Toleiha* with his ſhattered troops to retire into *Syria*, where he ſtaid till the death of *Abu Becr*: then he went to *Omar* and embraced *Mohammediſm* in his preſence, and having taken the oath of fidelity to him, returned to his own country and people [2].

Sejâj, ſurnamed *Omm Sâder*, was of the tribe of *Tamîm*, and the wife of *Abu Cahdala*, a ſoothſayer of *Yamâma*. She was followed not only by thoſe of her own tribe, but by ſeveral others. Thinking a prophet the moſt proper huſband for her, ſhe went to *Moſeilama*, and married him; but after ſhe had ſtaid with him three days, ſhe left him, and returned home [3]. What became of her afterwards I do not find. *Ebn Shohnah* has given us part of the converſation which paſſed at the interview between thoſe two pretenders to inſpiration; but the ſame is a little too immodeſt to be tranſlated. Of *Sejâj.*

In ſucceeding ages ſeveral impoſtors from time to time ſtarted up, moſt of whom quickly came to nothing: but ſome made a conſiderable figure, and propagated ſects which continued long after their deceaſe. I ſhall give a brief account of the moſt remarkable of them, in order of time.

In the reign of *al Mohdi*, the third *Khalîf* of the race of *al Abbâs*, one *Hakem Ebn Hâſhem* [4], originally of *Merû* in *Khoraſân*, who had been an under-ſecretary to *Abu Moſlem*, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned ſoldier, paſſed thence into *Mawarâ'lnahr*, where he gave himſelf out for a prophet. He is generally named by the *Arab* writers *al Mokanna*, and ſometimes *al Borkaí*, that is *the vailed*, becauſe he uſed to cover his face with a vail, or a gilded maſk, to conceal his deformity, having loſt an eye in the wars, and being otherwiſe of a deſpicable appearance; tho' his followers pretended he did it for the ſame reaſon as *Moſes* did, *viz.* leſt the ſplendor of his countenance ſhould dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many proſelytes at *Nakhſhab* and *Kaſh*, deluding the people with ſeveral juggling performances, which Of *al Mokanna.*

[1] *Ebn Shohnah & Elmacinus* call her the daughter of *al Hareth*. [2] Elmac. p. 16. al Beidâwi, in Kor. c. 5. [3] Ebn Shohnah. V. Elmac. p. 16. [4] Or *Ebn Atâ*, according to *Ebn Shohnah*.

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they ſwallowed for miracles, and particularly by cauſing the appearance of a moon to riſe out of a well for many nights together; whence he was alſo called, in the *Perſian* tongue, *Sâzendeh mah*, or *the moon-maker*. This impious impoſtor, not content with being reputed a prophet, arrogated divine honours to himſelf, pretending that the deity reſided in his perſon: and the doctrine whereon he built this, was the ſame with that of the *Gholaïtes* abovementioned, who affirmed a tranſmigration or ſucceſſive manifeſtation of the divinity through and in certain prophets and holy men, from *Adam* to theſe latter days, (of which opinion was alſo *Abu Moſlem* himſelf [1];) but the particular doctrine of *al Mokanna* was, that the perſon in whom the deity had laſt reſided, was the aforeſaid *Abu Moſlem*, and that the ſame had, ſince his death, paſſed into himſelf. The faction of *al Mokanna*, who had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities abovementioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the *Khalîf* was at length obliged to ſend an army to reduce him; at the approach whereof *al Mokanna* retired into one of his ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, which he had well provided for a ſiege, and ſent his emiſſaries abroad to perſuade people that he raiſed the dead to life, and knew future events. But being ſtraitly beſieged by the *Khalîf*'s forces, when he found there was no poſſibility for him to eſcape, he gave poiſon in wine to his whole family and all that were with him in the caſtle, and when they were dead he burnt their bodies, together with their cloaths and all the proviſions, and cattle; and then, to prevent his own body's being found, he threw himſelf into the flames, or, as others ſay, into a tub of *aqua fortis*, or ſome other preparation, which conſumed every part of him, except only his hair: ſo that when the beſiegers entred the place they found no creature in it, ſave one of *al Mokanna*'s concubines, who, ſuſpecting his deſign, had hid herſelf, and diſcovered the whole matter. This contrivance, however, failed not to produce the effect which the impoſtor deſigned among the remaining part of his followers; for he had promiſed them that his ſoul ſhould tranſmigrate into the form of a grey-headed man, riding on a greyiſh beaſt, and that after ſo many years, he would return to them, and give them the earth for their poſſeſſion: the expectation of which promiſe kept the ſect in being for ſeveral

[1] This explains a doubt of Mr. *Bayle* concerning a paſſage of *Elmacinus*, as tranſlated by *Erpenius*, and corrected by *Biſhop*. V. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. *Abumuſlimus*, vers la fin, & Rem. B.

ages

ages after [1], under the name of *Mobeyyidites*, or, as the *Perſians* call them, *Sefid jâmehghiân*, i. e. *the cloathed in white*, becauſe they wore their garments of that colour, in oppoſition, as is ſuppoſed, to the *Khalîfs* of the family of *Abbâs*, whoſe banners and habits were black. The hiſtorians place the death of *al Mokanna* in the 162d, or 163d year of the *Hejra* [2].

In the year of the *Hejra* 201, *Bâbec*, ſurnamed *al Khorremi*, and *Khorremdîn*, either becauſe he was of a certain diſtrict near *Ardebîl* in *Adherbijân*, called *Khorrem*, or becauſe he inſtituted a *merry* religion, which is the ſignification of the word in *Perſian*, began to take on him the title of a prophet. I do not find what doctrine he taught; but it is ſaid he profeſſed none of the religions then known in *Aſia*. He gained a great number of devotees in *Adherbijân* and the *Perſian Irâk*, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the *Khalîf al Mámûn*, whoſe troops he often beat, killing ſeveral of his generals, and one of them with his own hand; and by theſe victories he became ſo formidable that *al Mótaſem*, the ſucceſſor of *al Mámûn*, was obliged to employ the forces of the whole empire againſt him. The general ſent to reduce *Bâbec* was *Afſhîd*, who having overthrown him in battle, took his caſtles one after another with invincible patience, notwithſtanding the rebels gave him great annoyance, and at laſt ſhut up the impoſtor in his principal fortreſs; which being taken, *Bâbec* found means to eſcape thence in diſguiſe, with ſome of his family and principal followers; but taking refuge in the territories of the *Greeks*, was betrayed in the following manner. *Sahel*, an *Armenian* officer, happening to know *Bâbec*, enticed him, by offers of ſervice and reſpect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he ſat down to eat, *Sahel* clapt himſelf down by him; at which *Bâbec* being ſurprized, aſked him how he dared to take that liberty unaſked? *It is true, great king*, replied Sahel, *I have committed a fault; for who am I, that I ſhould ſit at your majeſty's table?* And immediately ſending for a ſmith, he made uſe of this bitter ſarcaſm, *Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them.* After this *Sahel* ſent him to *Afſhîd*, tho' he had offered a large ſum for his liberty, having firſt ſerved him in his own kind, by cauſing his mother, ſiſter, and wife, to

Of *Bâbec al Khorremi.*

[1] They were a ſect in the days of *Abu'lfaragius*, who lived above five hundred years after this extraordinary event; and may, for ought I know, be ſo ſtill. [2] Ex Abu'lfarag. Hiſt. Dyn. p. 226. Lobb al Tawârikh, Ebn Shohnah, al Tabari, & Khondamir. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Hakem Ben Haſchem.

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be raviſhed before his face; for ſo *Babec* uſed to treat his priſoners. *Afſhîd*, having the arch-rebel in his power, conducted him to *al Mótaſem*, by whoſe order he was put to an ignominious and cruel death. This man had maintained his ground againſt the power of the *Khalîfs* for twenty years, and had cruelly put to death above two hundred and fifty thouſand people; it being his cuſtom never to ſpare man, woman or child, either of the *Mohammedans* or their allies [1]. The ſectaries of *Bâbec* which remained after his death, ſeem to have been entirely diſperſed, there being little or no mention made of them by hiſtorians.

Of *Mahmûd Ebn Faraj.*

About the year 235, one *Mahmûd Ebn Faraj* pretended to be *Moſes* reſuſcitated, and plaid his part ſo well that ſeveral people believed on him, and attended him when he was brought before the *Khalíf al Motawakkel.* That prince, having been an ear-witneſs of his extravagant diſcourſes, condemned him to receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death; which was accordingly executed; and his diſciples were impriſoned till they came to their right minds [2].

Of the *Karmatians.*

The *Karmatians*, a ſect which bore an inveterate malice againſt the *Mohammedans*, began firſt to raiſe diſturbances in the year of the *Hejra* 278, and the latter end of the reign of *al Mótamed.* Their origin is not well known; but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom ſome call *Karmata*, came from *Khûziſtân* to the villages near *Cûfa*, and there feigned great ſanctity and ſtrictneſs of life, and that God had injoined him to pray fifty times a day, pretending alſo to invite people to the obedience of a certain *Imâm* of the family of *Mohammed:* and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he choſe twelve, as his apoſtles, to govern the reſt, and to propagate his doctrines. But the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their huſbandry in particular, to ſay thoſe fifty prayers a day, ſeized the fellow, and having put him in priſon, ſwore that he ſhould die; which being over-heard by a girl belonging to the governor, ſhe, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her maſter's head as he ſlept, and having let the priſoner out, returned the key to the place whence ſhe had it. The next morning the governor found the bird flown; and the accident being publickly known raiſed great admiration, his adherents giving it out that God

[1] Ex Abulfarag p. 252, &c. Elmacin. p. 141, &c. & Khondamir. V. D'Herbel. Art. Babec. [2] Ebn Shohnah. V. D'Herbel. p. 537.

had

had taken him into heaven. Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him, that it was not in the power of any to do him hurt; notwithſtanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into *Syria*, and was not heard of any more. His ſect, however, continued and encreaſed, pretending that their maſter had manifeſted himſelf to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, wherein he had changed the ceremonies and form of prayer uſed by the *Moſlems*, and introduced a new kind of faſt; and that he had alſo allowed them to drink wine, and diſpenſed with ſeveral things commanded in the *Korân*. They alſo turned the precepts of that book into allegory; teaching that prayer was the ſymbol of obedience to their *Imâm*, and faſting that of ſilence, or concealing their dogms from ſtrangers: they alſo believed fornication to be the ſin of infidelity; and the guilt thereof to be incurred by thoſe who revealed the myſteries of their religion, or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are ſaid to have produced a book, wherein was written (among other things,) *In the name of the moſt merciful* GOD. Al Faraj Ebn Othmân *of the town of* Naſrâna *ſaith, that* Chriſt *appeared unto him in a human form, and ſaid, Thou art the invitation: thou art the demonſtration: thou art the camel: thou art the beaſt: thou art* John *the ſon of* Zacharias: *thou art the Holy Ghoſt* [1]. From the year above-mentioned the *Karmatians*, under ſeveral leaders, gave almoſt continual diſturbance to the *Khalîfs* and their *Mohammedan* ſubjects for ſeveral years; committing great diſorders and outrages in *Chaldea*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Meſopotamia*, and at length eſtabliſhing a conſiderable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of *Abu Dhâher*, famous for his taking of *Mecca*, and the indignities by him offered to the temple there, but which declined ſoon after his time and came to nothing [2].

The *Iſmaelians*.

To the *Karmatians* the *Iſmaelians* of *Aſia* were very near of kin, if they were not a branch of them. For theſe, who were alſo called *al Molâhedah*, or the *Impious*, and by the writers of the hiſtory of the holy wars, *Aſſaſſins*, agreed with the former in many reſpects; ſuch as their inveterate malice againſt thoſe of other religions, and eſpecially the *Mohammedan*, their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whoſe command they were ready for aſſaſſinations, or any other bloody and dangerous enterprize, their pretended attachment to

[1] Apud Abulfar. p. 275. [2] Ex Abulfar. ibid. Elmacino, p. 174, &c. Ebn Shohnah, Khondamir. V. D'Herbel. Art. Carmath.

a certain *Imâm* of the houſe of *Ali*, &c. Theſe *Iſmaelians* in the year 483 poſſeſſed themſelves of *al Jebâl*, in the *Perſian Irâk*, under the conduct of *Haſan Sabah*; and that prince and his deſcendants enjoyed the ſame for an hundred and ſeventy one years, till the whole race of them was deſtroyed by *Holagu* the *Tartar* [1].

And Bâtenites. The *Bâtenites*, which name is alſo given to the *Iſmaelians* by ſome authors, and likewiſe to the *Karmatians* [2], were a ſect which profeſſed the ſame abominable principles, and were diſperſed over ſeveral parts of the eaſt [3]. The word ſignifies *Eſoterics*, or people of *inward* or *hidden* light or knowledge.

Of al Motanabbi. *Abu'l Teyyeb Ahmed*, ſurnamed *al Motanabbi*, of the tribe of *Jófa*, is too famous on another account not to claim a place here. He was one of the moſt excellent poets among the *Arabians*, there being none beſides *Abu Temâm* who can diſpute the prize with him. His *poetical inſpiration* was ſo warm and exalted, that he either miſtook it, or thought he could perſuade others to believe it to be *prophetical*, and therefore gave himſelf out to be a prophet indeed; and thence acquired his ſurname, by which he is generally known. His accompliſhments were too great not to have ſome ſucceſs; for ſeveral tribes of the *Arabs* of the deſarts, particularly that of *Kelâb*, acknowledged him to be what he pretended. But *Lûlû*, governour in thoſe parts for *Akhſhîd* king of *Egypt* and *Syria*, ſoon put a ſtop to the further progreſs of this new ſect, by impriſoning their prophet, and obliging him to renounce his chimerical dignity; which having done, he regained his liberty, and applied himſelf ſolely to his poetry, by means whereof he got very conſiderable riches, being in high eſteem at the courts of ſeveral princes. *Al Motanabbi* loſt his life, together with his ſon, on the bank of the *Tigris*, in defending the money which had been given him by *Adado'ddawla*, ſoltân of *Perſia*, againſt ſome *Arabian* robbers who demanded it of him; with which money he was returning to *Cûfa*, his native city. This accident happened in the year 354 [4].

Of *Baba.* The laſt pretender to prophecy I ſhall now take notice of, is one who appeared in the city of *Amaſia*, in *Natolia*, in the year 638, and by his wonderful feats ſeduced a great multitude of people there. He was by nation a *Turkmân*, and called himſelf *Bâba*, and had a diſciple named *Iſaac*, whom he ſent about to invite thoſe of

[1] V. Abulfar. p. 505, &c. D'Herbel. p. 104, 437, 505, 620, & 784. [2] V. Elmacin. p. 174, & 286 D'Herb. p. 194. [3] V. Abulfar. p. 361, 374, 380, 483. [4] Præf. in opera Motanabbis MS. V. D'Herbel. p. 638, &c.

his

his own nation to join him. *Iſaac* accordingly, coming to the territory of *Someiſat*, publiſhed his commiſſion, and prevailed on many to embrace his maſter's ſect, eſpecially among the *Turkmâns*; ſo that at laſt he had ſix thouſand horſe at his heels, beſides foot. With theſe *Baba* and his diſciple made open war on all who would not cry out with them, *There is no* GOD *but* GOD; Baba *is the apoſtle of* GOD: and they put great numbers of *Mohammedans*, as well as *Chriſtians*, to the ſword in thoſe parts; till at length both *Mohammedans* and *Chriſtians*, joining together, gave them battle, and having entirely routed them, put them all to the ſword, except their two chiefs, who being taken alive, had their heads ſtruck off by the executioner.

I could mention ſeveral other impoſtors of the ſame kind, which have ariſen among the *Mohammedans* ſince their prophet's time, and very near enough to compleat the number foretold by him: but I apprehend the reader is by this time tired as well as myſelf, and ſhall therefore here conclude this diſcourſe, which may be thought already too long for an introduction.

[1] Abulfar. p. 479. Ebn Shohnah, D'Herb. Art. Baba.

A L

AL
KORAN.

CHAP. I.

Intitled, The Preface, *or* Introduction [a]; *revealed at* Mecca.

In the name of the moſt merciful God.

PRaiſe be to God, the Lord of all creatures [b]; the moſt merciful, the king of the day of judgment. Thee do we worſhip, and of thee do we beg aſſiſtance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of thoſe to whom thou haſt been gracious; not of thoſe againſt whom thou art incenſed, nor of thoſe who go aſtray [c].

[a] *The Preface,* &c.] In Arabic *al Fâtihat.* This chapter is a prayer, and held in great veneration by the *Mohammedans,* who give it ſeveral other honourable titles; as the chapter of *prayer,* of *praiſe,* of *thankſgiving,* of *treaſure,* &c. They eſteem it as the quinteſſence of the whole *Korân,* and often repeat it in their devotions both public and private, as the *Chriſtians* do the *Lord*'s *Prayer* [1].

[b] *Lord of all creatures;*] The original words are, *Rabbi 'lâlamîna,* which literally ſignify *Lord of the worlds*; but *âlamîna* in this and other places of the *Korân* properly mean the three ſpecies of rational creatures, Men, Genii, and Angels. Father *Marracci* has endeavoured to prove from this paſſage that *Mohammed* believed a plurality of worlds, which he calls the error of the *Manichees,* &c. [2]: but this imputation the learned *Reland* has ſhewn to be entirely groundleſs [3].

[c] *Direct us in the right way,* &c.] This laſt ſentence contains a petition, that God would lead the ſupplicants into the true religion, by which is meant the *Mohammedan,* in the *Korân* often called *the right way*; in this place more particularly defined to be, *the way of thoſe to whom* God *hath been gracious,* that is, of the prophets and faithful who preceded *Mohammed*; under which appellations are alſo comprehended the *Jews* and *Chriſtians,* ſuch as they were in the times of their primitive purity, before they had deviated from their reſpective inſtitutions; *not the way of the modern* Jews, whoſe ſignal calamities are marks of the juſt *anger* of God againſt them for their obſtinacy and diſobedience; *nor of the* Chriſtians *of this age,* who have departed from the true doctrine of *Jeſus,* and are bewildered in a labyrinth of *error* [4].

This is the common expoſition of the paſſage; tho' *al Zamakhſhari,* and ſome others, by a different application of the negatives, refer the whole to the true believers; and then the ſenſe will run thus: *The way of thoſe to whom thou haſt been gracious, againſt whom thou art not incenſed, and who have not erred.* Which tranſlation the original will very well bear.

[1] *V.* Bobovium *de precib. Mohammed. p.* 3. *& ſeq.* [2] *In Prodromo ad refut. Alcorani Part.* IV. *p.* 76. *& in Notis ad Alc. cap.* 1. [3] *De religion. Mohammed. p.* 262. [4] Jallalo'ddin. Al Beidawi, &c.

CHAP. II.

Intitled, The Cow [a]; *revealed partly at* MECCA, *and partly at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A L. M. [b] There is no doubt in this book; *it is* a direction to the pious, who believe in the myſteries [c] *of faith*, who obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and diſtribute *alms* out of what we have beſtowed on them; and who believe in that *revelation*, which hath been ſent down unto thee, and that which hath been ſent down *unto the prophets* before thee [d], and have firm aſſurance in the life to come [e]: theſe are directed by their LORD, and they ſhall proſper. As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them whether thou admoniſh them, or do not admoniſh them; they will not believe. GOD hath ſealed up their hearts and their hearing; a dimneſs covereth their ſight, and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. There are ſome who ſay, We believe in GOD, and the laſt day; but are not *really* believers: they ſeek to deceive GOD, and thoſe who do believe, but they deceive themſelves only, and are not ſenſible thereof. There is an infirmity in their hearts, and GOD hath increaſed that infirmity [f]; and they ſhall ſuffer a moſt painful puniſhment, becauſe they have diſbelieved. When one ſaith unto them, Act not corruptly [g] in the earth; they reply, Verily we are men of integrity [h]. Are not they themſelves

[a] This title was occaſioned by the ſtory of the red heifer, mentioned *p.* 9.

[b] *A.L.M.*] As to the meaning of theſe letters, ſee the *Preliminary Diſcourſe*, Sect. 3.

[c] *Myſteries.*] The *Arabic* word is *ghaib*, which properly ſignifies a thing that is *abſent, at a great diſtance*, or *inviſible*, ſuch as the reſurrection, paradiſe, and hell. And this is agreeable to the language of ſcripture, which defines faith to be *the evidence of things not ſeen* [1].

[d] *The prophets before thee*] The *Mohammedans* believe that GOD gave written revelations not only to *Moſes*, *Jeſus*, and *Mohammed*, but to ſeveral other prophets [2]; tho' they acknowledge none of thoſe which preceded the *Korân* to be now extant, except the *Pentateuch* of *Moſes*, the *Pſalms* of *David*, and the *Goſpel* of *Jeſus*; which yet they ſay were even before *Mohammed*'s time altered and corrupted by the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*; and therefore will not allow our preſent copies to be genuine.

[e] *The life to come*] The original word *al-âkherat* properly ſignifies *the latter part* of any thing, and by way of excellence *the next life*, *the latter* or *future ſtate* after death; and is oppoſed to *al-donya*, *this world*; and *al-oula*, the *former* or *preſent life*. The *Hebrew* word *ahharith*, from the ſame root, is uſed by *Moſes* in this ſenſe, and is tranſlated *latter end* [3].

[f] *Mohammed* here, and elſewhere frequently, imitates the truly inſpired writers, in making GOD by operation on the minds of reprobates to prevent their converſion. This fatality or predeſtination, as believed by the *Mohammedans*, hath been ſufficiently treated of in the *Preliminary Diſcourſe*.

[g] *Act not corruptly*] Literally *corrupt not in the earth*, by which ſome expoſitors underſtand the ſowing of falſe doctrine, and corrupting people's principles.

[h] *Men of integrity*] According to the explication in the preceding note, this word muſt be tranſlated *reformers*, who promote true piety by their doctrine and example.

[1] *Heb.* xi. 1. *See alſo Rom.* xxiv. 25. 2 *Corinth.* iv. 18. & v. 7. [2] *V.* RELAND. *De relig. Moham. p.* 34. & *Diſſert. de Samaritanis, p.* 34, &c. [3] *Numb.* xxiv. 20. *Deut.* viii. 16.

ſelves corrupt doers? but they are not ſenſible thereof. And when one ſaith unto them, Believe ye as others [a] believe; they anſwer, Shall we believe as fools believe? Are not they themſelves fools? but they know it not. When they meet thoſe who believe, they ſay, We do believe: but when they retire privately to their devils [b], they ſay, We really *hold* with you, and only mock *at thoſe people*: GOD ſhall mock at them, and continue them in their impiety; they ſhall wander in confuſion. Theſe are *the men* who have purchaſed error at the price of *true* direction: but their traffick hath not been gainful, neither have they been *rightly* directed. They are like unto one who kindleth a fire [c], and when it hath enlightened all around him [d]; GOD taketh away their light [e] and leaveth them in darkneſs, they ſhall not ſee; *they are* deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore will they not repent. Or like a ſtormy cloud from heaven, fraught with darkneſs, thunder, and lightning [f], they put their fingers in their ears, becauſe of the noiſe of the thunder, for fear of death; GOD encompaſſeth the infidels: the lightning wanteth but little of taking away their ſight; ſo often as it enlighteneth them, they walk therein, but when darkneſs cometh on them, they ſtand ſtill; and if GOD ſo pleaſed, he would certainly deprive them of their hearing and their ſight, for GOD is almighty. O men *of MECCA* ſerve your LORD who hath created you, and thoſe who have been before you: peradventure ye will fear *him*; who hath ſpread the earth as a bed for you, and the heaven as a covering, and hath cauſed water to deſcend from heaven, and thereby produced fruits for your ſuſtenance. Set not up therefore any equals unto GOD, againſt your own knowledge. If ye be in doubt concerning that *revelation* which we have ſent down unto our ſervant, produce a chapter like unto it, and call upon your witneſſes, beſides GOD [g], if ye ſay truth. But if ye do *it* not, nor ſhall *ever be able to* do *it*; juſtly fear the

[a] *Others*] The firſt companions and followers of *Mohammed* [1].

[b] *Devils*] The prophet, making uſe of the liberty zealots of all religions have, by preſcription, of giving ill language, beſtows this name on the *Jewiſh* rabbins and *Chriſtian* prieſts; tho' he ſeems chiefly to mean the former, againſt whom he had by much the greater ſpleen.

[c] In this paſſage, *Mohammed* compares thoſe who believed not on him, to a man who wants to kindle a fire, but as ſoon as it burns up, and the flames give a light, ſhuts his eyes, leſt he ſhould ſee. As if he had ſaid; You, O *Arabians*, have long deſired a prophet of your own nation, and now I am ſent unto you, and have plainly proved my miſſion by the excellence of my doctrine and revelation, you reſiſt conviction, and refuſe to believe in me; therefore ſhall GOD leave you in your ignorance.

[d] The ſenſe ſeems to be here imperfect, and may be compleated, by adding the words, he *turns from it, ſhuts his eyes*, or the like.

[e] *Their light*] That is of the unbelievers, to whom the word *their* being in the plural, ſeems to refer; tho' it is not unuſual for *Mohammed* in affectation of the prophetic ſtyle, ſuddenly to change the number againſt all rules of grammar.

[f] Here he compares the unbelieving *Arabs* to people caught in a violent ſtorm. To perceive the beauty of this compariſon, it muſt be obſerved, that the *Mohammedan* doctors ſay, this tempeſt is a type or image of the *Koran* it ſelf: the thunder ſignifying the threats therein contained; the lightning, the promiſes; and the darkneſs, the myſteries. The terror of the threats makes them ſtop their ears, unwilling to hear truths ſo diſagreeable; when the promiſes are read to them, they attend with pleaſure; but when any thing myſterious or difficult of belief occurs, they ſtand ſtock ſtill, and will not ſubmit to be directed.

[g] *Your witneſſes beſides* GOD] i. e. Your falſe gods and idols.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN.

fire whoſe fewel is men and ſtones, prepared for the unbelievers. But bear good tidings unto thoſe who believe, and do good works, that they ſhall have gardens watered by rivers; ſo often as they eat of the fruit thereof for ſuſtenance, they *ſhall* ſay, This is what we have formerly eaten of; and they ſhall be ſupplied with *ſeveral ſorts of fruit* having a mutual reſemblance to one another [a]. There ſhall they enjoy wives ſubject to no impurity, and there ſhall they continue for ever. Moreover GOD will not be aſhamed to propound in a parable a gnat, or even a more deſpicable thing [b]: for they who believe will know it to be the truth from their LORD; but the unbelievers will ſay, What meaneth GOD by this parable? he will thereby miſlead many, and will direct many thereby: but he will not miſlead *any* thereby, except the tranſgreſſors, who make void the covenant of GOD after the eſtabliſhing thereof, and cut in ſunder that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth; they ſhall periſh. How *is it that* ye believe not in GOD? Since ye were dead, and he gave you life [c]; he will hereafter cauſe you to die, and will again reſtore you to life; then ſhall ye return unto him. It is he who hath created for you whatſoever is on earth, and then ſet his mind to *the creation of* heaven, and formed it into ſeven heavens; he knoweth all things. When thy LORD ſaid unto the angels, I am going to place a ſubſtitute on earth [d]; they ſaid, Wilt thou place there one who will do evil therein, and ſhed blood? but we celebrate thy praiſe, and ſanctify thee. *GOD* anſwered, Verily I know that which ye know not; and he taught ADAM the names of

[a] Some commentators [1] approve of this ſenſe, ſuppoſing the fruits of paradiſe, tho' of various taſtes, are alike in colour and outward appearance: but others [2] think the meaning to be, that the inhabitants of that place will find there fruits of the ſame or the like kinds, as they uſed to eat while on earth.

[b] This was revealed to take off an objection made to the *Korân* by the infidels, for condeſcending to ſpeak of ſuch inſignificant inſects, as the ſpider, the piſmire, the bee, *&c.* [3].

[c] *Ye were dead, and he gave you life*, &c.] i. e. Ye were dead while in the loins of your fathers, and he gave you life in your mothers wombs; and after death ye ſhall be again raiſed at the reſurrection [4].

[d] Concerning the creation of *Adam*, here intimated, the *Mohammedans* have ſeveral peculiar traditions. They ſay the Angels, *Gabriel*, *Michael*, and *Iſrafil*, were ſent by GOD, one after another, to fetch for that purpoſe ſeven handfuls of earth from different depths, and of different colours (whence ſome account for the various complexion of mankind [5]); but the earth being apprehenſive of the conſequence, and deſiring them to repreſigned to form, would rebel againſt him, and draw down his curſe upon her, they returned without performing GOD's command; whereupon he ſent *Azraïl* on the ſame errand, who executed his commiſſion without remorſe; for which reaſon, GOD appointed that angel to ſeparate the ſouls from the bodies, being therefore called *the angel of death*. The earth he had taken was carried into *Arabia*, to a place between *Mecca* and *Tayef*, where being firſt kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards faſhioned by GOD himſelf into a human form, and left to dry [6] for the ſpace of forty days, or as others ſay, as many years; the angels in the mean time often viſiting it, and *Eblis* (then one of the angels who are neareſt to GOD's preſence, afterwards the devil) among the reſt; but he not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung, and knowing GOD deſigned that creature to be his ſuperior, took a ſecret reſolution never to acknowledge him as ſuch. After this, GOD animated the figure of clay, and indued it with an intelligent ſoul, and when he had placed him in paradiſe, formed *Eve* out of his left ſide [7].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI. [3] YAHYA. [4] JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *Al* TERMEDI, *from a tradition of* ABU MUSA *al* ASHARI. [6] *Korân*, c. 55. [7] KHOND AMIR. JALLALO'DDIN. *Comment. in Korân, &c. V.* D'HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient. p.* 55.

of all things, and then propoſed them to the angels, and ſaid, Declare unto me the names of theſe things if ye ſay truth. They anſwered, Praiſe be unto thee, we have no knowledge but what thou teacheſt us, for thou art knowing and wiſe. *GOD* ſaid, O ADAM, tell them their names. And when he had told them their names, *GOD* ſaid, Did I not tell you that I know the ſecrets of heaven and earth, and know that which ye diſcover, and that which ye conceal [a]? And when we ſaid unto the angels, Worſhip [b] ADAM; they *all* worſhipped *him*, except EBLIS *who* refuſed, and was puffed up with pride, and became of the *number of* unbelievers [c]. And we ſaid, O ADAM, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden [d], and eat *of the fruit* thereof plentifully wherever ye will; but approach not this tree [e], leſt ye become of *the number of* the tranſgreſſors. But SATAN cauſed them to forfeit *paradiſe* [f], and turned them out of *the ſtate of happineſs* wherein they had been; whereupon we ſaid, Get ye down [g], the one of you an enemy unto the other; and there ſhall be a dwell-

[a] This ſtory *Mohammed* borrowed from the *Jewiſh* traditions; which ſay, that the angels having ſpoken of man with ſome contempt, when GOD conſulted them about his creation, GOD made anſwer, that the man was wiſer than they; and to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them, and asked them their names; which they not being able to tell, he put the ſame queſtion to the man, who named them one after another; and being asked his own name, and GOD's name, he anſwered very juſtly, and gave GOD the name of JEHOVAH [1]. The angels adoring of *Adam* is alſo mentioned in the *Talmud* [2].

[b] *Worſhip.*] The original word ſignifies properly to *proſtrate one's ſelf*, till the forehead touches the ground; which is the humbleſt poſture of adoration, and ſtrictly due to GOD only; but it is ſometimes, as in this place, uſed to expreſs that civil worſhip or homage, which may be paid to creatures [3].

[c] This occaſion of the devil's fall has ſome affinity with an opinion which has been pretty much entertained among *Chriſtians* [4], *viz.* that the angels being informed of GOD's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify human nature by CHRIST's aſſuming it, ſome of them thinking their glory to be eclipſed thereby, envied man's happineſs, and ſo revolted.

[d] *Mohammed*, as appears by what preſently follows, does not place this garden or paradiſe on earth, but in the ſeventh heaven [5].

[e] Concerning this tree or the forbidden fruit, the *Mohammedans*, as well as the *Chriſtians*, have various opinions. Some ſay it was an ear of wheat; ſome will have it to have been a fig-tree, and others a vine [6]. The ſtory of the fall is told, with ſome further circumſtances, in the beginning of the 7th chapter.

[f] Satan *cauſed them to forfeit paradiſe*] They have a tradition that the devil offering to get into paradiſe to tempt *Adam*, was not admitted by the guard; whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might ſpeak to *Adam* and his wife; but they all refuſed him, except the ſerpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and ſo introduced him. They add, that the ſerpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the ſhape he now bears [7].

[g] *Get ye down*] The *Mohammedans* ſay, that when they were caſt down from paradiſe, *Adam* fell on the iſle of *Ceylon* or *Serendib*, and *Eve* near *Joddah* (the port of *Mecca*) in *Arabia*; and that after a ſeparation of 200 years, *Adam* was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel *Gabriel* to a mountain near *Mecca*, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named *Arafat*; and that he afterwards retired with her to *Ceylon*, where they continued to propagate their ſpecies [8].

It may not be improper here to mention another tradition concerning the gigantic ſtature of our firſt parents. Their prophet, they ſay, affirmed *Adam* to have been as tall as a high palm-tree [9]; but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be ſuch, on the top of a mountain in the iſle of *Ceylon*, thence named *Pico de Adam*, and by the *Arab* writers *Rahûn*, being ſomewhat above two ſpans long [10] (tho' others ſay it is ſeventy cubits long, and that when *Adam* ſet one foot here, he had the other in the ſea [11]); and too little, if *Eve* were of ſo enormous a ſize, as is ſaid, that when her head lay on one hill near *Mecca*, her knees reſted on two others in the plain, about two muſket ſhot aſunder [12].

[1] *V.* RIVIN. *Serpent. ſeduct. p.* 56. [2] *R.* MOSES HADDARSHAN, *in Bereſhit rabbah.* [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] IRENAEUS, LACT. GREG. NYSSEN. &c. [5] *Vid.* MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 24. [6] *V. ibid. p.* 22. [7] *V. ib.* [8] *D'*HERBELOT, *Bibl. orient. p.* 55. [9] YAHYA. [10] MONCONYS *Voyage, part.* 1. *p.* 372. *&c. See* KNOX's *Account of Ceylon.* [11] *Anciennes relations des Indes &c. p.* 3. [12] MONCONYS, *ubi ſup.*

dwelling place for you on earth, and a proviſion for a ſeaſon. And ADAM learned words *of prayer* from his LORD, and GOD turned unto him, for he is eaſy to be reconciled and merciful. We ſaid, Get ye all down from hence; hereafter ſhall there come unto you a direction from me [a], and whoever ſhall follow my direction, on them ſhall no fear come, neither ſhall they be grieved; but they who ſhall be unbelievers, and accuſe our ſigns [b] of falſehood, they ſhall be the companions of *hell* fire, therein ſhall they remain for ever. O children of ISRAEL [c], remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you; and perform *your* covenant with me, and I will perform *my* covenant with you; and revere me: and believe in the *revelation* which I have ſent down, confirming that which is with you; and be not the firſt who believe not therein, neither exchange my ſigns for a ſmall price; and fear me. Cloath not the truth with vanity, neither conceal the truth againſt your own knowledge; obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and pay your legal alms, and bow down yourſelves with thoſe who bow down. Will ye command men to do juſtice, and forget your own ſouls? yet ye read the book *of the law*: do ye not therefore underſtand? Ask help with perſeverance and prayer; this indeed is grievous, unleſs to the humble, who *ſeriouſly* think they ſhall meet their LORD, and that to him they ſhall return. O children of ISRAEL, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you above all nations: dread the day *wherein one* ſoul ſhall not make ſatisfaction for *another* ſoul, neither ſhall any interceſſion be accepted from them, nor ſhall any compenſation be received, neither ſhall they be helped. *Remember* when we delivered you from the people of PHARAOH, who grievouſly oppreſſed you, they ſlew your male children, and let your females live: therein was a great trial from your LORD. And when we divided the ſea for you and delivered you, and drowned PHARAOH's people while ye looked on [d]. And when we treated with MOSES forty nights; then ye took the calf [e] *for your GOD*, and did evil; yet afterwards we forgave you,

[a] *A direction from me*] GOD here promiſes *Adam* that his will ſhould be revealed to him and his poſterity; which promiſe the *Mohammedans* believe was fulfilled at ſeveral times by the miniſtry of ſeveral prophets, from *Adam* himſelf who was the firſt, to *Mohammed*, who was the laſt. The number of books revealed unto *Adam* they ſay was ten [1].

[b] *Signs.*] This word has various ſignifications in the *Korân*; ſometimes, as in this paſſage, it ſignifies *divine revelation*, or *ſcripture* in general; ſometimes the *verſes* of the *Korân* in particular; and at other times *viſible miracles*. But the ſenſe is eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the context.

[c] The *Jews* are here called upon, to receive the *Korân*, as verifying and confirming the *Pentateuch*, particularly with reſpect to the unity of God and the miſſion of *Mohammed* [2]. And they are exhorted not to conceal the paſſages of their law, which bear witneſs to thoſe truths, nor to corrupt them by publiſhing falſe copies of the *Pentateuch*, for which the writers were but poorly paid [3].

[d] See the ſtory of *Moſes* and *Pharaoh* more particularly related chap. vii. & xx. *&c.*

[e] *The calf.*] The perſon who caſt this calf, the *Mohammedans* ſay was (not *Aaron* but) *al Sâmeri*, one of the principal men among the children of *Iſrael*, ſome of whoſe deſcendants it is pretended ſtill inhabit an iſland of that name in the *Arabian* gulf [4]. It was made of the rings [5] and bracelets of gold, ſilver, and other materials, which the *Iſraelites* had borrowed of the *Egyptians*; for *Aaron*, who commanded in his brothers abſence, having ordered *al Sâmeri* to collect thoſe ornaments from the people, who carried on a wicked commerce with them, and to keep them together

[1] *V.* HOTTINGER *Hiſt. orient. p.* 11. RELAND. *de relig. Mohammed. p.* 21. [2] YAHYA. [3] JALALO'DDIN. [4] *Geogr. Nubienſ. p.* 45. [5] *Korân* c. 7.

you, that peradventure ye might give thanks. And when we gave MOSES the book *of the law*, and the diſtinction *between good and evil*, that peradventure ye might be directed. And when MOSES ſaid unto his people, O my people, verily ye have injured your own ſouls, by your taking the calf *for your* GOD; therefore be turned unto your Creator, and ſlay thoſe among you *who have been guilty of that crime* [a]; this will be better for you in the ſight of your Creator: and *thereupon* he turned unto you, for he is eaſy to be reconciled, and merciful. And when ye ſaid, O MOSES, we will not believe thee, untill we ſee GOD manifeſtly; therefore a puniſhment came upon you, while ye looked on; then we raiſed you to life after ye had been dead, that peradventure ye might give thanks [b]. And we cauſed clouds to overſhadow you, and manna and quails [c] to deſcend upon you, *ſaying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food: and they injured not us, but injured their own ſouls. And when we ſaid, Enter into this city [d], and eat *of the proviſions* thereof plentifully as ye will; and enter the gate worſhipping, and ſay, Forgiveneſs [e]! we will pardon you your ſins, and give increaſe unto the well-doers. But the ungodly changed the expreſſion into another [f], different from what had been ſpoken unto them; and we ſent down upon the ungodly indignation from heaven [g], becauſe they had tranſgreſſed. And when MOSES aſked drink

gether till the return of *Moſes*; *al Sâmeri* underſtanding the founder's art, put them altogether into a furnace, to melt them down into one maſs, which came out in the form of a calf [1]. The *Iſraelites*, accuſtomed to the *Egyptian* idolatry, paying a religious worſhip to this image, *al Sâmeri* went farther, and took ſome duſt from the footſteps of the horſe of the angel *Gabriel*, who marched at the head of the people, and threw it into the mouth of the calf, which immediately began to low, and became animated [2]; for ſuch was the virtue of that duſt [3]. One writer ſays that all the *Iſraelites* adored this calf, except only 12000 [4].

[a] *And ſlay the guilty*] In this particular, the narration agrees with that of *Moſes*, who ordered the *Levites* to ſlay *every man his brother* [5]: but the ſcripture ſays, *there fell of the people that day about* 3000 (the vulgate ſays 23000) *men* [6]; whereas the commentators of the *Korân* make the number of the ſlain to amount to 70000; and add, that GOD ſent a dark cloud which hindred them from ſeeing one another, leſt the ſight ſhould move thoſe who executed the ſentence to compaſſion [7].

[b] The perſons here meant, are ſaid to have been ſeventy men, who were made choice of by *Moſes*, and heard the voice of GOD talking with him. But not being ſatisfied with that, they demanded to ſee GOD; whereupon they were all ſtruck dead by lightning, and on *Moſes*'s interceſſion reſtored to life [8].

[c] The eaſtern writers ſay, theſe quails were of a peculiar kind, to be found no where but in *Yaman*, from whence they were brought by a ſouth wind in great numbers to the *Iſraelites* camp in the deſart [9]. The *Arabs* call theſe birds *Salwâ*, which is plainly the ſame with the *Hebrew Salwim*, and ſay they have no bones, but are eaten whole [10].

[d] *This city*] Some commentators ſuppoſe it to be *Jericho*; others, *Jeruſalem*.

[e] *Forgiveneſs!*] The *Arabic* word is *Hittaton*; which ſome take to ſignify that profeſſion of the unity of God, ſo frequently uſed by the *Mohammedans*, *La ilâha illa 'llaho*, *There is no god but* GOD.

[f] *Changed the expreſſion into another*] According to *Jallalo'ddin*, inſtead of *Hittaton*, they cried *Habbat fi ſhaïrat*, i. e. *a grain in an ear of barley*; and in ridicule of the divine command to enter the city in an humble poſture, they indecently crept in upon their breech.

[g] *Indignation from heaven*] A peſtilence which carried off near 70000 of them [11].

[1] *See Exod.* xxxii. 24. [2] *Korân, c.* 7. [3] JALLALO'DDIN, *V.* D'HERBELOT *Bibl. orient. p.* 650. [4] ABU'LFEDA. [5] *Exod.* xxxii. 26, 27. [6] *Ibid.* 28. [7] JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.* [8] ISMAEL EBN ALI. [9] *See Pſalm* lxxviii. 26. [10] *V.* D'HERBELOT *Bibl. orient. p.* 477 [11] JALLALO'DDIN.

drink for his people, we ſaid, Strike the rock [a] with thy rod; and there guſhed thereout twelve fountains [b] *according to the number of the tribes*, and all men knew their *reſpective* drinking-place. Eat and drink of the bounty of GOD, and commit not evil in the earth, acting unjuſtly. And when ye ſaid, O MOSES, we will by no means be ſatisfied with one *kind of* food; pray unto thy LORD therefore for us, that he would produce for us of that which the earth bringeth forth, herbs, and cucumbers, and garlick, and lentils, and onions [c]; MOSES anſwered, Will ye exchange that which is better, for that which is worſe? Get ye down into EGYPT, for *there* ſhall ye find what ye deſire: and they were ſmitten with vileneſs and miſery, and drew on themſelves indignation from GOD. This *they ſuffered*, becauſe they believed not in the ſigns of GOD, and killed the prophets unjuſtly; this, becauſe they rebelled and tranſgreſſed. Surely thoſe who believe, and thoſe who Judaize, and Chriſtians, and Sabians [d], whoever believeth in GOD, and the laſt day, and doth that which is right, they ſhall have their reward with their LORD, *there ſhall come* no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. *Call to mind* alſo when we

[a] *The rock*] The commentators ſay this was a ſtone which *Moſes* brought from mount *Sinai*, and the ſame that fled away with his garments which he laid upon it one day, while he waſhed: they add that *Moſes* ran after the ſtone naked, till he found himſelf, ere he was aware, in the midſt of the people, who on this accident were convinced of the falſhood of a report, which had been raiſed of their prophet, that he was burſten, or as others write, an hermaphrodite [1].

They deſcribe it to be a ſquare piece of white marble, ſhaped like a man's head; wherein they differ not much from the accounts of *European* travellers, who ſay this rock ſtands among ſeveral leſſer ones, about 100 paces from mount *Horeb*, and appears to have been looſened from the neighbouring mountains, having no coherence with the others; that it is a huge maſs of red granite, almoſt round on one ſide, and flat on the other; 12 feet high, and as many thick, but broader than it is high, and about 50 feet in circumference [2].

[b] *Twelve fountains*] *Marracci* thinks this circumſtance looks like a *Rabbinical* fiction, or elſe that *Mohammed* confounds the water of the rock at *Horeb*, with the 12 wells at *Elim* [3]; for he ſays, ſeveral who have been on the ſpot, affirm there are but 3 orifices whence the water iſſued [4]. But it is to be preſumed that *Mohammed* had better means of information in this reſpect, than to fall into ſuch a miſtake; for the rock ſtands within the borders of *Arabia*, and ſome of his countrymen muſt needs have ſeen it, if he himſelf did not, as it is moſt probable he did. And in effect he ſeems to be in the right. For one who went into thoſe parts in the end of the 15 century, tells us expreſsly, that the water iſſued from twelve places of the rock, according to the number of the tribes of *Iſrael*; *egreſſæ ſunt aquæ largiſſimæ in duodecim locis petræ, juxta numerum duodecim tribuum Iſrael* [5]. A late curious traveller [6] obſerves, that there are 24 holes in the ſtone, which may be eaſily counted; that is to ſay, 12 on the flat ſide, and as many on the oppoſite round ſide, every one being a foot deep, and an inch wide; and he adds, that the holes on one ſide do not communicate with thoſe on the other; which a leſs accurate ſpectator not perceiving (for they are placed horizontally, within 2 foot of the top of the rock) might conclude they pierced quite through the ſtone, and ſo reckon them to be but 12.

[c] See *Numb.* xi. 5. *&c.*

[d] Jews, Chriſtians, *and* Sabians, *whoever believeth, &c.*] From theſe words, which are repeated in the 5th chapter, ſeveral writers [7] have wrongly concluded that the *Mohammedans* hold it to be the doctrine of their prophet, that every man may be ſaved in his own religion, provided

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA. [2] BREYDENBACH. *Itinerar. chartâ xi. p.* 1. SICARD, *dans les Memoires des Miſſions vol. 7. p.* 14. [3] *Exod.* xv. 27. *Numb.* xxxiii. 9. [4] MARRACC. *Prodr. part* 4. *p.* 80. [5] BREYDENBACH, *ubi ſup.* [6] SICARD, *ubi ſup.* [7] SELDEN. *de Jure nat. & gentium ſec. Hebr. l.* 6. *c.* 12. ANGEL. *a S.* JOSEPH. *Gazophylac. Perſic. p.* 365. NIC. CUSANUS *in Cribratione Alcorani, l.* 3. *c.* 2. &c.

A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the Genuine Arabs.

KAH-TAN

Reigned in HEJAZ

Sarham

Abd Yalil

Torsham

Abdol Madan

Nogai-lah

Abdol Manaf

Modad

Amru

Modad

A Daughter Married to Ismael

Reigned in YAMAN.

Yaaral

Yashkhab

Abd Shems surnamed Saba.

Himyar

Kodaah

Shaabam

Bahra

Tohai-nah

Bali

Imukh

Salih

Odhmi

Vahal

Lihlan

Amru

Ashar

Amilah

Lakhm

Jodham

Al Dar

Jashum

Jeram

Al Azd

Ghassan

Al Ans

Al Khazraj

Khozaah

Barak

Dans

Alic

Ghafek

Jolanda

Al Mas-sala k.

Tay

Jadilah

Nabhan

Fazlan

Jaiman

Hana

Sdus

Thobl

Bohtar

Madhhaj

Hamdan

Kendah

Morad

Anmar

Khathaam

Bajilah

Hamdan

Janb

Anzd

Saad

Al Ashira

Ans

Jasi

Zabeid

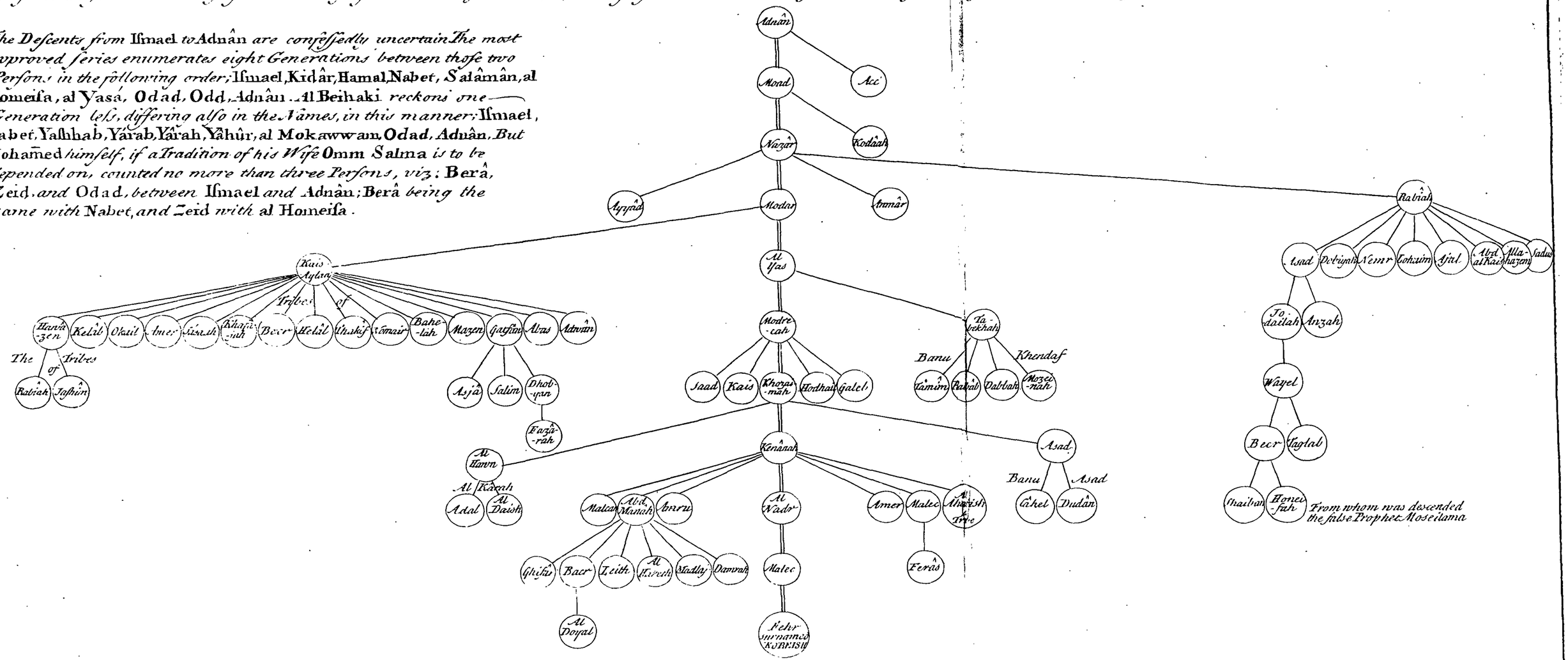
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Sakun

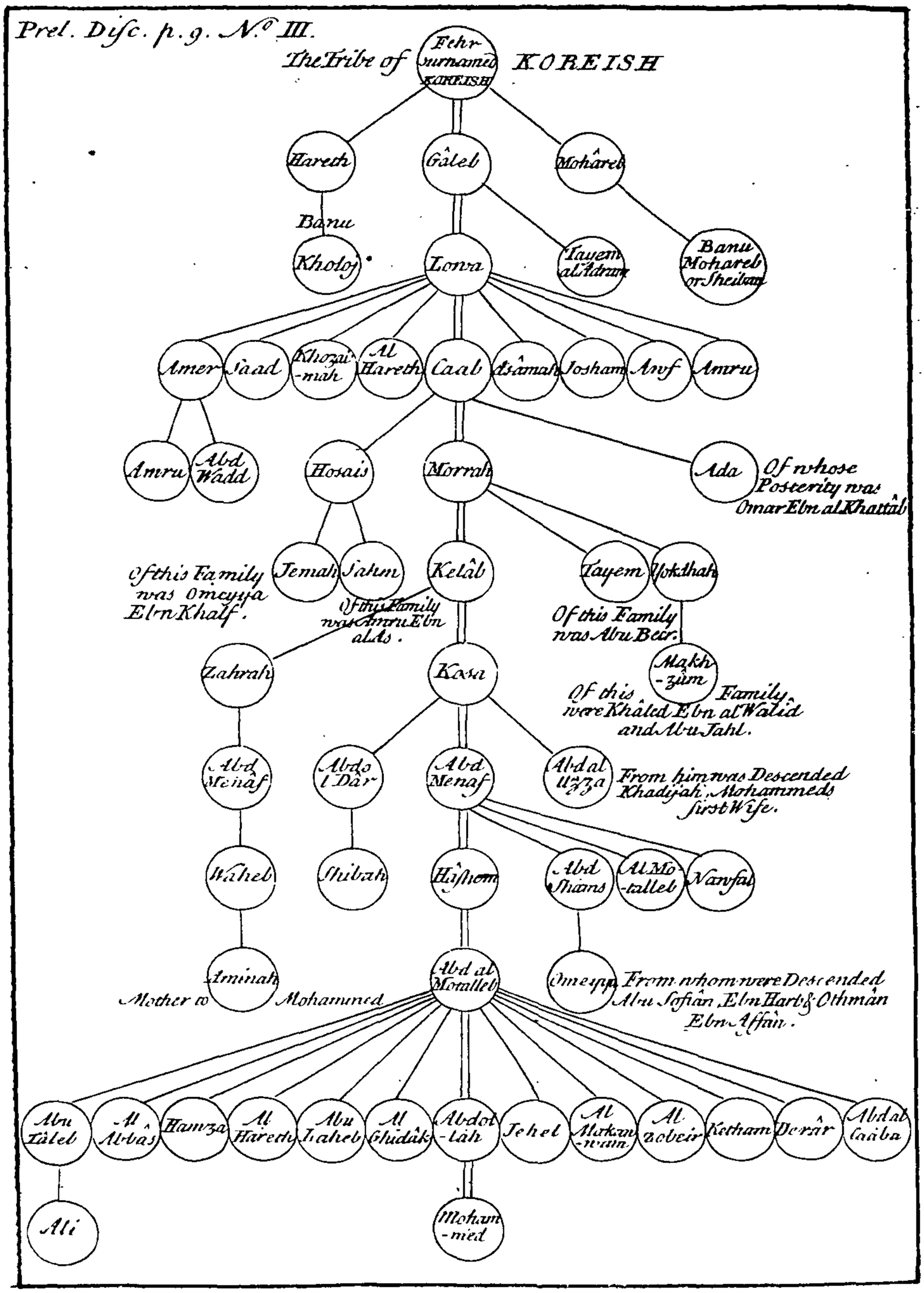
Prel. Disc. p. 9.

A Genealogical Table of ye Tribes of ye Naturaliz'd Arabs, being ye Descendants of Ismael ye Son of Abraham by a Daughter of Modâd ye Jorhamite.

The Descents from Ismael *to* Adnân *are confessedly uncertain. The most approved Series enumerates eight Generations between those two Persons in the following order:* Ismael, Kidâr, Hamal, Nabet, Salâmân, al Homeisa, al Yasá, Odad, Odd, Adnân. *Al Beihaki reckons one Generation less, differing also in the Names, in this manner:* Ismael, Nabet, Yashhab, Yárab, Yárah, Yahûr, al Mokawwam, Odad, Adnân. *But* Mohamed *himself, if a Tradition of his Wife* Omm Salma *is to be depended on, counted no more than three Persons, viz:* Berâ, Zeid, *and* Odad, *between* Ismael *and* Adnân; Berâ *being the same with* Nabet, *and* Zeid *with* al Homeisa.



Prel. Disc. p. 9. N.° III.



we accepted your covenant, and lifted up the mountain *of SINAI* over you [a], *ſaying*, Receive *the law* which we have given you, with a reſolution *to keep it*, and remember that which is contained therein, that ye may beware. After this ye again turned back, ſo that if it had not been for GOD's indulgence and mercy towards you, ye had certainly been deſtroyed. Moreover ye know *what befell* thoſe of your nation who tranſgreſſed on the ſabbath day [b]; We ſaid unto them, Be ye *changed into* apes, driven away *from the ſociety of men*. And we made them an example unto thoſe who were contemporary with them, and unto thoſe who came after them, and a warning to the pious. And when MOSES ſaid unto his people, Verily GOD commandeth you to ſacrifice a cow [c]; they anſwered, Doſt thou make a jeſt of us? *MOSES* ſaid, GOD forbid that I ſhould be *one* of the fooliſh. They ſaid, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would ſhew us what *cow* it is. *MOSES*

C anſwered,

vided he be ſincere and lead a good life. It is true, ſome of their doctors do agree this to be the purport of the words [1]; but then they ſay the latitude hereby granted was ſoon revoked, for that this paſſage is abrogated by ſeveral others in the *Korân*, which expreſsly declare, that none can be ſaved who is not of the *Mohammedan* faith; and particularly by thoſe words of the 3d chapter, *Whoever followeth any other religion than* Iſlâm *(i. e.* the *Mohammedan,) it ſhall not be accepted of him, and at the laſt day he ſhall be of thoſe who periſh* [2]. However, others are of opinion that this paſſage is not abrogated, but interpret it differently; taking the meaning of it to be, that no man, whether he be a *Jew*, a *Chriſtian*, or a *Sabian*, ſhall be excluded from ſalvation, provided he quit his erroneous religion and become a *Moſlem*, which they ſay is intended by the following words, *Whoever believeth in* GOD *and the laſt day, and doth that which is right*. And this interpretation is approved by Mr. *Reland*, who thinks the words here import no more than thoſe of the apoſtle, *In every nation he that feareth* GOD, *and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him* [3]; from which it muſt not be inferred, that the religion of nature, or any other, is ſufficient to ſave, without faith in CHRIST [4].

lows. In the days of *David* ſome *Iſraelites* dwelt at *Ailah*, or *Elath*, on the *Red* ſea, where on the night of the ſabbath the fiſh uſed to come in great numbers to the ſhore, and ſtay there all the ſabbath, to tempt them; but the night following they returned into the ſea again. At length, ſome of the inhabitants neglecting GOD's command, catched fiſh on the ſabbath, and dreſſed and eat them; and afterwards cut canals from the ſea, for the fiſh to enter, with ſluices, which they ſhut on the ſabbath, to prevent their return to the ſea. The other part of the inhabitants, who ſtrictly obſerved the ſabbath, uſed both perſuaſion and force, to ſtop this impiety, but to no purpoſe, the offenders growing only more and more obſtinate; whereupon *David* curſed the ſabbath-breakers, and GOD transformed them into apes. It is ſaid, that one going to ſee a friend of his that was among them, found him in the ſhape of an ape, moving his eyes about wildly, and asking him whether he was not ſuch a one? the ape made a ſign with his head, that it was he; whereupon the friend ſaid to him, Did not I adviſe you to deſiſt? at which the ape wept. They add, that theſe unhappy people remained three days in this condition, and were afterwards deſtroyed by a wind which ſwept them all into the ſea [6].

[a] *When we lifted up mount* Sinai *over you.*] The *Mohammedan* tradition is, that the *Iſraelites* refuſing to receive the law of *Moſes*, GOD tore up the mountain by the roots, and ſhook it over their heads, to terrify them into a compliance [5].

[b] *Thoſe who tranſgreſſed on the ſabbath day*, &c.] The ſtory to which this paſſage refers, is as fol-

[c] GOD *commandeth you to ſacrifice a cow*, &c.] The occaſion of this ſacrifice is thus related. A certain man at his death left his ſon, then a child, a cow-calf, which wandred in the deſart till he came to age; at which time his mother told him the heifer was his, and bid him fetch her, and ſell her for three pieces of gold. When the

[1] *See* CHARDIN's *Voyages, vol.* 2. *p.* 326, 331. [2] ABU'LKASEM HEBATALLAH *de abrogante & abrogato.* [3] *Acts* x. 35. [4] *V.* RELAND. *de rel. Moham. p.* 128. *&c.* [5] JALLALO'DDIN. [6] ABU'LFEDA.

anſwered, He ſaith, She is neither an old cow, nor a young heifer, but of a middle age between both: do ye therefore that which ye are commanded. They ſaid, Pray for us unto thy LORD that he would ſhew us what colour ſhe is of. *MOSES* anſwered, He ſaith, She is a red cow [a], intenſely red, her colour rejoiceth the beholders. They ſaid, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would *further* ſhew us what *cow* it is, for *ſeveral* cows with us are like one another, and we, if GOD pleaſe, will be directed. *MOSES* anſwered, He ſaith, She is a cow not broken to plough the earth, or water the field, a ſound one, there is no blemiſh in her. They ſaid, Now haſt thou brought the truth. Then they ſacrificed her; yet they wanted but little of leaving it undone [b]. And when ye ſlew a man, and contended among your ſelves concerning him, GOD brought forth *to light* that which ye concealed. For we ſaid, Strike *the dead body* with part of *the ſacrificed cow* [c]: ſo GOD raiſeth the dead to life, and ſheweth you his ſigns, that peradventure ye may underſtand. Then were your hearts hardened after this, even as ſtones, or exceeding *them* in hardneſs: for from ſome ſtones have rivers burſted forth, others have been rent in ſunder, and water hath iſſued from them, and others have fallen down for fear of GOD. But GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do. Do ye therefore deſire that *the Jews* ſhould believe you? yet a part of them heard the word of GOD, and then perverted it, after they had underſtood it, againſt their own conſcience. And when they meet the true believers, they ſay, We believe: but when they are privately aſſembled together, they ſay, Will ye acquaint them with what GOD hath revealed unto you, that they may diſpute with you concerning it in the preſence of your LORD? Do ye not there-

the young man came to the market with his heifer, an angel in the ſhape of a man accoſted him, and bid him ſix pieces of gold for her; but he would not take the money, till he had asked his mother's conſent; which when he had obtained, he returned to the market-place, and met the angel, who now offered him twice as much for the heifer, provided he would ſay nothing of it to his mother; but the young man refuſing, went and acquainted her with the additional offer. The woman perceiving it was an angel, bid her ſon go back and ask him what muſt be done with the heifer; whereupon the angel told the young man, that, in a little time, the children of *Iſrael* would buy that heifer of him at any price. And ſoon after it happened that an *Iſraelite*, named *Hammiel*, was killed by a relation of his, who, to prevent diſcovery, conveyed the body to a place conſiderably diſtant from that where the fact was committed. The friends of the ſlain man accuſed ſome other perſons of the murther before *Moſes*; but they denying the fact, and there being no evidence to convict them, GOD commanded a cow, of ſuch and ſuch particular marks, to be killed; but there being no other which anſwered the deſcription, except the orphan's heifer, they were obliged to buy her for as much gold as her hide would hold; according to ſome, for her full weight in gold, and as others ſay, for ten times as much. This heifer they ſacrificed, and the dead body being, by divine direction, ſtruck with a part of it, revived, and ſtanding up, named the perſon who had killed him; after which it immediately fell down dead again [1]. The whole ſtory ſeems to be borrowed from the red heifer, which was ordered by the *Jewiſh* law to be burnt, and the aſhes kept for purifying thoſe who happened to touch a dead corps [2].

[a] *A red cow.*] The epithet in the original is *yellow*; but this word we do not uſe in ſpeaking of the colour of cattle.

[b] *And they wanted but little of leaving it undone,*] Becauſe of the exorbitant price which they were obliged to pay for the heifer.

[c] *With part of the cow,*] *i. e.* Her tongue, or the end of her tail [3].

[1] ABU'LFEDA. [2] *Numb.* xix. [3] JALLALO'DDIN.

therefore underſtand? Do not they know that GOD knoweth that which they conceal as well as that which they publiſh? But there are illiterate men among them, who know not the book *of the law*, but only lying ſtories, although they think otherwiſe. And woe unto them who tranſcribe *corruptly* the book *of the law* [a] with their hands, and then ſay, This is from GOD: that they may ſell it for a ſmall price. Therefore woe unto them becauſe of that which their hands have written; and woe unto them for that which they have gained. They ſay, The fire *of hell* ſhall not touch us but for a *certain* number of days [b]. Anſwer, Have ye received any promiſe from GOD *to that purpoſe?* for GOD will not act contrary to his promiſe: or do ye ſpeak concerning GOD that which ye know not? Verily whoſo doth evil [c], and is encompaſſed by his iniquity, they *ſhall be* the companions of *hell* fire, they ſhall remain therein for ever: but they who believe and do good works, they ſhall be the companions of paradiſe, they ſhall continue therein for ever. *Remember* alſo, when we accepted the covenant of the children of ISRAEL, *ſaying*, Ye ſhall not worſhip *any other* except GOD, and *ye ſhall ſhew* kindneſs to *your* parents and kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and ſpeak that which is good unto men, and be conſtant at prayer, and give alms. Afterwards ye turned back, except a few of you, and retired afar off. And when we accepted your covenant, *ſaying*, Ye ſhall not ſhed your *brothers* blood, nor diſpoſſeſs one another of your habitations. Then ye confirmed *it*, and were witneſſes *thereto*. Afterwards ye were they who ſlew one another [d], and turned ſeveral of your *brethren* out of their houſes, mutually aſſiſting each other againſt them with injuſtice and enmity; but if they come captives unto you, ye redeem them: yet it is *equally* unlawful for you to diſpoſſeſs them. Do ye therefore believe in part of the book *of the law*, and reject other part thereof? But whoſo among you doth this, ſhall have no other reward than ſhame in this life, and on the day of reſurrection they ſhall be ſent to a moſt grievous puniſhment; for GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do. Theſe are they who have purchaſed this preſent life, at the price of that which is

[a] *Mohammed* again accuſes the *Jews* of corrupting their ſcripture.

[b] *The fire of hell ſhall not touch us, but for a certain number of days*;] That is, ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, forty; being the number of days that their forefathers worſhipped the golden calf; after which they gave out that their puniſhment ſhould ceaſe. It is a received opinion among the *Jews* at preſent, that no perſon, be he ever ſo wicked, or of whatever ſect, ſhall remain in hell above eleven months, or at moſt a year; except *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and atheiſts, who will be tormented there to all eternity [1].

[c] *Whoſo doth evil*, &c.] By *evil* in this place the commentators generally underſtand polytheiſm or idolatry; which ſin the *Mohammedans* believe, unleſs repented of in this life, is unpardonable and will be puniſhed by eternal damnation; but all other ſins they hold will at length be forgiven. This therefore is that irremiſſible impiety, in their opinion, which in the *New Teſtament* is called *the ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt*.

[d] *Ye ſlew one another*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of ſome quarrels which aroſe between the *Jews* of the tribes of *Koreidha*, and thoſe of *al Aws*, *al Nadhîr*, and *al Khazraj*, and came to that height that they took arms and deſtroyed one anothers habitations, and turned one another out of their houſes; but when any were taken captive, they redeemed them. When they were asked the reaſon of their acting in this manner, they anſwered, That they were commanded by their law to redeem the captives, but that they fought out of ſhame, leſt their chiefs ſhould be deſpiſed [2].

[1] *Vid.* BARTOLOCCII *Biblioth. Rabbinic. Tom.* 2. *p.* 128. & *T.* 3. *p.* 421. [2] JALLALO'DDIN.

to come; wherefore their puniſhment ſhall not be mitigated, neither ſhall they be helped. We formerly delivered the book *of the law* unto MOSES, and cauſed apoſtles to ſucceed him, and gave evident miracles to JESUS the ſon of MARY, and ſtrengthened him with the holy ſpirit [a]. Do ye therefore, whenever an apoſtle cometh unto you with that which your ſouls deſire not, proudly reject *him*, and accuſe ſome of impoſture, and ſlay others? *The Jews* ſay, Our hearts are uncircumciſed: but GOD hath curſed them with their infidelity, therefore few ſhall believe. And when a book came unto them from GOD, confirming *the ſcriptures* which were with them, although they had before prayed for aſſiſtance againſt thoſe who believed not [b], *yet* when that came unto them which they knew *to be from GOD*, they would not believe therein: therefore the curſe of GOD ſhall be on the infidels. For a vile *price* have they ſold their ſouls, that they ſhould not believe in that which GOD hath ſent down [c]; out of envy, becauſe GOD ſendeth down his favours to ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth: therefore they brought on themſelves indignation on indignation; and the unbelievers ſhall ſuffer an ignominious puniſhment. When one ſaith unto them, Believe in that which GOD hath ſent down; they anſwer, We believe in that which hath been ſent down unto us [d]: and they reject what *hath been revealed* ſince, although it be the truth, confirming that which is with them. Say, Why therefore have ye ſlain the prophets of GOD in times paſt, if ye be true believers? MOSES formerly came unto you with evident ſigns, but ye afterwards took the calf *for your god* and did wickedly. And when we accepted your covenant and lifted the mountain *of SINAI* over you [e], *ſaying*, Receive *the law* which we have given you, with a reſolution *to perform it*, and hear; they ſaid, We have heard, and have rebelled: and they were made to drink down the calf into their hearts [f] for their unbelief. Say, A grievous thing hath your faith commanded you, if ye be true believers [g]. Say, If the future manſion with GOD be *prepared* peculiarly for you, excluſive of the reſt of mankind, wiſh for death, if ye ſay truth: but they will never wiſh for it, becauſe of that which their hands have ſent before them [h]; GOD knoweth the wicked doers; and thou ſhalt ſurely find them of

[a] *The holy ſpirit.*] We muſt not imagine *Mohammed* here means the *Holy Ghoſt*, in the *Chriſtian* acceptation. The commentators ſay, this ſpirit was the angel *Gabriel*, who ſanctified *Jeſus* and conſtantly attended on him [1].

[b] *Although they had before prayed*, &c.] The *Jews* in expectation of the coming of *Mohammed* (according to the tradition of his followers) uſed this prayer, *O God, help us againſt the unbelievers by the prophet who is to be ſent in the laſt times* [2].

[c] The *Koran*.

[d] The *Pentateuch*.

[e] See before p. 9.

[f] *They were made to drink down the calf*, &c.] *Moſes took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and ſtrewed it upon the water (of the brook that deſcended from the mount), and made the children of* Iſrael *drink of it* [3].

[g] *A grievous thing*, &c.] *Mohammed* here infers from their forefathers diſobedience in worſhiping the calf, at the ſame time that they pretended to believe in the law of *Moſes*, that the faith of the *Jews* in his time was as vain and hypocritical, ſince they rejected him, who was foretold therein, as an impoſtor [4].

[h] *Which their hands have ſent before them*,] That is, by reaſon of the wicked forgeries which they have been guilty of in reſpect to the ſcriptures. An expreſſion much like that of St. *Paul*, where he ſays, *that ſome men's ſins are open before hand, going before to judgment* [5].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Exod* XXXii. 20. *Deut.* IX. 21. [4] JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, and BEIDAWI. [5] 1 *Tim.* V. 24.

of all men the moſt covetous of life, even *more* than the idolaters: one of them would deſire his life to be prolonged a thouſand years, but none ſhall reprieve himſelf from puniſhment, that his life may be prolonged: GOD ſeeth that which they do. Say, Whoever is an enemy to GABRIEL [a] (for he hath cauſed *the* KORAN to deſcend on thy heart, by the permiſſion of GOD, confirming that which was before *revealed*, a direction, and good tidings to the faithful;) whoſoever is an enemy to GOD, or his angels, or his apoſtles, or to GABRIEL, or MICHAEL, verily GOD is an enemy to the unbelievers. And now we have ſent down unto thee evident ſigns [b], and none will diſbelieve them but the evil-doers. Whenever they make a covenant, will ſome of them reject it? yea the greater part of them do not believe. And when there came unto them an apoſtle from GOD, confirming that *ſcripture* which was with them, ſome of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given, caſt the book of GOD behind their backs, as if they knew it not: and they followed *the device* which the devils deviſed againſt the kingdom of SOLOMON [c]; and SOLOMON was not an unbeliever; but the devils believed not, they taught men ſorcery, and that which was ſent down to the two angels at *BABEL*, HARUT and MARUT [d]: yet thoſe two taught no man until they had ſaid, Verily we are a temptation, therefore be not an unbeliever. So men learned from thoſe two *a charm* by which they might cauſe diviſion between a man and his wife; but they hurt none

[a] *Whoever is an enemy to* Gabriel, *&c.*] The commentators ſay, that the *Jews* asked, what angel it was that brought the divine revelations to *Mohammed*; and being told that it was *Gabriel*, they replied, that he was their enemy, and the meſſenger of wrath and puniſhment; but if it had been *Michael*, they would have believed on him, becauſe that angel was their friend, and the meſſenger of peace and plenty. And on this occaſion, they ſay, this paſſage was revealed [1].

That *Michael* was really the protector or guardian angel of the *Jews*, we know from ſcripture [2]; and it ſeems that *Gabriel* was, as the *Perſians* call him, *the angel of revelations*, being frequently ſent on meſſages of that kind [3]; for which reaſon, it is probable, *Mohammed* pretended he was the angel from whom he received the *Korân*.

[b] *Evident ſigns*,] *i. e.* the revelations of this book.

[c] *They followed the device of the devils againſt* Solomon, *&c.*] The devils having, by GOD's permiſſion, tempted *Solomon* without ſucceſs, they made uſe of a trick to blaſt his character. For they wrote ſeveral books of magic, and hid them under that prince's throne, and after his death, told the chief men that if they wanted to know by what means *Solomon* had obtained his abſolute power over men, genii, and the winds, they ſhould dig under his throne; which having done, they found the aforeſaid books, which contained impious ſuperſtitions. The better ſort refuſed to learn the evil arts therein delivered, but the common people did; and the prieſts publiſhed this ſcandalous ſtory of *Solomon*, which obtained credit among the *Jews*, till GOD, ſay the *Mohammedans*, cleared that king by the mouth of their prophet, declaring that *Solomon* was no idolater [4].

[d] *The devils taught ſorcery, and that which was ſent down to* Harût *and* Marût, *&c.*] Some ſay only that theſe were two magicians, or angels ſent by GOD to teach men magic, and to tempt them [5]. But others tell a longer fable; that the angels expreſſing their ſurprize at the wickedneſs of the ſons of *Adam*, after prophets had been ſent to them with divine commiſſions, GOD bid them chuſe two out of their own number to be ſent down to be judges on earth. Whereupon they pitched upon *Harût* and *Marût*, who executed their office with integrity for ſome time, till *Zohara*, or the planet *Venus*, deſcended and appeared before them in the ſhape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint againſt her huſband (though others ſay ſhe was a real woman.) As ſoon as they ſaw her, they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to ſatisfy their deſires; but ſhe flew up again to heaven, whither

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. *al* ZAMAKH. YAHYA. [2] *Dan.* xii. 1. [3] *Ibid. ch.* viii. 16. *and* ix. 21. *Luke* i. 19, 26. *See* HYDE *de rel. vet. Perſar. p.* 263. [4] YAHYA. JALLALO'DDIN. [5] JALLALO'DDIN.

none thereby, unleſs by GOD's permiſſion; and they learned that which would hurt them, and not profit them; and yet they knew that he who bought that *art* ſhould have no part in the life to come, and woful *is the price* for which they have ſold their ſouls, if they knew it. But if they had believed, and feared GOD, verily the reward *they would have had* from GOD would have been better, if they had known it. O true believers, ſay not *to our apoſtle*, RAINA; but ſay ONDHORNA [a]; and hearken: the infidels ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. It is not the deſire of the unbelievers, either among thoſe unto whom the ſcriptures have been given, or among the idolaters, that any good ſhould be ſent down unto you from your LORD: but GOD will appropriate his mercy unto whom he pleaſeth; for GOD is exceeding beneficent. Whatever verſe we ſhall abrogate, or cauſe *thee* to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it. Doſt thou not know that GOD is almighty? Doſt thou not know that unto GOD belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth? neither have ye any protector or helper except GOD. Will ye require of your apoſtle according to that which was formerly required of MOSES [b]? but he that hath exchanged faith for infidelity, hath already erred from the ſtrait way. Many of thoſe unto whom the ſcriptures have been given, deſire to render you again unbelievers, after ye have believed; out of envy from their ſouls, even after the truth is become manifeſt unto them; but forgive *them*, and avoid *them*, till GOD ſhall ſend his command; for GOD is omnipotent. Be conſtant in prayer, and give alms; and what good ye have ſent before for your ſouls, ye ſhall find it with GOD; ſurely GOD ſeeth that which ye do. They ſay, Verily none ſhall enter paradiſe, except they who are Jews or Chriſtians [c]: this is their wiſh. Say, Produce your proof *of this*, if ye ſpeak truth. Nay, but he who reſigneth himſelf [d] to GOD, and doth that which is right [e], he ſhall have his reward with his LORD; there ſhall *come* no

whither the two angels alſo returned, but were not admitted. However, on the interceſſion of a certain pious man, they were allowed to chuſe whether they would be puniſhed in this life, or in the other; whereupon they choſe the former, and now ſuffer puniſhment accordingly in *Babel*, where they are to remain till the day of judgment. They add that if a man has a fancy to learn magic, he may go to them, and hear their voice, but cannot ſee them [1].

This ſtory *Mohammed* took directly from the *Perſian Magi*, who mention two rebellious angels of the ſame names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downwards, in the territory of *Babel* [2]. And the *Jews* have ſomething like this, of the angel *Shamhozai*, who having debauched himſelf with women, repented, and by way of penance hung himſelf up between heaven and earth [3].

[a] *Say not unto our apoſtle* Raïna, *but* Ondhorna.] Thoſe two *Arabic* words have both the ſame ſignification, *viz. Look on us*; and are a kind of ſalutation. *Mohammed* had a great averſion to the firſt, becauſe the *Jews* frequently uſed it in deriſion, it being a word of reproach in their tongue [4]. They alluded, it ſeems, to the *Hebrew* verb רוע *ruá*, which ſignifies to *be bad* or *miſchievous*.

[b] *What was formerly required of* Moſes.] Namely, to ſee GOD manifeſtly [5].

[c] *None ſhall enter paradiſe, except* Jews *or* Chriſtians.] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of a diſpute which *Mohammed* had with the *Jews* of *Medina*, and the *Chriſtians* of *Najrân*, each of them aſſerting that thoſe of their religion only ſhould be ſaved [6].

[d] *Reſigneth himſelf*, &c.] Literally, *reſigneth his face*, &c.

[e] *And doth that which is right*, &c.] That is, aſſerteth the unity of GOD [7].

[1] YAHYA, *&c.* [2] *V.* HYDE, *ubi ſup. cap.* 12. [3] *Bereſhit rabbah, in Geneſ.* vi. 2. [4] JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *See before p.* 7. [6] JALLALO'DDIN. [7] *Idem.*

no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. The Jews ſay, The Chriſtians are *grounded* on nothing [a]; and the Chriſtians ſay, The Jews are *grounded* on nothing: yet they *both* read the ſcriptures. So likewiſe ſay they who know not *the ſcripture*, according to their ſaying. But GOD ſhall judge between them on the day of the reſurrection, concerning that about which they *now* diſagree. Who is more unjuſt than he who prohibiteth the temples of GOD [b], that his name ſhould be remembered therein, and who haſteth to deſtroy them? Thoſe men cannot enter therein, but with fear: they ſhall have ſhame in this world, and in the next a grievous puniſhment. To GOD *belongeth* the eaſt and the weſt; therefore whitherſoever ye turn your ſelves to pray, there is the face of GOD; for GOD is omnipreſent and omniſcient. They ſay, GOD hath begotten children [c]: GOD forbid! To him *belongeth* whatever is in heaven, and on earth; all is poſſeſſed by him, the Creator of heaven and earth; and when he decreeth a thing, he only ſaith unto it, Be, and it is. And they who know not *the ſcriptures* ſay, Unleſs GOD ſpeak unto us, or thou ſhew us a ſign, *we will not believe*. So ſaid thoſe before them, according to their ſaying: their hearts reſemble each other. We have already ſhewn manifeſt ſigns unto people who firmly believe; we have ſent thee in truth, a bearer of good tidings, and a preacher; and thou ſhalt not be queſtioned concerning the companions of hell. But the Jews will not be pleaſed with thee, neither the Chriſtians, until thou follow their religion; ſay, The direction of GOD is the *true* direction. And verily if thou follow their deſires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou ſhalt find no patron or protector againſt GOD. They to whom we have given the book *of the* KORAN, and who read it with its true reading, they believe therein; and whoever believeth not therein, they ſhall periſh. O children of ISRAEL, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you before all nations; and dread the day wherein *one* ſoul ſhall not make ſatisfaction for *another* ſoul, neither ſhall any compenſation be accepted from them, nor ſhall any interceſſion avail, neither ſhall they be helped. *Remember* when the LORD tried ABRAHAM by *certain* words [d], which he fulfilled: *GOD* ſaid, Verily I will conſtitute thee

a

[a] *The* Jews *ſay, the* Chriſtians *are grounded on nothing*, &c.] The *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are here accuſed of denying the truth of each other's religion, notwithſtanding they read the ſcriptures. Whereas the *Pentateuch* bears teſtimony to JESUS, and the Goſpel bears teſtimony to *Moſes* [1].

[b] *Who prohibiteth the temples of* GOD, *&c.*] Or hindreth men from paying their adorations to GOD in thoſe ſacred places. This paſſage, ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, was revealed on news being brought, that the *Romans* had ſpoiled the temple of *Jeruſalem*; or elſe when the idolatrous *Arabs* obſtructed *Mohammed*'s viſiting the temple of *Mecca*, in the expedition of *al Hodeibiya*, which happened in the 6th year of the *Hejra* [2].

[c] *They ſay* GOD *hath begotten children.*] This is ſpoken not only of the *Chriſtians*, and of the *Jews* (for they are accuſed of holding *Ozair*, or *Ezra*, to be the ſon of GOD,) but alſo the pagan *Arabs*, who imagined the angels to be daughters of GOD.

[d] *When the* LORD *tried* Abraham, *&c.*] GOD tried *Abraham* chiefly by commanding him to leave his native country, and to offer his ſon. But the commentators ſuppoſe the trial here meant related only to ſome particular ceremonies, ſuch as circumciſion, pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, ſeveral rites of purification, and the like [3].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *V.* ABU'LFEDAE *vit. Moham. p.* 84. *&c.* [3] JALLALO'DDIN.

a model of religion [a] unto mankind; he anſwered, And alſo of my poſterity; GOD ſaid, My covenant doth not comprehend the ungodly. And when we appointed the *holy* houſe [b] *of* MECCA to be a place of reſort for mankind, and a place of ſecurity; and *ſaid*, Take the ſtation of ABRAHAM [c] for a place of prayer; and we covenanted with ABRAHAM and ISMAEL, that they ſhould cleanſe my houſe for thoſe who ſhould compaſs *it*, and thoſe who ſhould be devoutly aſſiduous *there*, and thoſe who ſhould bow down and worſhip. And when ABRAHAM ſaid, LORD, make this a territory of ſecurity, and bounteouſly beſtow fruits on its inhabitants, ſuch of them as believe in GOD and the laſt day; GOD anſwered, And whoever believeth not, I will beſtow on him little, afterwards I will drive him to the puniſhment of *hell*-fire; an ill journey ſhall it be! And when ABRAHAM and ISMAEL raiſed the foundations of the houſe, *ſaying*, LORD, accept *it* from us, for thou art he who heareth and knoweth: LORD, make us alſo reſigned [d] unto thee, and of our poſterity a people reſigned unto thee, and ſhew us our holy ceremonies, and be turned unto us, for thou art eaſy to be reconciled, and merciful: LORD, ſend them likewiſe an apoſtle from among them, who may declare thy ſigns unto them, and teach them the book *of the* KORAN and wiſdom, and may purify them; for thou art mighty and wiſe. Who will be averſe to the religion of ABRAHAM, but he whoſe mind is infatuated? Surely we have choſen him in this world, and in that which is to come he ſhall be one of the righteous. When his LORD ſaid unto him, Reſign thy ſelf *unto me*; he anſwered, I have reſigned my ſelf unto the LORD of all creatures. And ABRAHAM bequeathed this *religion* to his children, and JACOB *did the ſame*, *ſaying*, My children, verily GOD hath choſen this religion for you, therefore die not, unleſs ye alſo be reſigned. Were ye preſent when JACOB was at the point of death? when he ſaid to his ſons, Whom will ye worſhip after me? They anſwered, We will worſhip thy GOD, and the GOD of thy fathers ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, one GOD, and to him will we be reſigned. That people are now paſſed away, they have what they have gained [e], and ye ſhall have what ye gain; and ye ſhall not be queſtioned concerning that which they have done. They ſay, Become Jews or Chriſtians that ye may be directed. Say, Nay, *we follow* the religion of ABRAHAM the orthodox, who was no idolater. Say, We believe

[a] *A model of religion.*] I have rather expreſſed the meaning, than truely tranſlated the *Arabic* word *Imâm*, which anſwers to the *Latin Antiſtes*. This title the *Mohammedans* give to their prieſts, who begin the prayers in their *Moſques*, and whom all the congregation follow.

[b] *The holy houſe*, &c.] That is the *Caaba*, which is uſually called, by way of eminence, *the Houſe*. Of the ſanctity of this building and other particulars relating to it, ſee the *Preliminary Diſcourſe*, ſect. IV.

[c] *The ſtation of* Abraham, *&c.*] A place ſo called within the inner incloſure of the *Caaba*, where they pretend to ſhew the print of his foot in a ſtone [1].

[d] *Reſigned.*] The *Arabic* word is *Moſlemûna*, in the ſingular *Moſlem*, which the *Mohammedans* take as a title peculiar to themſelves. The *Europeans* generally write and pronounce it *Muſulman*.

[e] *What they have gained*,] or deſerved. The *Mohammedan* notion, as to the imputation of moral actions to man, which they call *gain*, or *acquiſition*, is ſufficiently explained in the *Preliminary Diſcourſe*.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV.

lieve in GOD, and that which hath been ſent down unto us, and that which hath been ſent down unto ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes, and that which was delivered unto MOSES, and JESUS, and that which was delivered unto the prophets from their LORD: We make no diſtinction between any of them, and to *GOD* are we reſigned. Now if they believe according to what ye believe, they are ſurely directed, but if they turn back, they are in ſchiſm. GOD ſhall ſupport thee againſt them, for he is the hearer, the wiſe. The baptiſm of GOD [a] *have we received*, and who is better than GOD to baptize? him do we worſhip. Say, Will ye diſpute with us concerning GOD [b], who is our LORD, and your LORD? we have our works, and ye have your works, and unto him are we ſincerely devoted. Will ye ſay, truly ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes were Jews or Chriſtians? Say, Are ye wiſer, or GOD? And who is more unjuſt than he who hideth the teſtimony which he hath *received* from GOD [c]? But GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do. That people are paſſed away, they have what they have gained, and ye ſhall have what ye gain, nor ſhall ye be queſtioned concerning that which they have done.
* The fooliſh men will ſay, What hath turned them from their KEBLAH, to- II.
wards which they formerly *prayed* [d]? Say, Unto GOD *belongeth* the eaſt and the weſt: he directeth whom he pleaſeth into the right way. Thus have we placed you, *O ARABIANS*, an intermediate nation [e], that ye may be witneſſes againſt *the reſt of* mankind, and that the apoſtle may be a witneſs againſt you. We appointed the KEBLAH towards which thou didſt formerly *pray*, only that we might know him who followeth the apoſtle, from him who turneth back on his heels [f]; though this *change* ſeem a great matter, unleſs unto thoſe whom

[a] *The baptiſm of* GOD.] By *baptiſm* is to be underſtood the religion which GOD inſtituted in the beginning; becauſe the ſigns of it appear in the perſon who profeſſes it, as the ſigns of water appear in the cloaths of him that is baptized [1].

[b] *Will ye diſpute with us concerning* GOD?] Theſe words were revealed, becauſe the *Jews* inſiſted, that they firſt received the ſcriptures, that their *Keblah* was more ancient, and that no prophets could ariſe among the *Arabs*; and therefore if *Mohammed* was a prophet, he muſt have been of their nation [2].

[c] *Who hideth the teſtimony*, &c.] The *Jews* are again accuſed of corrupting and ſuppreſſing the prophecies in the *Pentateuch* relating to *Mohammed*.

[d] *What hath turned them from their* Keblah, *&c.*] At firſt, *Mohammed* and his followers obſerved no particular rite in turning their faces towards any certain place, or quarter of the world, when they prayed; it being declared to be perfectly indifferent [3]. Afterwards, when the prophet fled to *Medina*, he directed them to turn towards the temple of *Jeruſalem* (probably to ingratiate himſelf with the *Jews*,) which continued to be their *Keblah* for ſix or ſeven months; but either finding the *Jews* too intractable, or deſpairing otherwiſe to gain the pagan *Arabs*, who could not forget their reſpect to the temple of *Mecca*, he ordered that prayers for the future ſhould be towards the laſt. This change was made in the ſecond year of the *Hejra* [4], and occaſioned many to fall from him, taking offence at his inconſtancy [5].

[e] *An intermediate nation*, &c.] This ſeems to be the ſenſe of the words; tho' the commentators [6] will have the meaning to be, that the *Arabians* are here declared to be a moſt *juſt* and *good* nation.

[f] *Who turneth back on his heels*;] I. e. returneth to *Judaiſm*.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem.* [3] *See before p.* 15. [4] *V.* ABULF. *vit. Moham. p.* 54.
[5] JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *Idem.* YAHYA, *&c.*

GOD hath directed. But GOD will not render your faith of none effect [a]; for GOD is gracious and merciful unto man. We have ſeen thee turn about thy face towards heaven *with uncertainty*, but we will cauſe thee to turn thy ſelf towards a KEBLAH that will pleaſe thee. Turn therefore thy face towards the holy temple *of MECCA*; and wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that *place*. They to whom the ſcripture hath been given, know this to be truth from their LORD. GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do. Verily although thou ſhouldeſt ſhew unto thoſe to whom the ſcripture hath been given, all kinds of ſigns, yet they will not follow thy KEBLAH, neither ſhalt thou follow their KEBLAH; nor will one part of them follow the KEBLAH of the other. And if thou follow their deſires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, verily thou wilt become *one* of the ungodly. They to whom we have given the ſcripture know *our apoſtle*, even as they know their own children; but ſome of them hide the truth, againſt their own knowledge. Truth is from thy LORD, therefore thou ſhalt not doubt. Every ſect hath a certain tract *of heaven* to which they turn themſelves *in prayer*; but do ye ſtrive to run after good things: wherever ye be, GOD will bring you all back *at the reſurrection*, for GOD is almighty. And from what place ſoever thou comeſt forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; for this is truth from thy LORD; neither is GOD regardleſs of that which ye do. From what place ſoever thou comeſt forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; and wherever ye be, thitherward turn your faces, leſt men have matter of diſpute againſt you; but as for thoſe among them who are unjuſt doers, fear them not, but fear me, that I may accompliſh my grace upon you, and that ye may be directed. As we have ſent unto you an apoſtle from among you [b], to rehearſe our ſigns unto you, and to purify you, and to teach you the book *of the KORAN* and wiſdom, and to teach you that which ye knew not: therefore remember me, and I will remember you, and give thanks unto me, and be not unbelievers. O *true* believers, beg aſſiſtance with patience and prayer, for GOD is with the patient. And ſay not of thoſe who are ſlain in fight for the religion of GOD [c], that *they are* dead; yea, *they are* living [d]: but ye do not underſtand. We will ſurely prove you *by afflicting you* in ſome meaſure with fear, and hunger, and decreaſe of wealth, and *loſs* of lives, and *ſcarcity* of fruits: but bear good tidings unto the patient, who when a misfortune befalleth them, ſay, We are GOD's, and unto him ſhall we ſurely return [e]. Upon them ſhall be bleſſings from their LORD and mercy, and they are the rightly directed. Moreover SAFA and MERWAH are *two* of the monuments of GOD:

[a] *God will not render your faith of none effect;*] Or will not ſuffer it to go without its reward, while ye prayed towards *Jeruſalem*.

[b] *An apoſtle from among you;*] That is, of your own nation.

[c] *Who are ſlain in fight for the religion of* GOD.] The original words are literally, *who are ſlain in the way of* GOD; by which expreſſion, frequently occurring in the *Korân*, is always meant war undertaken againſt unbelievers for the propagation of the *Mohammedan* faith.

[d] *They are living.*] The ſouls of martyrs, (for ſuch they eſteem thoſe who die in battle againſt infidels) ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, are in the crops of green birds, which have liberty to fly wherever they pleaſe in paradiſe, and feed on the fruits thereof.

[e] *We are* GOD's, *and unto him ſhall we ſurely return.*] An expreſſion frequently in the mouths of the *Mohammedans*, when under any great affliction, or in any imminent danger.

GOD: whoever therefore goeth on pilgrimage to the temple *of MECCA* or viſiteth *it*, it ſhall be no crime in him if he compaſs them both [a]. And as for him who voluntarily performeth a good work; verily GOD is grateful and knowing. They who conceal any of the evident ſigns, or the direction which we have ſent down, after what we have manifeſted unto men in the ſcripture, GOD ſhall curſe them; and they who curſe ſhall curſe them [b]. But as for thoſe who repent and amend, and make known *what they concealed*, I will be turned unto them, for I am eaſy to be reconciled and merciful. Surely they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, upon them ſhall be the curſe of GOD, and of the angels, and of all men; they ſhall remain under it for ever, their puniſhment ſhall not be alleviated, neither ſhall they be regarded [c]. Your GOD is one GOD, there is no GOD but He, the moſt merciful. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the viciſſitude of night and day, and in the ſhip which ſaileth in the ſea, *loaden* with what is profitable for mankind, and in the *rain* water which GOD ſendeth from heaven, quickening thereby the dead earth, and repleniſhing the ſame with all ſorts of cattle, and in the change of winds, and the clouds that are compelled to do ſervice [d] between heaven and earth, are ſigns to people of underſtanding: yet ſome men take idols beſide GOD, and love them as with the love *due to* GOD; but the true believers are more fervent in love towards GOD. Oh that they who act unjuſtly did perceive [e], when they behold their puniſhment, that all power belongeth unto GOD, and that he is ſevere in puniſhing! When thoſe who have been followed, ſhall ſeparate themſelves from their followers [f], and ſhall ſee the puniſhment, and the cords *of relation* between them ſhall be cut in

ſunder;

[a] *Whoever goeth on pilgrimage to* Mecca, *it ſhall be no crime in him if he compaſs them both.*] *Saſâ* and *Merwa* are two mountains near *Mecca*, whereon were anciently two idols, to which the pagan *Arabs* uſed to pay a ſuperſtitious veneration [1]. *Jallalo'ddin* ſays this paſſage was revealed becauſe the followers of *Mohammed* made a ſcruple of going round theſe mountains, as the idolaters did. But the true reaſon of his allowing this relick of ancient ſuperſtition ſeems to be the difficulty he found in preventing it. *Abu'l Kâſem Hebato'llah* thinks theſe laſt words are abrogated by thoſe other, *Who will reject the religion of* Abraham, *except he who hath infatuated his ſoul* [2]? So that he will have the meaning to be quite contrary to the letter, as if it had been, *it ſhall be no crime in him if he do not compaſs them.* However the expoſitors are all againſt him [3], and the ceremony of running between theſe two hills is ſtill obſerved at the pilgrimage [4].

[b] *They who curſe ſhall curſe them.*] That is, the angels, the believers, and all things in general [5]. But *Yahya* interprets it of the curſes which will be given to the wicked, when they cry out becauſe of the puniſhment of the ſepulchre [6], by all who hear them, that is by all creatures except men and genii.

[c] *Regarded.*] Or, as *Jallalo'ddin* expounds it, GOD will not wait for their repentance.

[d] *Compelled.*] The original word ſignifies properly *that are preſſed or compelled to do perſonal ſervice without hire*; which kind of ſervice is often exacted by the eaſtern princes of their ſubjects, and is called by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, *Angaria.* The ſcripture often mentions this ſort of compulſion or force [7].

[e] *Oh that they who act unjuſtly did perceive*, &c.] Or it may be tranſlated, *Although the ungodly will perceive*, &c. But ſome copies inſtead of *yara*, in the third perſon, read *tara*, in the ſecond; and then it muſt be rendered, *Oh if thou didſt ſee when the ungodly behold their puniſhment*, &c.

[f] *When thoſe who have followed ſhall ſeparate themſelves from their followers*, &c.] That is, when the broachers or heads of new ſects ſhall at the laſt day forſake or waſh their hands of their diſciples, as if they were not accomplices in their ſuperſtitions.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 20. [2] *See before p.* 16. [3] *V.* MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 69. *&c.* [4] *See the Prelim. Diſc. ſect.* IV. [5] JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *See Prelim. Diſc. ſect.* IV. [7] *Matt.* v. 41. xxvii. 32. *&c.*

ſunder; the followers ſhall ſay, If we could return *to life*, we would ſeparate our ſelves from them, as they have *now* ſeparated themſelves from us. So GOD will ſhew them their works; they ſhall ſigh grievouſly, and ſhall not come forth from the fire *of hell*. O men, eat of that which is lawful and good on the earth; and tread not in the ſteps of the devil, for he is your open enemy. Verily he commandeth you evil and wickedneſs, and that ye ſhould ſay that of GOD which ye know not. And when it is ſaid unto them *who believe not*, Follow that which GOD hath ſent down; they anſwer, Nay, but we will follow that which we found our fathers practiſe. What? tho' their fathers knew nothing, and were not *rightly* directed? The unbelievers are like unto one who crieth aloud to that which heareth not ſo much as *his* calling, or the ſound of *his* voice. *They are* deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore do they not underſtand. O true believers, eat of the good things which we have beſtowed on you for food, and return thanks unto GOD, if ye ſerve him. Verily he hath forbidden you *to eat* that which dieth of it ſelf, and blood, and ſwine's fleſh, and that on which any other name but GOD's hath been invocated [a]. But he who is forced by neceſſity, not luſting, nor returning *to tranſgreſs*, it ſhall be no crime in him *if he eat of thoſe things*, for GOD is gracious and merciful. Moreover they who conceal *any part* of the ſcripture which GOD hath ſent down unto them, and ſell it for a ſmall price, they ſhall ſwallow into their bellies nothing but fire; GOD ſhall not ſpeak unto them on the day of reſurrection, neither ſhall he purify them, and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. Theſe are they who have ſold direction for error, and pardon for puniſhment: but how great will their ſuffering be in the fire! This *they ſhall endure*, becauſe GOD ſent down the book *of the* KORAN with truth, and they who diſagree concerning that book, are certainly in a wide miſtake. It is not righteouſneſs that ye turn your faces *in prayer* towards the eaſt and the weſt, but righteouſneſs is of him who believeth in GOD and the laſt day, and the angels, and the ſcriptures, and the prophets; who giveth money for *GOD's* ſake unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the ſtranger, and thoſe who aſk, and for redemption of captives; who is conſtant at prayer, and giveth alms; and of thoſe who perform their covenant, when they have covenanted, and who behave themſelves patiently in adverſity, and hardſhips, and in time of violence: theſe are they who are true, and theſe are they who fear *GOD*. O true believers, the law of retaliation is ordained you for the ſlain: the free *ſhall die* for the free, and the ſervant for the ſervant, and a woman for a woman [b]: but he whom his brother ſhall forgive, may be proſecuted, *and obliged to make ſatisfaction* according to what is juſt, and a fine

[a] For this reaſon, whenever the *Mohammedans* kill any animal for food, they always ſay *Biſmi'llah*, or *In the name of* GOD; which if it be neglected, they think it not lawful to eat of it.

[b] *A woman for a woman.*] This is not to be ſtrictly taken; for according to the *Sonna*, a man alſo is to be put to death for the murder of a woman. Regard is alſo to be had to difference in religion, ſo that a *Mohammedan*, tho' a ſlave, is not to be put to death for an infidel, tho' a freeman [1]. But the civil magiſtrates do not think themſelves always obliged to conform to this laſt determination of the *Sonna*.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN.

fine ſhall be ſet on him [a] with humanity. This is indulgence from your LORD, and mercy. And he who ſhall tranſgreſs after this, *by killing the murtherer*, ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. And in this law of retaliation ye have life, O ye of underſtanding, that peradventure ye may fear. It is ordained you, when any of you is at the point of death, if he leave any goods, *that he bequeath* a legacy to his parents, and kindred, according to what ſhall be reaſonable [b]. This is a duty *incumbent* on thoſe who fear GOD. But he who ſhall change *the legacy*, after he hath heard it *bequeathed by the dying perſon*, ſurely the ſin thereof ſhall be on thoſe who change it, for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Howbeit he who apprehendeth from the teſtator any miſtake or injuſtice, and ſhall compoſe *the matter* between them, that ſhall be no crime in him, for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, a faſt is ordained you, as it was ordained unto thoſe before you, that ye may fear GOD. A certain number of days *ſhall ye faſt:* but he among you who ſhall be ſick, or on a journey, *ſhall faſt an equal* number of other days. And thoſe who can [c] *keep it, and do not*, muſt redeem *their neglect* by maintaining of a poor man [d]. And he who voluntarily dealeth better *with the poor man than he is obliged*, this ſhall be better for him. But if ye faſt it will be better for you, if ye knew it. The month of RAMADAN *ſhall ye faſt*, in which the KORAN was ſent down *from heaven* [e], a direction unto men, and declarations of direction, and the diſtinction *between good and evil*. Therefore let him among you who ſhall be preſent [f] in this month, faſt the ſame *month*; but he who ſhall be ſick, or on a journey, *ſhall faſt* the *like* number of other days. GOD would *make this* an eaſe unto you, and would not *make it* a difficulty unto you; that ye may fulfill the number *of days*, and glorify GOD, for that

[a] This is the common practiſe in *Mohammedan* countries, particularly in *Perſia* [1]; where the relations of the deceaſed may take their choice, either to have the murtherer put into their hands to be put to death; or elſe to accept of a pecuniary ſatisfaction.

[b] *That he bequeath a legacy to his parents and kindred, according to what ſhall be reaſonable*, &c.] That is, the legacy was not to exceed a third part of the teſtator's ſubſtance, nor to be given where there was no neceſſity. But this injunction is abrogated by the law concerning inheritances.

[c] *Thoſe who can keep it, and do not*, &c.] The expoſitors differ much about the meaning of this paſſage, thinking it very improbable that people ſhould be left intirely at liberty either to faſt or not, on compounding for it in this manner. *Jallalo'ddin* therefore ſuppoſes the negative particle *not* to be underſtood, and that this is allowed only to thoſe who are *not able* to faſt, by reaſon of age or dangerous ſickneſs: but afterwards he ſays, that in the beginning of *Mohammediſm* it was free for them to chuſe whether they would faſt or maintain a poor man; which liberty was ſoon after taken away, and this paſſage abrogated by the following, *Therefore let him who ſhall be preſent in this month, faſt the ſame month*. Yet this abrogation, he ſays, does not extend to women with child, or that give ſuck, leſt the infant ſuffer.

Al Zamakhſhari, having firſt given an explanation of *Ebn Abbâs*, who by a different interpretation of the *Arabic* word *Yotikûnaho*, which ſignifies *can* or *are able* to faſt, renders it, *Thoſe who find great difficulty therein*, &c. adds an expoſition of his own, by ſuppoſing ſomething to be underſtood; according to which the ſenſe will be, *Thoſe who can faſt* and yet have a legal excuſe to break it, *muſt redeem it*, &c.

[d] *By maintaining of a poor man.*] According to the uſual quantity which a man eats in a day, and the cuſtom of the country [2].

[e] See the *Prelim. Diſc.* Sect. II.

[f] *Who ſhall be preſent*] i. e. at home, and not in a ſtrange country, where the faſt cannot be performed, or on a journey.

[1] *V.* CHARDIN, *Voyage de Perſe T.* II. *p.* 299. &c. [2] JALLALO'DDIN.

that he hath directed you, and that ye may give thanks. When my ſervants aſk thee concerning me, Verily I am near; I will hear the prayer of him that prayeth, when he prayeth unto me: but let them hearken unto me, and believe in me, that they may be rightly directed. It is lawful for you on the night of the faſt to go in unto your wives [a]; they are a garment [b] unto you, and ye are a garment unto them. GOD knoweth that ye defraud your ſelves *therein*, wherefore he turneth unto you, and forgiveth you. Now therefore go in unto them; and earneſtly deſire that which GOD ordaineth you, and eat and drink, until ye can plainly diſtinguiſh a white thread from a black thread by the day-break: then keep the faſt until night, and go not in unto them, but be conſtantly preſent in the places of worſhip. Theſe are the preſcribed bounds of GOD, therefore draw not near them *to tranſgreſs them.* Thus GOD declareth his ſigns unto men, that they may fear *him.* Conſume not your wealth among your ſelves in vain; nor preſent it unto judges, that ye may devour part of men's ſubſtance unjuſtly, againſt your own conſciences. They will aſk thee concerning the phaſes of the moon: Anſwer, They are times appointed unto men, and to *ſhew the ſeaſon of* the pilgrimage to *MECCA.* It is not righteouſneſs that ye enter *your* houſes by the back parts thereof [c], but righteouſneſs is of him who feareth *GOD.* Therefore enter *your* houſes by their doors; and fear GOD, that ye may be happy. And fight for the religion of GOD againſt thoſe who fight againſt you, but tranſgreſs not *by attacking them firſt*, for GOD loveth not the tranſgreſſors. And kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have diſpoſſeſſed you; for temptation *to idolatry* is more grievous than ſlaughter: yet fight not againſt them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein; but if they attack you, ſlay them *there.* This ſhall be the reward of the infidels. But if they deſiſt, GOD is gracious and merciful. Fight therefore againſt them, until there be no temptation *to idolatry*, and the religion be GOD's: but if they deſiſt, then let there be no hoſtility, except againſt the ungodly. A ſacred month for a ſacred month [d], and the holy limits *of MECCA, if they attack you therein, do ye alſo attack them therein in* retaliation; and whoever tranſgreſſeth againſt you *by ſo doing*, do ye tranſgreſs againſt him in like manner as he hath tranſgreſſed againſt you, and fear GOD, and know that GOD is with thoſe who fear *him.* Contribute *out of your ſubſtance* toward the defence of the religion of GOD, and throw not *your ſelves* with your own hands into perdition; and do good, for GOD loveth thoſe who do good.

[a] *It is lawful for you on the faſt to go in unto your wives by night.*] In the beginning of *Mohammediſm*, during the faſt, they neither lay with their wives, nor eat nor drank after ſupper. But both are permitted by this paſſage. [1]

[b] *They are a garment unto you*, &c.] A metaphorical expreſſion, to ſignify the mutual comfort a man and his wife find in each other.

[c] Some of the *Arabs* had a ſuperſtitious cuſtom after they had been at *Mecca* (in pilgrimage, as it ſeems) on their return home, not to enter their houſe by the old door, but to make a hole through the back part for a paſſage, which practice is here reprehended.

[d] As to theſe ſacred months, wherein it was unlawful for the ancient *Arabs* to attack one another, ſee the *Prelim. Diſc.* Sect. VII.

[e] *And throw not your ſelves away*, &c.] i. e. Be not acceſſary to your own deſtruction, by neglecting your contributions towards the wars againſt infidels, and thereby ſuffering them to gather ſtrength.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN.

good. Perform the pilgrimage *of* MECCA, and the viſitation of GOD: and if ye be beſieged, *ſend* that offering which ſhall be the eaſieſt; and ſhave not your heads [a], until your offering reacheth the place of ſacrifice. But whoever among you is ſick, or is troubled with any diſtemper of the head, muſt redeem *the ſhaving his head* by faſting, or alms, or ſome offering [b]. When ye are ſecure *from enemies*, he who tarrieth in the viſitation *of the temple of* MECCA until the pilgrimage, ſhall *bring* that offering which ſhall be the eaſieſt. But he who findeth not *any thing to offer*, ſhall faſt three days in the pilgrimage, and ſeven when ye are returned: they ſhall be ten *days* compleat. This *is incumbent* on him, whoſe family ſhall not be preſent at the holy temple. And fear GOD, and know that GOD is ſevere in puniſhing. The pilgrimage *muſt be performed in* the known months [d]; whoſoever therefore purpoſeth to go on pilgrimage therein, let him not know a woman, nor tranſgreſs, nor quarrel in the pilgrimage. The good which ye do, GOD knoweth it. Make proviſion *for your journey*; but the beſt proviſion is piety: and fear me, O ye of underſtanding. It ſhall be no crime in you, if ye ſeek an encreaſe from your LORD, *by trading during the pilgrimage*. And when ye go in proceſſion [e] from ARAFAT [f], remember GOD near the holy monument [g]; and remember him for that he hath directed you, although ye were before this of *the number of* thoſe who go aſtray. Therefore go in proceſſion from whence the people go in proceſſion, and aſk pardon of GOD, for GOD is gracious and merciful. And when ye have finiſhed your holy ceremonies, remember GOD, according as ye remember your fathers, or with a more reverend commemoration. There are ſome men who ſay, O LORD, give us *our portion* in this world; but ſuch ſhall have no portion in the next life: and there are others who ſay, O LORD, give us good in this world, and alſo good in the next world, and deliver us from the torment of *hell* fire. They ſhall have a portion of that which they have gained: GOD is ſwift in taking an account [h].

Remember

[a] *Shave not your heads*, &c.] For this was a ſign they had compleated their vow, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage [1].

[b] *Shall redeem the ſhaving his head by faſting*, &c.] That is, either by faſting three days, or feeding ſix poor people, or ſacrificing a ſheep.

[c] *He who tarrieth*, &c.] This paſſage is ſomewhat obſcure. *Yahya* interprets it of him who marries a wife during the viſitation, and performs the pilgrimage the year following. But *Jallalo'ddin* expounds it of him who ſtays within the ſacred incloſures, in order to compleat the ceremonies, which (as it ſhould ſeem) he had not been able to do within the preſcribed time.

[d] *The known months*,] i. e. *Shawâl*, *Dhu'lkaada*, and *Dhu'lhajja*. See the Preliminary Diſcourſe, Sect. IV.

[e] *When ye go in proceſſion*,] The original word ſignifies *to ruſh forward impetuouſly*; as the pilgrims do when they proceed from *Arafât* to *Mozdalifa*.

[f] *Arafât*,] A mountain near *Mecca*, ſo called, becauſe *Adam* there met and *knew* his wife, after a long ſeparation [2]. Yet others ſay that *Gabriel*, after he had inſtructed *Abraham* in all the ſacred ceremonies, coming to *Arafât*, there asked him if he *knew* the ceremonies which had been ſhewn him; to which *Abraham* anſwering in the affirmative, the mountain had thence its name [3].

[g] *The holy monument*;] In *Arabic*, *al Maſher al harâm*. It is a mountain in the farther part of *Mozdalifa*, where it is ſaid *Mohammed* ſtood praying and praiſing GOD, till his face became extreamly ſhining [4]. *Bobovius* calls it *Farkh* [5], but the true name ſeems to be *Kazah*; the variation being occaſioned only by the different pointing of the *Arabic* letters.

[h] GOD *is ſwift in taking an account*.] For he will judge all creatures, ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, in the ſpace of half a day.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *See before p.* 5. *not.* g. [3] *Al* HASAN. [4] JALLALO'DDIN. [5] BOBOV. *de peregr. Meccana, p.* 15.

Remember GOD the *appointed* number of days [a]: but if any haſte *to depart from the valley of* MINA in two days, it ſhall be no crime in him. And if any tarry longer, it ſhall be no crime in him, in him who feareth GOD. Therefore fear GOD, and know that unto him ye ſhall be gathered. There is a man who cauſeth thee to marvel [b] by his ſpeech concerning this preſent life, and calleth GOD to witneſs that which is in his heart, yet he is moſt intent in oppoſing thee; and when he turneth away *from thee*, he haſteth to act corruptly in the earth, and to deſtroy that which is ſown, and ſpringeth up [c]: but GOD loveth not corrupt doing. And if one ſay unto him, Fear GOD; pride ſeizeth him, together with wickedneſs; but hell ſhall be his reward, and an unhappy couch ſhall it be. There is alſo a man who ſelleth his ſoul for the ſake of thoſe things which are pleaſing unto GOD [d]; and GOD is gracious unto *his* ſervants. O *true* believers, enter into the true religion wholly, and follow not the ſteps of SATAN, for he is your open enemy. If ye have ſlipped after the declarations *of our will* have come unto you, know that GOD is mighty and wiſe. Do *the infidels* expect leſs than that GOD ſhould come down to them overſhadowed with clouds, and the angels *alſo?* but the thing is decreed, and to GOD ſhall *all* things return. Aſk the children of ISRAEL how many evident ſigns we have ſhewed them; and whoever ſhall change the grace of GOD, after it ſhall have come unto him, verily GOD will be ſevere in puniſhing *him.* The preſent life was ordained for thoſe who believe not, and they laugh the faithful to ſcorn; but they who fear *GOD* ſhall be above them, on the day of the reſurrection: for GOD is bountiful unto whom he pleaſeth without meaſure. Mankind was of one faith, and GOD ſent prophets bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats, and ſent down with them the ſcripture in truth, that it might judge between men of that concerning which they diſagreed: and none diſagreed concerning it, except thoſe to whom the ſame *ſcriptures* were delivered, after the declarations *of GOD's will* had come unto them, out of envy among themſelves. And GOD directed thoſe who believed, to that truth concerning which they diſagreed, by his will: for GOD directeth whom he pleaſeth into the right way. Did ye think ye ſhould enter paradiſe, when as yet no ſuch thing had happened unto you, as *hath happened* unto thoſe who have been before you? They ſuffered calamity, and tribulation, and were afflicted; ſo that the apoſtle, and they who believed with him, ſaid; When *will* the help of GOD *come?* Is not the help of GOD nigh? They will aſk thee what they ſhall beſtow *in alms:* Anſwer, The good which ye beſtow, *let it be given* to parents, and kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the ſtranger. Whatſoever

[a] *The appointed number of days,*] i. e. Three days after ſlaying the ſacrifices.

[b] *There is a man who cauſeth thee to marvel,* &c.] This perſon was *al Akhnas Ebn Shoraik*, a fair-ſpoken diſſembler, who ſwore that he believed in *Mohammed*, and pretended to be one of his friends, and to contemn this world. But GOD here reveals to the prophet his hypocriſy and wickedneſs [1].

[c] *He haſteth to act corruptly, and to deſtroy that which is ſown,* &c.] Setting fire to his neighbour's corn, and killing his aſſes by night [2].

[d] *There is a man who ſelleth his ſoul,* &c.] The perſon here meant was one *Soheib*, who being perſecuted by the idolaters of *Mecca*, forſook all he had, and fled to *Medina* [3].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

Whatſoever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. War is injoined you *againſt the Infidels*; but this is hateful unto you: yet perchance ye hate a thing which is better for you, and perchance ye love a thing which is worſe for you: but GOD knoweth and ye know not. They will ask thee concerning the ſacred month, *whether they may* war therein: Anſwer, To war therein is grievous; but to obſtruct the way of GOD, and infidelity towards him, and *to keep men* from the holy temple, and to drive out his people from thence, is more grievous in the ſight of GOD, and the temptation *to idolatry* is more grievous than to kill *in the ſacred months*. They will not ceaſe to war againſt you, until they turn you from your religion, if they be able: but whoever among you ſhall turn back from his religion, and die an infidel, their works ſhall be vain in this world, and the next; they ſhall be the companions of *hell* fire, they ſhall remain therein for ever. But they who believe, and who fly for the ſake of religion, and fight in GOD's cauſe, they ſhall hope for the mercy of GOD; for GOD is gracious and merciful. They will ask thee concerning wine [a] and lots [b]: Anſwer, In both there is great ſin, and *alſo ſome* things of uſe unto men [c]; but their ſinfulneſs is greater than their uſe. They will aſk thee alſo what they ſhall beſtow *in alms*: Anſwer, What ye have to ſpare. Thus GOD ſheweth *his* ſigns unto you, that peradventure ye might ſeriouſly think of this preſent world, and of the next. They will alſo aſk thee concerning orphans: Anſwer, To deal righteouſly with them is beſt; and if ye intermeddle with *the management of what belongs to* them, *do them no wrong*; they are your brethren: GOD knoweth the corrupt dealer from the righteous; and if GOD pleaſe, he will ſurely diſtreſs you [d], for GOD is mighty and wiſe. Marry not *women who are* idolaters, until they believe: verily a maid ſervant who believeth, is better than an idolatreſs, although ſhe pleaſe you *more*. And give not *women who believe*, in marriage to the idolaters, until they believe; for verily a ſervant, who is a true believer, is better than an idolater, though he pleaſe you *more*. They invite unto *hell* fire, but GOD inviteth unto paradiſe and pardon through his will, and declareth his ſigns unto men, that they may remember. They will aſk thee alſo, concerning the courſes of women: Anſwer, They are a pollution: therefore ſeparate your ſelves from women in their courſes, and go not near them, until they be cleanſed. But when they are cleanſed, go in unto them as GOD hath commanded

[a] *Wine.*] Under the name of *wine* all ſorts of ſtrong and inebriating liquors are comprehended [1].

[b] *Lots.*] The original word, *al Meiſer*, properly ſignifies a particular game performed with arrows, and much in uſe with the pagan *Arabs*. But by *lots* we are here to underſtand all games whatſoever, which are ſubject to chance or hazard, as dice, cards, &c [2].

[c] *In both there is great ſin, and alſo ſome things of uſe.*] From theſe words ſome ſuppoſe that only drinking to exceſs, and too frequent gaming are prohibited [3]. And the moderate uſe of wine they alſo think is allowed by theſe words of the 16th chapter, *And of the fruits of palm-trees and grapes ye obtain inebriating drink, and alſo good nouriſhment.* But the more received opinion is, that both drinking wine or other ſtrong liquors in any quantity, and playing at any game of chance, are abſolutely forbidden [4].

[d] *God will ſurely diſtreſs you.*] *viz.* By his curſe, which will certainly bring to nothing what ye ſhall wrong the orphans of.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. V. [2] *See ibid.* [3] *V.* JALLALO'DDIN & *al* ZAMAKHSHARI. [4] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* ubi ſup.

commanded you [a], for GOD loveth thoſe who repent, and loveth thoſe who are clean. Your wives are your tillage; go in therefore unto your tillage in what manner ſoever ye will [b]: and do firſt ſome act *that may be profitable* unto your ſouls [c]; and fear GOD, and know that ye muſt meet him; and bear good tidings unto the faithful. Make not GOD the object of your oaths [d], that ye will deal juſtly, and be devout, and make peace among men [e]; for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. GOD will not puniſh you for an inconſiderate word [f] in your oaths; but he will puniſh you for that which your hearts have aſſented unto: GOD is merciful and gracious. They who vow *to abſtain* from their wives, are *allowed* to wait four months [g]: but if they go back *from their vow*, verily GOD is gracious and merciful [h]; and if they reſolve on a divorce, GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. The *women who are* divorced ſhall wait concerning themſelves until they have their courſes thrice [i], and it ſhall not be lawful for them to conceal that which GOD hath created in their wombs [k], if they believe in GOD and the laſt day; and their huſbands will act more juſtly to bring them back at this *time*, if they deſire a reconciliation. The women ought alſo *to behave towards their huſbands* in like manner as *their huſbands ſhould behave* towards them, according to what is juſt: but

[a] *As God hath commanded you*;] But not while they have their courſes, nor by uſing prepoſterous venery [1].

[b] *In what manner ſoever ye will*;] That is in any poſture; either ſtanding, ſitting, lying, forwards, or backwards. And this paſſage, it is ſaid, was reveal'd to anſwer the *Jews*, who pretended that if a man lay with his wife backwards, he would get a more witty child [2]. It has been imagined that theſe words allow that prepoſterous luſt, which the commentators ſay is forbidden by the preceding; but I queſtion whether this can be proved.

[c] *Do firſt ſome act that may profit your ſouls*;] i. e. Perform ſome act of devotion or charity.

[d] *Make not God the object of your oaths*;] So as to ſwear frequently by him. The word tranſlated *object*, properly ſignifies a but to ſhoot at with arrows [3].

[e] *That ye will deal juſtly*, &c.] Some commentators [4] expound this negatively, *That ye will not deal juſtly, nor be devout*, &c. For ſuch wicked oaths, they ſay, were cuſtomary among the idolatrous inhabitants of *Mecca*; which gave occaſion to the following ſaying of *Mohammed*; *When you ſwear to do a thing, and afterwards find it better to do otherwiſe; do that which is better, and make void your oath.*

[f] *An inconſiderate word*;] When a man ſwears inadvertently, and without deſign.

[g] *They who vow to abſtain from their wives, are allowed to wait four months*;] That is, they may take ſo much time to conſider; and ſhall not, by a raſh oath, be obliged actually to divorce them.

[h] *If they go back from their vows*, &c.] i. e. If they be reconciled to their wives within four months, or after, they may retain them; and GOD will diſpenſe with their oath.

[i] This is to be underſtood of thoſe only with whom the marriage has been conſummated; for as to the others there is no time limited. Thoſe who are not quite paſt childbearing (which a woman is reckoned to be after her courſes ceaſe, and ſhe is fifty five lunar years, or about fifty three ſolar years old) and thoſe who are too young to have children, are allowed three months only; but they who are with child, muſt wait till they be delivered [5].

[k] *They ſhall not conceal what God hath created in their wombs*;] That is, they ſhall tell the real truth, whether they have their courſes, or be with child, or not; and ſhall not, by deceiving their husband, obtain a ſeparation from him before the term be accompliſhed: leſt the firſt husband's child ſhould, by that means, go to the ſecond; or the wife, in caſe of the firſt husband's death, ſhould ſet up her child as his heir, or demand her maintenance during the time ſhe went with ſuch child, and the expences of her lying in, under pretence that ſhe waited not her full preſcribed time [6].

[1] EBN ABBAS, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, AL ZAMAKHSHARI. *Vid.* LUCRET. *de rer. nat. l.* iv. *v.* 1258, *&c.* [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Idem*, YAHYA. [5] JALLALO'DDIN. [6] YAHYA.

but the men ought to have a ſuperiority over them. GOD is mighty and wiſe. Ye may divorce *your wives* twice; and then either retain *them* with humanity, or diſmiſs *them* with kindneſs. But it is not lawful for you to take away any thing of what ye have given them, unleſs both fear that they cannot obſerve the ordinances of GOD [a]. And if ye fear that they cannot obſerve the ordinances of GOD, it ſhall be no crime in either of them on account of that for which *the wife* ſhall redeem her ſelf [b]. Theſe are the ordinances of GOD; therefore tranſgreſs them not; for whoever tranſgreſſeth the ordinances of GOD, they are unjuſt doers. But if *the huſband* divorce her *a third time*, ſhe ſhall not be lawful for him again, until ſhe marry another huſband. But if he *alſo* divorce her, it ſhall be no crime in them, if they return to each other, if they think they can obſerve the ordinances of GOD; and theſe are the ordinances of GOD, he declareth them to people of underſtanding. But when ye divorce women, and they have fulfilled their preſcribed time, either retain them with humanity, or diſmiſs them with kindneſs; and retain them not by violence, ſo that ye tranſgreſs [c]; for he who doth this, ſurely injureth his own ſoul. And make not the ſigns of GOD a jeſt: but remember GOD's favour towards you, and that he hath ſent down unto you the book *of the* KORAN, and wiſdom, admoniſhing you thereby; and fear GOD, and know that GOD is omniſcient. But when ye have divorced *your* wives, and they have fulfilled their preſcribed time, hinder them not from marrying their husbands, when they have agreed among themſelves according to what is honourable. This is given in admonition unto him among you who believeth in GOD, and the laſt day. This is moſt righteous for you, and moſt pure. GOD knoweth, but ye know not. Mothers *after they are divorced* ſhall give ſuck unto their children two full years, to him who deſireth the time of giving ſuck to be compleated; and the father ſhall be obliged to maintain them and cloath them *in the mean time*, according to that which ſhall be reaſonable. No perſon ſhall be obliged beyond his ability. A mother ſhall not be compelled *to what is unreaſonable* on account of her child, nor a father on account of his child. And the heir *of the father* ſhall be obliged to do in like manner. But if they chuſe to wean *the child before the end of two years*, by common conſent, and on mutual conſideration, it ſhall be no crime in them. And if ye have a mind to provide a nurſe for your children, it ſhall be no crime in you, in caſe ye fully pay what ye offer *her*, according to that which is juſt. And fear GOD, and know that GOD ſeeth whatſoever ye do. Such of you as die, and leave wives, *their wives* muſt wait concerning themſelves four months and ten *days* [d], and when they ſhall have fulfilled their term, it ſhall be no crime in you, for that which they ſhall do with themſelves [e], according to what is rea-

[a] *Unleſs both fear they cannot obſerve the ordinances of* GOD.] For if there be a ſettled averſion on either ſide, their continuing together may have very ill, and perhaps fatal conſequences.

[b] *It ſhall be no crime if ſhe redeem herſelf*;] i.e. If ſhe prevail on her husband to diſmiſs her, by releaſing part of her dowry.

[c] *And retain them not by force, ſo that ye tranſgreſs*;] *viz.* By obliging them to purchaſe their liberty with part of their dowry.

[d] *The wives of ſuch as die, muſt wait four months and ten days*;] That is to ſay, before they marry again; and this not only for decency ſake, but that it may be known whether they be with child by the deceaſed or not.

[e] *For that which they ſhall do with themſelves*;] That is, if they leave off their mourning weeds, and look out for new husbands.

ſonable. GOD well knoweth that which ye do. And it ſhall be no crime in you, whether ye make public overtures of marriage unto *ſuch* women, *within the ſaid four months and ten days*, or whether ye conceal *ſuch your deſigns* in your minds: GOD knoweth that ye will remember them. But make no promiſe unto them privately, unleſs ye ſpeak honourable words; and reſolve not on the knot of marriage, until the preſcribed time be accompliſhed; and know that GOD knoweth that which is in your minds, therefore beware of him, and know that GOD is gracious and merciful. It ſhall be no crime in you, if ye divorce your wives, ſo long as ye have not touched them, nor ſettled any dowry on them. And provide for them (he who is at his eaſe muſt *provide* according to his circumſtances, and he who is ſtraitened according to his circumſtances) neceſſaries, according to what ſhall be reaſonable. *This is* a duty *incumbent* on the righteous. But if ye divorce them before ye have touched them, and have already ſettled a dowry on them, *ye ſhall give them* half of what ye have ſettled, unleſs they releaſe *any part*, or he releaſe *part* in whoſe hand the knot of marriage is [a]; and if ye releaſe *the whole*, it will approach nearer unto piety. And forget not liberality among you, for GOD ſeeth that which ye do. Carefully obſerve the *appointed* prayers, and the middle prayer [b], and be aſſiduous *therein*, with devotion towards GOD. But if ye fear *any danger*, *pray* on foot or on horſeback; and when ye are ſafe, remember GOD, how he hath taught you what as yet ye knew not. And ſuch of you as ſhall die and leave wives, ought to bequeath their wives a year's maintenance, without putting them out *of their houſes:* but if they go out *voluntarily*, it ſhall be no crime in you, for that which they ſhall do with themſelves, according to what ſhall be reaſonable; GOD is mighty and wiſe. And unto thoſe who are divorced, a reaſonable proviſion *is alſo due*; *this is* a duty *incumbent* on thoſe who fear *GOD*. Thus GOD declareth his ſigns unto you, that ye may underſtand. Haſt thou not conſidered thoſe, who left their habitations, (and they were thouſands) for fear of death [c]? And GOD ſaid

[a] *Unleſs they, or he in whoſe hand the knot of marriage is, releaſe it*, &c.] i. e. Unleſs the wife agree to take leſs than half her dowry, or unleſs the husband be ſo generous as to give her more than half, or the whole; which is here approved of as moſt commendable.

[b] *The middle prayer.*] *Yahya* interprets this from a tradition of *Mohammed*, who being asked which was the *middle prayer*, anſwered, The evening prayer, which was inſtituted by the prophet *Solomon*. But *Jallalo'ddin* allows a greater latitude, and ſuppoſes it may be the afternoon prayer, the morning prayer, the noon prayer, or any other.

[c] *Haſt thou not conſidered thoſe who left their habitations for fear of death*, &c.] Theſe were ſome of the children of *Iſrael*, who abandoned their dwellings becauſe of a peſtilence; or, as others ſay, to avoid ſerving in a religious war: but as they fled, God ſtruck them all dead in a certain valley. About eight days or more after, when their bodies were corrupted, the prophet *Ezekiel* the ſon of *Buzi* happening to paſs that way, at the ſight of their bones, wept; whereupon God ſaid to him, *Call to them, O* Ezekiel, *and I will reſtore them to life*. And accordingly on the prophet's call they all aroſe, and lived ſeveral years after; but they retained the colour and ſtench of dead corps, as long as they lived, and the cloaths they wore changed as black as pitch; which qualities they tranſmitted to their poſterity [1]. As to the number of theſe *Iſraelites*, the commentators are not agreed; they who reckon leaſt ſay they were 3000, and they who reckon moſt

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, ABULFEDA, &c.

ſaid unto them, Die; then he reſtored them to life, for GOD is gracious towards mankind; but the greater part of men do not give thanks. Fight for the religion of GOD, and know that GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Who is he that will lend unto GOD on good uſury [a]? verily he will double it unto him manifold; for GOD contracteth and extendeth *his hand* as he pleaſeth, and to him ſhall ye return. Haſt thou not conſidered the aſſembly of the children of ISRAEL, after *the time of* MOSES; when they ſaid unto their prophet *SAMUEL*, Set a king over us, that we may fight for the religion of GOD? *The prophet* anſwered, If ye are injoined to go to war, will ye be near refuſing to fight? They anſwered, And what ſhould ail us that we ſhould not fight for the religion of GOD, ſeeing we are diſpoſſeſſed of our habitations, and *deprived* of our children? But when they were injoined to go to war, they turned back, except a few of them: and GOD knew the ungodly. And their prophet ſaid unto them, Verily GOD hath ſet TALUT [b], king over you: they anſwered, How ſhall he reign over us, ſeeing we are more worthy of the kingdom than he, neither is he poſſeſſed of great riches? *SAMUEL* ſaid, Verily GOD hath choſen him before you, and hath cauſed him to increaſe in knowledge and ſtature, for GOD giveth his kingdom unto whom he pleaſeth; GOD is bounteous and wiſe. And their prophet ſaid unto them, Verily the ſign of his kingdom ſhall be, that the ark ſhall come unto you [c]: therein ſhall be tranquility from your LORD [d], and the relicks [e] which have been left by the family of MOSES, and the family of AARON; the angels ſhall bring it. Verily this ſhall be a ſign unto you, if ye believe. And when TALUT departed with his ſoldiers, he ſaid, Verily GOD will prove you by the river: for he who drinketh thereof, ſhall not be on my ſide (but he who ſhall not taſte thereof he ſhall be on my ſide) except he who drinketh a draught out of his hand. And

moſt, 70,000. This ſtory ſeems to have been taken from *Ezekiel*'s viſion of the reſurrection of dry bones [1].

Some of the *Mohammedan* writers will have *Ezekiel* to have been one of the judges of *Iſrael*, and to have ſucceeded *Othoniel* the ſon of *Caleb*. They alſo call this prophet *Ebn al ajûz*, or *the ſon of the old woman*; becauſe they ſay his mother obtained him by her prayers in her old age [2].

[a] *Who will lend unto God, on good uſury?*] *viz.* By contributing towards the eſtabliſhment of his true religion.

[b] *Tâlût.*] So the *Mohammedans* name *Saul*.

[c] *The ark ſhall come unto you*, &c.] This ark, ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, contained the images of the prophets, and was ſent down from heaven to *Adam*, and at length came to the *Iſraelites*, who put great confidence therein, and continually carried it in the front of their army, till it was taken by the *Amalekites*. But on this occaſion the angels brought it back, in the ſight of all the people, and placed it at the feet of *Talût*; who was thereupon unanimouſly acknowledged for their king.

This relation ſeems to have ariſen from ſome imperfect tradition of the taking and ſending back the ark by the *Philiſtines* [3].

[d] *Therein ſhall be tranquillity from your Lord*;] That is, becauſe of the great confidence the *Iſraelites* placed in it, having won ſeveral battles by its miraculous aſſiſtance. I imagine however, that the *Arabic* word *Sakînat*, which ſignifies *tranquility* or *ſecurity of mind*, and is ſo underſtood by the commentators, may not improbably mean the *divine preſence* or *glory*, which uſed to appear on the ark, and which the *Jews* expreſs by the ſame word *Shechinah*.

[e] *The relicks*, &c.] Theſe were the ſhoes and rod of *Moſes*, the mitre of *Aaron*, a pot of *Manna*, and the broken pieces of the two tables of the law [4].

[1] *Ezek.* xxxvii. 1--10. [2] *Al* THALABI, ABU ISHAK, *&c.* [3] 1 *Sam.* iv, v and vi. [4] JALLALO'DDIN.

And they drank thereof, except a few of them [a]. And when they had paſſed *the river*, he and thoſe who believed with him, they ſaid, We have no ſtrength to day, againſt JALUT [b] and his forces. But they who conſidered that they ſhould meet GOD *at the reſurrection*, ſaid, How often hath a ſmall army diſcomfited a great army, by the will of GOD? and GOD is with thoſe who patiently perſevere. And when they went forth to battle againſt JALUT and his forces, they ſaid, O LORD, pour on us patience, and confirm our feet, and help us againſt the unbelieving people. Therefore they diſcomfited them, by the will of GOD, and DAVID ſlew JALUT. And GOD gave him the kingdom and wiſdom, and taught him his will [c]; and if GOD had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted: but GOD is beneficent towards *his* creatures. Theſe are the ſigns of GOD: we rehearſe them unto thee with truth, and thou art ſurely *one* of thoſe who have been
III. ſent *by GOD*. * Theſe are the apoſtles; we have preferred ſome of them before others: ſome of them hath GOD ſpoken unto, and hath exalted the degree of others of them. And we gave unto JESUS the ſon of MARY manifeſt ſigns, and ſtrengthened him with the holy ſpirit [d]. And if GOD had pleaſed, they who came after thoſe *apoſtles*, would not have contended among themſelves, after manifeſt ſigns had been ſhewn unto them. But they fell to variance; therefore ſome of them believed, and ſome of them believed not; and if GOD had ſo pleaſed, they would not have contended among themſelves, but GOD doth what he will. O true believers, give *alms* of that which we have beſtowed on you, before the day cometh wherein there ſhall be no merchandizing, nor friendſhip, nor interceſſion. The infidels are unjuſt doers. GOD! there is no GOD but he [e]; the living, the ſelf-ſubſiſting: neither ſlumber nor ſleep ſeizeth him; to him *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven, and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him, but through his good pleaſure? He knoweth that which is paſt, and that which is to come unto them, and they ſhall not comprehend any thing of his knowledge, but ſo far as he pleaſeth. His throne is extended over heaven and earth [f], and the preſervation of both is

[a] *And they drank thereof except a few*, &c.] The number of thoſe who drank out of their hands were about 313 [1]. It ſeems that *Mohammed* has here confounded *Saul* with *Gideon*, who by the divine direction took with him againſt the *Midianites* ſuch of his army only, as lapped water out of their hands, which were 300 men [2].

[b] *Jâlût*] Or *Goliah*.

[c] *His will*;] Or *what he pleaſed* to teach him. *Yahya* moſt rationally underſtands hereby the divine revelations which *David* received from GOD; but *Jallalo'ddin* the art of making coats of mail (which the *Mohammedans* believe was that prophet's peculiar trade) and the knowledge of the language of birds.

[d] See before p. 12. Note a.

[e] *God! there is no God but he*, &c.] The following ſeven lines contain a magnificent deſcription of the divine majeſty and providence; but it muſt not be ſuppoſed the tranſlation comes up to the dignity of the original. This paſſage is juſtly admired by the *Mohammedans*, who recite it in their prayers; and ſome of them wear it about them, engraved on an agate or other precious ſtone [3].

[f] *His throne is extended over heaven and earth*, &c.] This throne, in *Arabic* called *Corſi*, is by the *Mohammedans* ſuppoſed to be GOD's tribunal, or ſeat of juſtice; being placed under that other called *al Arſh*, which they ſay is his imperial throne. The *Corſi* allegorically ſignifies the divine providence, which ſuſtains and governs the heaven and the earth, and is infinitely above humane comprehenſion [4].

[1] *Idem*, YAHYA. [2] *Judges* vii. [3] *V.* BOBOV. *de prec. Moham. p.* 5. & RELAND. *Diſſert. de gemmis Arab. p.* 235, 239. [4] *Vid.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art.* Corſi.

is no burthen unto him. He is the high, the mighty. Let there be no violence in religion [a]. Now is right direction manifeſtly diſtinguiſhed from deceit: whoever therefore ſhall deny TAGUT [b], and believe in GOD, he ſhall ſurely take hold on a ſtrong handle, which ſhall not be broken; GOD is he who heareth and ſeeth. GOD is the patron of thoſe who believe; he ſhall lead them out of darkneſs into light: but *as to* thoſe who believe not, their patrons are TAGUT; they ſhall lead them from the light into darkneſs; they ſhall be the companions of *hell* fire, they ſhall remain therein for ever. Haſt thou not conſidered him who diſputed with ABRAHAM concerning his LORD [c], becauſe GOD had given him the kingdom? When ABRAHAM ſaid, My LORD is he who giveth life, and killeth: he anſwered, I give life, and I kill. ABRAHAM ſaid, Verily GOD bringeth the ſun from the eaſt, now do thou bring it from the weſt. Whereupon the infidel was confounded; for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Or *haſt thou not conſidered* how he *behaved* who paſſed by a city which had been deſtroyed, even to her foundations [d]? He ſaid, How ſhall GOD quicken this *city*, after ſhe hath been dead? And GOD cauſed him to die for an hundred years, and afterwards raiſed him to life. *And* GOD ſaid, How long haſt thou tarried *here?* He anſwered, A day, or part of a day. GOD ſaid, Nay, thou haſt tarried *here* an hundred years. Now look on thy food and thy drink, they are not yet corrupted; and look on thine aſs: and this *have we done* that we might make thee a ſign unto men. And look on the bones *of thine aſs*, how we raiſe them, and afterwards cloath them with fleſh. And when *this* was ſhewn unto him, he ſaid, I know that GOD is able to do all things. And when ABRAHAM ſaid, O LORD, ſhew me how thou wilt raiſe the dead [e]; GOD ſaid, Doſt thou not yet believe? He anſwer-

[a] *Let there be no violence in religion.*] This paſſage was particularly directed to ſome of *Mohammed*'s firſt proſelytes, who having ſons that had been brought up in idolatry or *Judaiſm*, would oblige them to embrace *Mohammediſm* by force [1].

[b] *Tâgût.*] This word properly ſignifies *an idol*, or whatever is worſhipped beſides GOD; particularly the two idols of the *Meccans*, *Allât*, and *al Uzza*; and alſo the devil, or any ſeducer.

[c] *Him who diſputed with* Abraham, *&c.*] This was *Nimrod*; who, as the commentators ſay, to prove his power of life and death by ocular demonſtration, cauſed two men to be brought before him at the ſame time, one of whom he ſlew, and ſaved the other alive. As to this tyrant's perſecution of *Abraham*, ſee chap. 21. and the notes thereon.

[d] *Haſt thou not conſidered him who paſſed by a city which had been deſtroyed,* &c.] The perſon here meant, was *Ozair* or *Ezra*, who riding on an aſs by the ruins of *Jeruſalem*, after it had been deſtroyed by the *Chaldeans*, doubted in his mind by what means GOD could raiſe the city and its inhabitants again; whereupon GOD cauſed him to die, and he remained in that condition 100 years; at the end of which GOD reſtored him to life, and he found a basket of figs and a cruſe of wine he had with him, not in the leaſt ſpoiled or corrupted, but his aſs was dead, the bones only remaining; and theſe, while the prophet looked on, were raiſed and cloathed with fleſh, becoming an aſs again, which being inſpired with life, began immediately to bray [2].

This apocryphal ſtory may perhaps have taken its riſe from *Nehemiah*'s viewing of the ruins of *Jeruſalem* [3].

[e] *When* Abraham *ſaid,* LORD *ſhew me how thou wilt raiſe the dead.*] The occaſion of this requeſt of *Abraham* is ſaid to have been on a doubt propoſed to him by the devil, in human form, how it was poſſible for the ſeveral parts of the corps of a man which lay on the ſea ſhore, and had been partly devoured by the wild beaſts, the birds, and the fiſh, to be brought together at the reſurrection [4].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, *&c. See* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art.* Ozair. [3] *Nehem.* ii. 12. *&c.* [4] *See* D'HERBELOT, *p.* 13.

anſwered, Yea; but *I aſk this* that my heart may reſt at eaſe. GOD ſaid, take therefore four birds, and divide them [a]; then lay a part of them on every mountain; then call them, and they ſhall come ſwiftly unto thee: and know that GOD is mighty and wiſe. The ſimilitude of thoſe who lay out their ſubſtance for advancing the religion of GOD, is as a grain *of corn* which produceth ſeven ears, and in every ear an hundred grains; for GOD giveth twofold unto whom he pleaſeth: GOD is bounteous and wiſe. They who lay out their ſubſtance for the religion of GOD, and afterwards follow not what they have *ſo* laid out by reproaches or miſchief [b], they ſhall have their reward with their their LORD; upon them ſhall no fear come, neither ſhall they be grieved. A fair ſpeech, and to forgive, is better than alms followed by miſchief. GOD is rich and merciful. O true believers, make not your alms of none effect by reproaching, or miſchief, as he who layeth out what he hath to appear unto men *to give alms*, and believeth not in GOD and the laſt day. The likeneſs of ſuch a one, is as a flint covered with earth, on which a violent rain falleth, and leaveth it hard. They cannot proſper in any thing which they have gained, for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. And the likeneſs of thoſe who lay out their ſubſtance from a deſire to pleaſe GOD, and for an eſtabliſhment for their ſouls, is as a garden on a hill, on which a violent rain falleth, and it bringeth forth its fruits twofold; and if a violent rain falleth not on it, yet the dew *falleth thereon*: and GOD ſeeth that which ye do. Doth any of you deſire to have a garden of palm-trees and vines [c], through which rivers flow, wherein he may have all *kinds of* fruits, and that he may attain to old age, and have a weak off-ſpring? then a violent fiery wind ſhall ſtrike it, ſo that it ſhall be burned. Thus GOD declareth his ſigns unto you, that ye may conſider. O true believers beſtow *alms* of the good things which ye have gained, and of that which we have produced for you out of the earth, and chuſe not the bad thereof, to give it *in alms*, ſuch as ye would not accept your ſelves, otherwiſe than by connivance [d]: and know that GOD is rich and worthy to be praiſed. The devil threateneth you with poverty, and commandeth you filthy covetouſneſs; but GOD promiſeth you pardon from himſelf and abundance: GOD is bounteous and wiſe. He giveth wiſdom unto

[a] *Take four birds and divide them.*] Theſe birds, according to the commentators, were an eagle (a dove, ſay others) a peacock, a raven, and a cock; which *Abraham* cut to pieces, and mingled their fleſh and feathers together, or, as ſome tell us, pounded all in a mortar, and dividing the maſs into four parts, laid them on ſo many mountains, but kept the heads, which he had preſerved whole, in his hand. Then he called them each by their name, and immediately one part flew to the other, till they all recovered their firſt ſhape, and then came to be joined to their reſpective heads [1].

This ſeems to be taken from *Abraham*'s ſacrifice of birds mentioned by *Moſes* [2], with ſome additional circumſtances.

[b] *And follow not alms by reproaches or miſchief*, &c.] i. e. Either by reproaching the perſon whom they have relieved, with what they have done for them; or by expoſing his poverty to his prejudice [3].

[c] *Doth any of you deſire a garden*, &c.] This garden is an emblem of alms given out of hypocriſy, or attended with reproaches, which periſh, and will be of no ſervice hereafter to the giver [4].

[d] *By connivance.*] That is, on having ſome amends made by the ſeller of ſuch goods, either by abatement of the price, or giving ſomething elſe to the buyer to make up the value.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. *See* D'HERBELOT. *ubi ſupra.* [2] *Gen.* XV. [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Idem.*

to whom he pleaſeth; and he unto whom wiſdom is given, hath received much good: but none will conſider, except the *wiſe* of heart. And whatever alms ye ſhall give, or *whatever* vow ye ſhall vow, verily GOD knoweth it; but the ungodly ſhall have none to help *them*. If ye make your alms to appear, it is well; but if ye conceal them, and give them unto the poor, this *will be* better for you, and will atone for your ſins: and GOD is well informed of that which ye do. The direction of them belongeth not unto thee; but GOD directeth whom he pleaſeth. The good that ye ſhall give *in alms ſhall redound* unto your ſelves; and ye ſhall not give unleſs out of deſire of *ſeeing* the face of GOD [a]. And what good thing ye ſhall give *in alms*, it ſhall be repaid you, and ye ſhall not be treated unjuſtly; unto the poor who are wholly employed in fighting for the religion of GOD, and cannot go to and fro in the earth; whom the ignorant man thinketh rich, becauſe of their modeſty: thou ſhalt know them by this mark, they ask not men with importunity; and what good ye ſhall give *in alms*, verily GOD knoweth it. They who diſtribute *alms of* their ſubſtance night and day, in private and in public, ſhall have their reward with their LORD; on them ſhall no fear come, neither ſhall they be grieved. They who devour uſury ſhall not ariſe *from the dead*, but as he ariſeth whom SATAN hath infected by a touch [b]: this *ſhall happen to them* becauſe they ſay, Truly ſelling is but as uſury: and yet GOD hath permitted ſelling and forbidden uſury. He therefore who when there cometh unto him an admonition from his LORD, abſtaineth *from uſury for the future*, ſhall have what is paſt *forgiven him*, and his affair belongeth unto GOD. But whoever returneth *to uſury*, they ſhall be the companions of *hell* fire, they ſhall continue therein for ever. GOD ſhall take his bleſſing from uſury, and ſhall increaſe alms: for GOD loveth no infidel, or ungodly perſon. But they who believe and do that which is right, and obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and pay their legal alms, they ſhall have their reward with their LORD: there ſhall come no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. O true believers, fear GOD, and remit that which remaineth of uſury [c], if ye *really* believe; but if ye do it not, hearken unto war, *which is declared againſt you* from GOD and his apoſtle: yet if ye repent, ye ſhall have the capital of your money. Deal not unjuſtly *with others*, and ye ſhall not be dealt with unjuſtly. If there be any *debtor* under a difficulty *of paying his debt*, let *his creditor* wait till it be eaſy *for him to do it*; but if ye remit it as alms, it will be better for you, if ye knew it. And fear the day wherein ye ſhall return unto GOD, then ſhall every ſoul be paid what it hath gained, and they ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. O true believers, when ye bind yourſelves one to the

[a] *Out of deſire of ſeeing the face of* GOD.] i. e. For the ſake of a reward hereafter, and not for any worldly conſideration [1].

[b] *As he whom* Satan *hath infected*, &c.] viz. Like *dæmoniacs* or poſſeſſed perſons, that is, in great horror and diſtraction of mind and convulſive agitation of body.

[c] *Remit what remaineth of uſury*,] Or the intereſt due before uſury was prohibited. For this ſome of *Mohammed*'s followers exacted of their debtors, ſuppoſing they lawfully might [2].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.*

other in a debt for a certain time, write it down; and let a writer write between you according to juſtice, and let not the writer refuſe writing according to what GOD hath taught him; but let him write, and let him who oweth the debt dictate, and let him fear GOD his LORD, and not diminiſh ought thereof. But if he who oweth the debt be fooliſh, or weak, or be not able to dictate himſelf, let his agent [a] dictate according to equity; and call to witneſs two witneſſes of your *neighbouring* men; but if there be not two men, *let there be* a man and two women of thoſe whom ye ſhall chooſe for witneſſes: if one of thoſe *women* ſhould miſtake, the other of them will cauſe her to recollect. And the witneſſes ſhall not refuſe, whenſoever they ſhall be called. And diſdain not to write it down, be it a large *debt*, or be it a ſmall one, until its time *of payment*: this will be more juſt in the ſight of GOD, and more right for bearing witneſs, and more eaſy, that ye may not doubt. But if it be a preſent bargain which ye tranſact between your ſelves, it ſhall be no crime in you, if ye write it not down. And take witneſſes when ye ſell one to the other, and let no harm be done to the writer, nor to the witneſs; *which* if ye do, it will ſurely be injuſtice in you: and fear GOD, and GOD will inſtruct you, for GOD knoweth all things. And if ye be on a journey, and find no writer, *let* pledges *be* taken: but if one of you truſt the other, let him who is truſted return what he is truſted with, and fear GOD his LORD. And conceal not the teſtimony, for he who concealeth it, hath ſurely a wicked heart: GOD knoweth that which ye do. Whatever is in heaven, and on earth is GOD's: and whether ye manifeſt that which is in your minds, or conceal it, GOD will call you to account for it, and will forgive whom he pleaſeth, and will puniſh whom he pleaſeth; for GOD is almighty. The apoſtle believeth in that which hath been ſent down unto him from his LORD, and the faithful *alſo*. Every one *of them* believeth in GOD, and his angels, and his ſcriptures, and his apoſtles: we make no diſtinction at all between his apoſtles [b]. And they ſay, We have heard, and do obey: *we implore* thy mercy, O LORD, for unto thee muſt we return. GOD will not force any ſoul beyond its capacity: it ſhall have *the good* which it gaineth, and it ſhall ſuffer *the evil* which it gaineth. O LORD puniſh us not, if we forget, or act ſinfully: O LORD lay not on us a burthen like that which thou haſt laid on thoſe who have been before us [c]; neither make us, O LORD, to bear what we have not ſtrength to *bear*, but be favourable unto us, and ſpare us, and be merciful unto us. Thou art our patron, help us therefore againſt the unbelieving nations.

CHAP.

[a] *His agent.*] Whoever manages his affairs, whether his father, heir, guardian, or interpreter [1].

[b] *We make no diſtinction between his apoſtles.*] But this, ſay the *Mohammedans*, the *Jews* do, who receive *Moſes*, but reject *Jeſus*; and the *Chriſtians*, who receive both thoſe prophets, but reject *Mohammed* [2].

[c] *Lay not on us ſuch a burthen, as thou didſt lay on thoſe who have been before us;*] That is on the *Jews*, who, as the commentators tell us, were ordered to kill a man by way of atonement, to give one fourth of their ſubſtance in alms, and to cut off an unclean ulcerous part [3], and were forbidden to eat fat, or animals that divided the hoof, and were obliged to obſerve the ſabbath, and other particulars wherein the *Mohammedans* are at liberty [4].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] YAHYA.

CHAP. III.

Intitled, The family of IMRAN[a]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

ALIF. LAM. MIM.[b] There is no GOD but GOD, the living, the ſelf-ſubſiſting: He hath ſent down unto thee the book *of the* KORAN with truth, confirming that which was *revealed* before it; for he had formerly ſent down the law, and the goſpel, a direction unto men; and he had alſo ſent down the diſtinction *between good and evil.* Verily thoſe who believe not the ſigns of GOD, ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment; for GOD is mighty, able to revenge. Surely nothing is hidden from GOD, *of that which is* on earth, or in heaven: it is he who formeth you in the wombs, as he pleaſeth; there is no God but he, the mighty, the wiſe. It is he who hath ſent down unto thee the book, wherein are ſome verſes clear to be underſtood, they are the foundation of the book; and others are parabolical[c]. But they whoſe hearts are perverſe will follow that which is parabolical therein, out of love of ſchiſm, and a deſire of the interpretation thereof; yet none knoweth the interpretation thereof, except GOD. But they who are well grounded in knowledge ſay, We believe therein, the whole is from our LORD; and none will conſider except the prudent. O LORD, cauſe not our hearts to ſwerve *from truth,* after thou haſt directed us: and give us from thee mercy, for thou art he who giveth. O LORD, thou ſhalt ſurely gather mankind together, unto a day *of reſurrection:* there is no doubt of it, for GOD will not be contrary to the promiſe. As for the infidels, their wealth ſhall not profit them any thing, nor their children, againſt GOD: they ſhall be the fewel of *hell* fire. According to the wont of the people of PHARAOH, and of thoſe who went before them, they charged our ſigns with a lie; but GOD caught them in their wickedneſs, and GOD is ſevere in puniſhing. Say unto thoſe who believe not, Ye ſhall be overcome, and thrown together into hell; an unhappy couch *ſhall it be.* Ye

[a] *Imrân.*] This name is given in the *Koran* to the father of the virgin *Mary.* See below, p. 38.

[b] *A. L. M.*] For the meaning of theſe letters, the reader is referred to the Preliminary Diſcourſe, Sect. III.

[c] *Wherein are ſome verſes clear to be underſtood, ——and others are parabolical.*] This paſſage is tranſlated according to the expoſition of *al Zamakhſhari* and *al Beidâwi,* which ſeems to be the trueſt.

The contents of the *Korân* are here diſtinguiſhed into ſuch paſſages as are to be taken in the literal ſenſe, and ſuch as require a figurative acceptation. The former being plain and obvious to be underſtood, compoſe the fundamental part, or, as the original expreſſes it, *the mother* of the book, and contain the principal doctrines and precepts; agreeably to, and conſiſtently with which, thoſe paſſages which are wrapt up in metaphors, and delivered in an ænigmatical, allegorical ſtile, are always to be interpreted [1].

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. III.

have already had a miracle *ſhewn you* in two armies, which attacked each other [a]: one army fought for GOD's true religion, but the other were infidels; they ſaw *the faithful* twice as many as themſelves in *their* eye-ſight; for GOD ſtrengtheneth with his help whom he pleaſeth. Surely herein was an example unto men of underſtanding. The love and eager deſire of wives, and children, and ſums heaped up of gold and ſilver, and excellent horſes, and cattle, and land, is prepared for men: this is the proviſion of the preſent life; but unto GOD ſhall be the moſt excellent return. Say, Shall I declare unto you better *things* than this? For thoſe who are devout *are prepared* with their LORD, gardens through which rivers flow; therein ſhall they continue for ever: and *they ſhall enjoy* wives free from impurity, and the favour of GOD; for GOD regardeth *his* ſervants; who ſay, O LORD we do ſincerely believe; forgive us therefore our ſins, and deliver us from the pain of *hell* fire: the patient, and the lovers of truth, and the devout, and the almſgivers, and thoſe who ask pardon *early* in the morning. GOD hath born witneſs that there is no GOD but he; and the angels, and *thoſe who are* endowed with wiſdom *profeſs the ſame*; who executeth righteouſneſs; there is no GOD but he; the mighty, the wiſe. Verily the *true* religion in the ſight of GOD, is ISLAM [b]; and they who had received the ſcriptures diſſented not *therefrom*, until after the knowledge *of GOD's unity* had come unto them, out of envy among themſelves; but whoſoever believeth not in the ſigns of GOD, verily GOD will be ſwift in *bringing him to* account. If they diſpute with thee, ſay,

[a] *Ye have already had a miracle ſhewn you in two armies*, &c.] The ſign or miracle here meant, was the victory gained by *Mohammed* in the ſecond year of the *Hejra*, over the idolatrous *Meccans*, headed by *Abu Sofiân*, in the valley of *Bedr*, which is ſituate near the ſea between *Mecca* and *Medina*. *Mohammed*'s forces conſiſted of no more than three hundred and nineteen men, but the enemies army of near a thouſand; notwithſtanding which odds, he put them to flight, having killed ſeventy of the principal *Koreiſh*, and taken as many priſoners, with the loſs of only fourteen of his own men [1]. This was the firſt victory obtained by the prophet, and tho' it may ſeem no very conſiderable action, yet it was of great advantage to him, and the foundation of all his future power and ſucceſs. For which reaſon it is famous in the *Arabian* hiſtory, and more than once vaunted in the *Koran* [2], as an effect of the divine aſſiſtance. The miracle, it is ſaid, conſiſted in three things; 1. *Mohammed*, by the direction of the angel *Gabriel*, took a handful of gravel and threw it towards the enemy in the attack, ſaying, *May their faces be confounded*; whereupon they immediately turned their backs and fled. But, tho' the prophet ſeemingly threw the gravel himſelf, yet he is told in the *Korân* [3], that it was not he, but GOD, who threw it; that is to ſay, by the miniſtry of his angel. 2. The *Mohammedan* troops ſeemed to the infidels to be twice as many in number as themſelves, which greatly diſcouraged them. And, 3. GOD ſent down to their aſſiſtance firſt a thouſand, and afterwards three thouſand angels, led by *Gabriel*, mounted on his horſe *Haizûm*; and according to the *Korân* [4], theſe celeſtial auxiliaries really did all the execution, tho' *Mohammed*'s men imagined themſelves did it, and fought ſtoutly at the ſame time.

[b] *Iſlâm.*] The proper name of the *Mohammedan* religion, which ſignifies the *reſigning* or *devoting one's ſelf* entirely to GOD and his ſervice. This they ſay is the religion which all the prophets were ſent to teach, being founded on the unity of GOD [5].

[1] *See* ELMACIN. *p.* 5. HOTTINGER. *Hiſt. Orient. l.* 2 *c.* 4. ABULFED. *vit. Moham. p.* 56, *&c.* PRIDEAUX's *Life of Mahom. p.* 71. *&c.* [2] *See this chap. below, & chap.* 8, & 32. [3] *Chap.* 8. *not far from the beginning.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI.

ſay, I have reſigned my ſelf unto GOD, and he who followeth me *doth the ſame*: and ſay unto them who have received the ſcriptures, and to the ignorant [a], Do ye profeſs *the religion of* ISLAM? now if they embrace ISLAM, they are ſurely directed; but if they turn their backs, verily unto thee *belongeth* preaching *only*; for GOD regardeth his ſervants. And unto thoſe who believe not in the ſigns of GOD, and ſlay the prophets without a cauſe, and put thoſe men to death who teach juſtice; denounce unto them a painful puniſhment. Theſe are they whoſe works periſh in this world, and in that which is to come; and they ſhall have none to help them. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe unto whom part of the ſcripture was given [b]? They were called unto the book of GOD, that it might judge between them [c]; then ſome of them turned their backs, and retired afar off. This *they did* becauſe they ſaid, The fire *of hell* ſhall by no means touch us, but for a *certain* number of days [d]: and that which they had falſly deviſed, hath deceived them in their religion. How then *will it be with them*, when we ſhall gather them together at the day *of judgment* [e], of which there is no doubt; and every ſoul ſhall be paid that which it hath gained, neither ſhall they be treated unjuſtly? Say, O GOD, who poſ-

ſeſſeſt

[a] *The ignorant*;] i. e. The pagan *Arabs*, who had no knowledge of the ſcriptures [1].

[b] *Thoſe unto whom part of the ſcripture was given*;] That is, the *Jews*.

[c] *They were called unto the book of* GOD, *&c.*] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of a diſpute *Mohammed* had with ſome *Jews*, which is differently related by the commentators.

Al Beidâwi ſays, That *Mohammed* going one day into a *Jewiſh* ſynagogue, *Naïm Ebn Amru* and *al Hareth Ebn Zeid* asked him what religion he was of? To which he anſwering, Of the religion of *Abraham*; they replied, *Abraham* was a *Jew*; but on *Mohammed*'s propoſing that the *Pentateuch* might decide the queſtion, they would by no means agree to it.

But *Jallalo'ddin* tells us, That two perſons of the *Jewiſh* religion having committed adultery, their puniſhment was referred to *Mohammed*, who gave ſentence that they ſhould be ſtoned, according to the law of *Moſes*. This the *Jews* refuſed to ſubmit to, alledging there was no ſuch command in the *Pentateuch*: but on *Mohammed*'s appealing to the book, the ſaid law was found therein. Whereupon the criminals were ſtoned, to the great mortification of the *Jews*.

It is very remarkable that this law of *Moſes* concerning the ſtoning of adulterers is mentioned in the *New Teſtament* [2] (tho' I know ſome diſpute the authentickneſs of that whole paſſage) but is not now to be found, either in the *Hebrew* or *Samaritan Pentateuch*, or in the *Septuagint*; it being only ſaid that ſuch *ſhall be put to death* [3]. This omiſſion is inſiſted on by the *Mohammedans* as one inſtance of the corruption of the law of *Moſes* by the *Jews*.

It is alſo obſervable that there was a verſe once extant in the *Korân*, commanding adulterers to be ſtoned; and the commentators ſay the words only are abrogated, the ſenſe or law ſtill remaining in force [4].

[d] *A certain number of days*;] i. e. Forty; the time their forefathers worſhipped the calf [5]. *Al Beidâwi* adds, that ſome of them pretended their puniſhment was to laſt but ſeven days, that is a day for every thouſand years which they ſuppoſed the world was to endure; and that they imagined they were to be ſo mildly dealt with, either by reaſon of the interceſſion of their fathers the prophets, or becauſe GOD had promiſed *Jacob*, that his offspring ſhould be puniſhed but ſlightly.

[e] *How will it be with them*, &c.] The *Mohammedans* have a tradition, that the firſt banner of the infidels that ſhall be ſet up, on the day of judgment, will be that of the *Jews*; and that GOD will firſt reproach them with their wickedneſs, over the heads of thoſe who are preſent, and then order them to hell [6].

[1] *Iidem* [2] *John* viii. 5. [3] *Lev.* xx. 10. *See* WHISTON's *Eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the* Old Teſt. *p.* 99, 100. [4] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. 3. [5] *See before p.* 71. *Not. b.* [6] *Al* BEIDAWI.

ſeſſeſt the kingdom; thou giveſt the kingdom unto whom thou wilt, and thou takeſt away the kingdom from whom thou wilt: thou exalteſt whom thou wilt, and thou humbleſt whom thou wilt: in thy hand is good, for thou art almighty. Thou makeſt the night to ſucceed the day: thou bringeſt forth the living out of the dead, and thou bringeſt forth the dead out of the living [a]; and provideſt food for whom thou wilt without meaſure. Let not the faithful take the infidels for their protectors, rather than the faithful: he who doth this, ſhall not be *protected* of GOD at all; unleſs ye fear any danger from them: but GOD warneth you to beware of himſelf; for unto GOD muſt ye return. Say, Whether ye conceal that which is in your breaſts, or whether ye declare it, GOD knoweth it; for he knoweth whatever is in heaven, and whatever is on earth: GOD is almighty. On the *laſt* day every ſoul ſhall find the good which it hath wrought, preſent; and the evil which it hath wrought, it ſhall wiſh that between it ſelf and that were a wide diſtance: but GOD warneth you to beware of himſelf; for GOD is gracious unto his ſervants. Say, If ye love GOD, follow me: *then* GOD ſhall love you, and forgive you your ſins; for GOD is gracious, and merciful. Say, Obey GOD, and *his* apoſtle: but if ye go back, verily GOD loveth not the unbelievers. GOD hath ſurely choſen ADAM, and NOAH, and the family of ABRAHAM, and the family of IMRAN [b] above the *reſt*

[a] *Thou bringeſt forth the living out of the dead, and the dead out of the living;*] As a man from ſeed, and a bird from an egg; and *vice verſâ* [1].

[b] *Imrân,*] Or *Amrân*, is the name of two ſeveral perſons, according to the *Mohammedan* tradition. One was the father of *Moſes* and *Aaron*; and the other was the father of the virgin *Mary* [2]; but he is called by ſome *Chriſtian* writers *Joachim*. The commentators ſuppoſe the firſt, or rather both of them to be meant in this place; however the perſon intended in the next paſſage, it is agreed, was the latter; who beſides *Mary* the mother of JESUS, had alſo a ſon named *Aaron* [3], and another daughter, named *Iſhâ* (or *Elizabeth*) who married *Zacharias*, and was the mother of *John* the *Baptiſt*; whence that prophet and JESUS are uſually called by the *Mohammedans*, *The two ſons of the aunt*, or the couſin germans.

From the identity of names it has been generally imagined by *Chriſtian* writers [4] that the *Korân* here confounds *Mary* the mother of JESUS, with *Mary* or *Miriam*, the ſiſter of *Moſes* and *Aaron*; which intolerable anachroniſm, if it were certain, is ſufficient of it ſelf to deſtroy the pretended authority of this book. But tho' *Mohammed* may be ſuppoſed to have been ignorant enough in ancient hiſtory and chronology, to have committed ſo groſs a blunder; yet I do not ſee how it can be made out from the words of the *Korân*. For it does not follow, becauſe two perſons have the ſame name, and have each a father and brother who bear the ſame names, that they muſt therefore neceſſarily be the ſame perſon: beſides ſuch a miſtake is inconſiſtent with a number of other places in the *Korân*, whereby it manifeſtly appears, that *Mohammed* well knew and aſſerted that *Moſes* preceded JESUS ſeveral ages. And the commentators accordingly fail not to tell us, that there had paſſed about one thouſand eight hundred years between *Amrân* the father of *Moſes*, and *Amrân* the father of the virgin *Mary*: they alſo make them the ſons of different perſons; the firſt, they ſay, was the ſon of *Yeſhar*, or *Izhar* (tho' he was really his brother) [5] the ſon of *Kâhath*, the ſon of *Levi*; and the other was the ſon of *Mathân* [6], whoſe genealogy they trace, but in a very corrupt and imperfect manner, up to *David*, and thence to *Adam* [7].

It

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, *al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Korân, c.* 19. [4] *V.* RELAND. *de rel. Moh. p.* 211. MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 115, *&c.* PRIDEAUX, *letter to the Deiſts, p.* 185. [5] *Exod.* vi. 18. [6] *Al* ZAMAKH. *al* BEIDAWI. [7] *V.* RELAND. *ubi ſup.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 583.

reſt of the world; a race *deſcending* the one from the other: GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. *Remember* when the wife of IMRAN [a] ſaid, LORD, verily I have vowed unto thee that which is in my womb, to be dedicated *to thy ſervice* [b]: accept *it* therefore of me; for thou art he who heareth and knoweth. And when ſhe was delivered of it, ſhe ſaid, LORD, verily I have brought forth a female, (and GOD well knew what ſhe had brought forth) and a male is not as a female [c]: I have called her MARY; and I commend her to thy protection, and *alſo* her iſſue, againſt SATAN driven away with ſtones [d]. Therefore the LORD accepted her with a gracious acceptance [e], and cauſed her to bear an excellent offspring. And ZACHARIAS took care of *the child*; whenever ZACHARIAS went into the chamber to her, he found proviſions with her [f]: *and* he ſaid, O MARY, whence hadſt thou this? ſhe anſwered, This is from GOD: for GOD provideth for whom he pleaſeth without meaſure.

It muſt be obſerved, that tho' the virgin *Mary* is called in the *Korân* [1], the ſiſter of *Aaron*, yet ſhe is no where called the ſiſter of *Moſes*; however ſome *Mohammedan* writers have imagined that the ſame individual *Mary* the ſiſter of *Moſes*, was miraculouſly preſerved alive from his time till that of JESUS CHRIST, purpoſely to become the mother of the latter [2].

[a] *The wife of* Imrân.] The *Imrân* here mentioned, was the father of the virgin *Mary*, and his wife's name was *Hannah* or *Ann*, the daughter of *Fakudh*. This woman, ſay the commentators, being aged, and barren, on ſeeing a bird feed her young ones, became very deſirous of iſſue, and begged a child of GOD, promiſing to conſecrate it to his ſervice in the temple; whereupon ſhe had a child, but it proved a daughter [3].

[b] *Dedicated to thy ſervice.*] The *Arabic* word is *free*; but here ſignifies particularly one that is *free* or detached from all worldly deſires and occupations, and wholly devoted to GOD's ſervice *.

[c] *A male is not as a female*;] Becauſe a female could not miniſter in the temple as a male could [5].

[d] Satan *driven away with ſtones.*] This expreſſion alludes to a tradition, that *Abraham*, when the devil tempted him to diſobey GOD in not ſacrificing his ſon, drove the fiend away by throwing ſtones at him; in memory of which the *Mohammedans*, at the pilgrimage of *Mecca*, throw a certain number of ſtones at the devil, with certain ceremonies, in the valley of *Mina* [6].

It is not improbable that the pretended immaculate conception of the virgin *Mary* is intimated in this paſſage. For according to a tradition of *Mohammed*, every perſon that comes into the world, is touched at his birth by the devil, and therefore cries out, *Mary* and her ſon only excepted; between whom, and the evil ſpirit GOD placed a veil, ſo that his touch did not reach them [7]. And for this reaſon they ſay, neither of them were guilty of any ſin, like the reſt of the children of *Adam* [8]; which peculiar grace they obtained by virtue of this recommendation of them by *Hannah* to GOD's protection.

[e] *The* LORD *accepted her*, &c.] Though the child happened not to be a male, yet her mother preſented her to the prieſts who had the care of the temple, as one dedicated to GOD; and they having received her, ſhe was committed to the care of *Zacharias*, as will be obſerved by and by, and he built her an apartment in the temple, and ſupplied her with neceſſaries [9].

[f] *Whenever* Zacharias *went into the chamber, he found proviſions with her*, &c.] The commentators ſay that none went into *Mary*'s apartment but *Zacharias* himſelf, and that he locked ſeven doors upon her; yet he found ſhe had always winter fruits in ſummer, and ſummer fruits in winter [10].

[1] *Chap.* 19. [2] *V.* GUADAGNOL. *Apolog. pro rel. Chriſt. contra Ahmed Ebn Zein al Abedin. p.* 279. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, *al* THALABI. [4] JALLALO'DDIN, *al* ZAMAKHSHARI. [5] JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *See the Prelim. Diſ.* § 4. [7] JALLALO'DDIN. *al* BEIDAWI. [8] KITADA. [9] JALLALO'DDIN. *al* BEIDAWI. *V.* LUD. *de* DIEU, *in not. ad Hiſt. Chriſti Xaverii, p.* 542. [10] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V. de* DIEU, *ub. ſupr. p.* 548.

ſure [a]. There ZACHARIAS called on his LORD, *and* ſaid, LORD, give me from thee a good offſpring, for thou art the hearer of prayer. And the angels [b] called to him, while he ſtood praying in the chamber, *ſaying*, Verily GOD promiſeth thee *a ſon named* JOHN, who ſhall bear witneſs to the Word [c] *which cometh* from GOD; an honourable perſon, chaſt [d], and one of the righteous prophets. He anſwered, LORD, how ſhall I have a ſon, when old age hath overtaken me [e], and my wife is barren? *The angel* ſaid, So GOD doth that which he pleaſeth. *ZACHARIAS* anſwered, LORD, give me a ſign. *The angel* ſaid, Thy ſign ſhall be, that thou ſhalt ſpeak unto no man [f] for three days, otherwiſe than by geſture: remember thy LORD often, and praiſe *him* evening and morning. And when the angels ſaid, O MARY, verily GOD hath choſen thee, and hath purified thee, and hath choſen thee above *all* the women of the world: O MARY, be devout towards thy LORD, and worſhip, and bow down with thoſe who bow down. This is a ſecret hiſtory: we reveal it unto thee, although thou waſt not preſent with them when they threw in their rods *to caſt lots* which of them ſhould have the education of MARY [g]; neither waſt thou with them, when they ſtrove among themſelves. When the angels ſaid; O MARY, verily GOD ſendeth thee good tidings, *that thou ſhalt bear* the Word, *proceeding* from himſelf; his name ſhall be CHRIST JESUS the ſon of MARY, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and *one* of thoſe who approach near *to the preſence of GOD*; and he ſhall ſpeak unto

[a] There is a ſtory of *Fâtema*, *Mohammed*'s daughter, that ſhe once brought two loaves and a piece of fleſh to her father, who returned them to her, and having called for her again, when ſhe uncovered the diſh, it was full of bread and meat; and on *Mohammed*'s asking her whence ſhe had it? ſhe anſwered in the words of this paſſage, *This is from* GOD; *for* GOD *provideth for whom he pleaſeth without meaſure.* Whereupon he bleſſed GOD, who thus favoured her, as he had the moſt excellent of the daughters of *Iſrael* [1].

[b] *The Angels*;] Tho' the word be in the plural, yet the commentators ſay, it was the angel *Gabriel* only. The ſame is to be underſtood where it occurs in the following paſſages.

[c] *The Word*;] That is JESUS; who, *al Beidâwi* ſays, is ſo called, becauſe he was conceived by the word or command of GOD, without a father.

[d] *Chaſt.*] The original word ſignifies one who refrains not only from women, but from all other worldly delights and deſires. *Al Beidâwi* mentions a tradition, that during his childhood ſome boys invited him to play, but he refuſed, ſaying that he was not created to play.

[e] *When old age hath overtaken me*, &c.] *Zacharias* was then ninety nine years old, and his wife eighty nine [2].

[f] *Thou ſhalt ſpeak to no man for three days*;] Though he could not ſpeak to any body elſe, yet his tongue was at liberty to praiſe GOD; as he is directed to do by the following words.

[g] *When they threw in their rods*, &c.] When *Mary* was firſt brought to the temple, the prieſts, becauſe ſhe was the daughter of one of their chiefs, diſputed among themſelves, who ſhould have the education of her. *Zacharias* inſiſted that he ought to be preferred, becauſe he had married her aunt; but the others not conſenting that it ſhould be ſo, they agreed to decide the matter by caſting of lots: whereupon twenty ſeven of them went to the river *Jordan*, and threw in their rods (or arrows without heads or feathers, ſuch as the *Arabs* uſed for the ſame purpoſe) on which they had written ſome paſſages of the law, but they all ſunk, except that of *Zacharias*, which floated on the water; and he had thereupon the care of the child committed to him [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.*

unto men in the cradle [a], and when he is grown up [b]; and he ſhall be *one* of the righteous: ſhe anſwered, LORD, how ſhall I have a ſon, ſince a man hath not touched me? *the angel* ſaid, So GOD createth that which he pleaſeth: when he decreeth a thing, he only ſaith unto it, Be, and it is: *GOD* ſhall teach him the ſcripture, and wiſdom, and the law, and the goſpel; and *ſhall appoint him his* apoſtle to the children of ISRAEL; *and he ſhall ſay*, Verily I come unto you with a ſign from your LORD; for I will make before you, of clay, as it were the figure of a bird [c]; then I will breathe thereon, and it ſhall become a bird, by the permiſſion of GOD [d]: and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth; and the leper: and I will raiſe the dead [e] by the permiſſion of GOD: and I will propheſy unto you what ye eat, and what ye lay up for ſtore in your houſes. Verily herein will be a ſign unto you, if ye believe. And

[a] *He ſhall ſpeak unto men in the cradle.*] Beſides an inſtance of this given in the *Korân* itſelf [1], which I ſhall not here anticipate, a *Mohammedan* writer (of no very great credit indeed) tells two ſtories, one of JESUS's ſpeaking while in his mother's womb, to reprove her couſin *Joſeph* for his unjuſt ſuſpicions of her [2]; and another of his giving an anſwer to the ſame perſon ſoon after he was born. For *Joſeph* being ſent by *Zacharias* to ſeek *Mary* (who had gone out of the city by night to conceal her delivery) and having found her, began to expoſtulate with her, but ſhe made no reply; whereupon the child ſpoke theſe words; *Rejoice, O* Joſeph, *and be of good chear; for* GOD *hath brought me forth from the darkneſs of the womb, to the light of the world; and I ſhall go to the children of* Iſrael, *and invite them to the obedience of* GOD [3].

Theſe ſeem all to have been taken from ſome fabulous traditions of the eaſtern *Chriſtians*, one of which is preſerved to us in the ſpurious goſpel of the *Infancy* of CHRIST; where we read that JESUS ſpoke while yet in the cradle, and ſaid to his mother, *Verily I am* JESUS *the ſon of* GOD, *the word which thou haſt brought forth, as the angel* Gabriel *did declare unto thee; and my father hath ſent me to ſave the world* [4].

[b] *And when he is grown up.*] The *Arabic* word properly ſignifies a man in full age, that is between thirty or thirty four, and fifty one; and the paſſage may relate to CHRIST's preaching here on earth. But as he had ſcarce attained this age when he was taken up into heaven, the commentators chuſe to underſtand it of his ſecond coming [5].

[c] *I will make the figure of a bird*, &c.] Some ſay it was a bat [6], tho' others ſuppoſe JESUS made ſeveral birds of different ſorts [7].

This circumſtance is alſo taken from the following fabulous tradition, which may be found in the ſpurious goſpel abovementioned. JESUS being ſeven years old, and at play with ſeveral children of his age, they made ſeveral figures of birds and beaſts, for their diverſion, of clay; and each preferring his own workmanſhip, JESUS told them, that he would make his walk and leap; which accordingly, at his command, they did. He made alſo ſeveral figures of ſparrows and other birds, which flew about or ſtood on his hands as he ordered them, and alſo eat and drank when he offered them meat and drink. The children telling this to their parents, were forbidden to play any more with JESUS, whom they held to be a ſorcerer [8].

[d] *By the permiſſion of* GOD.] The commentators obſerve that theſe words are added here, and in the next ſentence, leſt it ſhould be thought JESUS did theſe miracles by his own power, or was GOD [9].

[e] *I will raiſe the dead*, &c.] *Jallalo'ddin* mentions three perſons whom CHRIST reſtored to life, and who lived ſeveral years after, and had children; *viz. Lazarus*, the widow's ſon, and the publican's (I ſuppoſe he means the ruler of the ſynagogue's) daughter. He adds that he alſo raiſed *Shem* the ſon of *Noah*, who, as another writes [10], thinking he had been called to judgment, came out of his grave with his head half grey, whereas men did not grow grey in his days; after which he immediately died again.

[1] *Chap.* 19. [2] *V.* SIKII *notas in Evang. Infant. p.* 5. [3] *Al* KESSAI, *apud eundem.* [4] *Evang. Infant. p.* 5. [5] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] JALLALO'DDIN. [7] *Al* THALABI. [8] *Evang. Infant. p.* 111, *&c.* [9] *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c.* [10] *Al* THALABI.

I come to confirm the Law which was *revealed* before me, and to allow unto you as lawful, part of that which hath been forbidden you [a]: and I come unto you with a ſign from your LORD; therefore fear GOD, and obey me. Verily GOD is my LORD, and your LORD: therefore ſerve him. This is the right way. But when JESUS perceived their unbelief, he ſaid, Who *will be* my helpers towards GOD? The apoſtles [b] anſwered, We *will be* the helpers of GOD; we believe in GOD, and do thou bear witneſs that we are true believers. O LORD, we believe in that which thou haſt ſent down, and we have followed thy apoſtle; write us down therefore with thoſe who bear witneſs *of him*. And *the Jews* deviſed a ſtratagem *againſt him* [c]; but GOD deviſed a ſtratagem *againſt them* [d]; and GOD is the beſt deviſer of ſtratagems.

When

[a] *And to allow you part of that which hath been forbidden you;*] Such as the eating of fiſh that have neither fins nor ſcales, the cawl and fat of animals, and camels fleſh, and to work on the ſabbath. Theſe things, ſay the commentators, being arbitrary inſtitutions in the law of *Moſes*, were abrogated by JESUS; as ſeveral of the ſame kind inſtituted by the latter, have been ſince abrogated by *Mohammed* [1].

[b] *The apoſtles;*] In *Arabic*, *al Hawâriyûn*; which word they derive from *Hâra, to be white*, and ſuppoſe the apoſtles were ſo called either from the *candor* and *ſincerity* of their minds, or becauſe they were princes and wore white garments, or elſe becauſe they were by trade *fullers* [2]. According to which laſt opinion, their vocation is thus related; That as JESUS paſſed by the ſea ſide, he ſaw ſome fullers at work, and accoſting them, ſaid, *Ye cleanſe theſe cloaths, but cleanſe not your hearts*; upon which they believed on him. But the true etymology ſeems to be from the *Ethiopic* verb *Hawyra, to go*; whence *Hawârya* ſignifies *one that is ſent*, a *meſſenger* or *apoſtle* [3].

[c] *The Jews deviſed a ſtratagem againſt him;*] i. e. They laid a deſign to take away his life.

[d] *But* GOD *deviſed a ſtratagem againſt them;*] This ſtratagem of GOD's was the taking of JESUS up into heaven, and ſtamping his likeneſs on another perſon, who was apprehended and crucified in his ſtead. For it is the conſtant doctrine of the *Mohammedans* that it was not JESUS himſelf who underwent that ignominious death, but ſomebody elſe in his ſhape and reſemblance [4]. The perſon crucified ſome will have to be a ſpy that was ſent to entrap him; others that it was one *Titian*, who by the direction of *Judas* entred in at a window of the houſe where JESUS was, to kill him; and others that it was *Judas* himſelf, who agreed with the rulers of the *Jews* to betray him for thirty pieces of ſilver, and led thoſe who were ſent to take him.

They add, that *Jeſus* after his crucifixion in *effigie* was ſent down again to the earth, to comfort his mother and diſciples, and acquaint them how the *Jews* were deceived; and was then taken up a ſecond time into heaven [5].

It is ſuppoſed by ſeveral that this ſtory was an original invention of *Mohammed*'s; but they are certainly miſtaken: for ſeveral ſectaries held the ſame opinion, long before his time. The *Baſilidians* [6], in the very beginning of *Chriſtianity*, denied that *Chriſt* himſelf ſuffered, but that *Simon* the *Cyrenean* was crucified in his place. The *Cerinthians* before them, and the *Carpocratians* next (to name no more of thoſe, who affirmed *Jeſus* to have been a mere man) did believe the ſame thing; that it was not himſelf but one of his followers, very like him, that was crucified. *Photius* tells us, that he read a book intitled, *The journeys of the apoſtles*, relating the acts of *Peter*, *John*, *Andrew*, *Thomas* and *Paul*; and among other things contained therein, this was one, *that* Chriſt *was not crucified but another in his ſtead*, and that therefore *he laughed at his crucifiers* [7], or thoſe who thought they had crucified him [8].

I have in another place [9] mentioned an apocryphal goſpel of *Barnabas*, a forgery originally of ſome nominal *Chriſtians*, but interpolated ſince

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem.* [3] *V.* LUDOLFI *Lexic. Æthiop. col.* 40. & GOLII *notas ad cap.* 61. *Korân, p.* 205. [4] *See Korân, c.* 4. [5] *V.* MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 113, *&c. & in Prodr. part.* 3. *p.* 63, *&c.* [6] IRENAEUS, *l.* 1. *c.* 23, *&c.* EPIPHAN. *Hæreſ.* 24. *num.* 3. [7] PHOTIUS, *Bibl. Cod.* 114. *col.* 291. [8] TOLAND's *Nazarenus, p.* 17, *&c.* [9] *Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 74.

When GOD ſaid, O JESUS, verily I will cauſe thee to die [a], and I will take thee up unto me [b], and I will deliver thee from the unbelievers; and I will place thoſe who follow thee, above the unbelievers, until the day of reſurrection [c]: then unto me ſhall ye return, and I will judge between you of that concerning which ye diſagree. Moreover, as for the infidels, I will puniſh them with a grievous puniſhment in this world, and in that which is to come; and there ſhall be none to help them. But they who believe, and do that which is right, he ſhall give them their reward; for GOD loveth not the wicked doers. Theſe ſigns, and this prudent admonition do we rehearſe

 unto

ſince by *Mohammedans*; which gives this part of the hiſtory of *Jeſus* with circumſtances too curious to be omitted. It is therein related, that the moment the *Jews* were going to apprehend *Jeſus* in the garden, he was ſnatched up into the third heaven, by the miniſtry of four angels, *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Raphael* and *Uriel*; that he will not die till the end of the world, and that it was *Judas* who was crucified in his ſtead; GOD having permitted that traitor to appear ſo like his maſter, in the eyes of the *Jews*, that they took and delivered him to *Pilate*. That this reſemblance was ſo great, that it deceived the Virgin *Mary* and the apoſtles themſelves; but that *Jeſus Chriſt* afterwards obtained leave of GOD to go and comfort them. That *Barnabas* having then asked him, why the divine goodneſs had ſuffered the mother and diſciples of ſo holy a prophet to believe even for one moment that he had died in ſo ignominious a manner? *Jeſus* returned the following anſwer. "O *Bar-*
" *nabas*, believe me that every ſin, how ſmall
" ſoever, is puniſhed by GOD with great tor-
" ment, becauſe GOD is offended with ſin. My
" mother therefore and faithful diſciples, having
" loved me with a mixture of earthly love, the
" juſt GOD has been pleaſed to puniſh this love
" with their preſent grief, that they might not
" be puniſhed for it hereafter in the flames of
" hell. And as for me, tho' I have my ſelf
" been blameleſs in the world, yet other men
" having called me GOD, and the ſon of GOD;
" therefore GOD, that I might not be mocked
" by the devils at the day of judgment, has
" been pleaſed that in this world I ſhould be
" mocked by men with the death of *Judas*,
" making every body believe that I died upon
" the croſs. And hence it is that this mocking
" is ſtill to continue till the coming of *Moham-*
" *med*, the meſſenger of GOD; who, coming
" into the world, will undeceive every one who
" who ſhall believe in the law of GOD, from
" this miſtake [1].

[a] *I will cauſe thee to die*, &c.] It is the opinion of a great many *Mohammedans*, that *Jeſus* was taken up into heaven without dying: which opinion is conſonant to what is delivered in the ſpurious goſpel abovementioned. Wherefore ſeveral of the commentators ſay that there is a *hyſteron proteron* in theſe words, *I will cauſe thee to die, and I will take thee up unto me*; and that the copulative does not import order, or that he died before his aſſumption; the meaning being this, *viz.* that GOD would firſt take *Jeſus* up to heaven, and deliver him from the infidels, and afterwards cauſe him to die: which they ſuppoſe is to happen when he ſhall return into the world again, before the laſt day [2]. Some, thinking the order of the words is not to be changed, interpret them figuratively, and ſuppoſe their ſignification to be that *Jeſus* was liſted up while he was aſleep, or that GOD cauſed him to die a ſpiritual death to all worldly deſires. But others acknowledge that he actually died a natural death, and continued in that ſtate three hours, or, according to another tradition, ſeven hours; after which he was reſtored to life, and then taken up to heaven [3].

[b] *And I will take thee up unto me*;] Some *Mohammedans* ſay this was done by the miniſtry of *Gabriel*; but others that a ſtrong whirlwind took him up from mount *Olivet* [4].

[c] *I will place thoſe who follow thee above the unbelievers, until the day of reſurrection.*] That is, they who believe in *Jeſus* (among whom the *Mohammedans* reckon themſelves) ſhall be for ever ſuperior to the *Jews*, both in arguments and in arms. And accordingly, ſays *al Beidâwi*, to this very day the *Jews* have never prevailed either againſt the *Chriſtians* or *Moſlems*, nor have they any kingdom or eſtabliſhed government of their own.

[1] *See the Menagiana, Tom.* 4. *p.* 326, *&c.* [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 81. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Al* THALABI. *See* 2 *Kings* ii. 1, 11.

unto thee. Verily the likeneſs of JESUS in the ſight of GOD, is as the likeneſs of ADAM: he created him out of the duſt, and then ſaid unto him, Be; and he was [a]. *This is* the truth from thy LORD; be not therefore *one* of thoſe who doubt: and whoever ſhall diſpute with thee concerning him [b], after the knowledge which hath been given thee, ſay *unto them*, Come, let us call together our ſons, and your ſons, and our wives, and your wives, and our ſelves, and your ſelves; then let us make imprecations, and lay the curſe of GOD on thoſe who lie [c]. Verily this is a true hiſtory: and there is no GOD, but GOD; and GOD is moſt mighty, and wiſe. If they turn back, GOD well knoweth the evil doers. Say, O ye who have received the ſcripture, come to a juſt determination between us and you [d]; that we worſhip not *any* except GOD, and aſſociate no creature with him; and that the one of us take not the other for lords [e], beſide GOD. But if they turn back, ſay, Bear witneſs that we are true believers. O ye to whom the ſcriptures have been given, why do ye diſpute concerning ABRAHAM [f], ſince the Law and the Goſpel were not ſent down until after him? Do ye not therefore underſtand? Behold ye are they who diſpute concerning that which ye have ſome knowledge in; why therefore do ye diſpute concerning that which ye have no knowledge of [g]? GOD knoweth, but ye know not. ABRAHAM was neither a Jew, nor a Chriſtian; but he was of the true religion, one reſigned *unto* GOD, and was not of the *number of the* idolaters. Verily the men who are the neareſt *of kin* unto ABRAHAM, are they who follow him; and this prophet, and they who believe *on him*: GOD is the patron

[a] Jeſus *in the ſight of* GOD *is as* Adam, *&c.*] He was like to *Adam* in reſpect of his miraculous production by the immediate power of GOD [1].

[b] *Him*;] Namely, *Jeſus*.

[c] *Let us call together our ſons*, &c. *and imprecate the curſe of* GOD *on thoſe who lie.*] To explain this paſſage the commentators tell the following ſtory. That ſome *Chriſtians*, with their biſhop named *Abu Hareth*, coming to *Mohammed* as ambaſſadors from the inhabitants of *Najrân*, and entring into ſome diſputes with him touching religion and the hiſtory of *Jeſus Chriſt*, they agreed the next morning to abide the trial here mentioned, as a quick way of deciding which of them were in the wrong. *Mohammed* met them accordingly, accompanied by his daughter *Fâtima*, his ſon in law *Ali*, and his two grandſons, *Haſan* and *Hoſein*, and deſired them to wait till he had ſaid his prayers. But when they ſaw him kneel down, their reſolution failed them, and they durſt not venture to curſe him, but ſubmitted to pay him tribute [2].

[d] *Let us come to a juſt determination between us and you*, &c.] That is, to ſuch terms of agreement as are indiſputably conſonant to the doctrine of all the prophets and ſcriptures, and therefore cannot be reaſonably rejected [3].

[e] *And that the one of us take not the other for lords*, &c.] Beſides other charges of idolatry on the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, *Mohammed* accuſed them of paying too implicit an obedience to their prieſts and monks, who took upon them to pronounce what things were lawful, and what unlawful, and to diſpenſe with the laws of GOD [4].

[f] *Why do ye diſpute concerning* Abraham?] *viz.* By pretending him to have been of your religion.

[g] *Ye diſpute concerning that which ye have ſome knowledge in; why therefore do ye diſpute concerning that which ye have no knowledge of?*] i. e. Ye perverſely diſpute even concerning thoſe things which ye find in the Law and the Goſpel, whereby it appears that they were both ſent down long after *Abraham*'s time; why then will ye offer to diſpute concerning ſuch points of *Abraham*'s religion, of which your ſcriptures ſay nothing, and of which ye conſequently can have no knowledge [5]?

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.* [2] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.* [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

patron of the faithful. Some of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures deſire to ſeduce you [a]; but they ſeduce themſelves only, and they perceive *it* not. O ye who have received the ſcriptures, why do ye not believe in the ſigns of GOD, ſince ye are witneſſes *of them?* O ye who have received the ſcriptures, why do ye clothe truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth [b]? And ſome of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given, ſay, Believe in that which hath been ſent down unto thoſe who believe, in the beginning of the day; and deny *it* in the end thereof; that they may go back *from their faith* [c]: and believe him only who followeth your religion. Say, Verily the *true* direction is the direction of GOD, that there may be given unto ſome other *a revelation* like unto what hath been given unto you. Will they diſpute with you before your LORD? Say, Surely excellence is in the hand of GOD, he giveth it unto whom he pleaſeth; GOD is bounteous and wiſe: he will confer peculiar mercy on whom he pleaſeth; for GOD is indued with great beneficence. There is of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, unto whom if thou truſt a talent, he will reſtore it unto thee [d]; and *there is alſo* of them, unto whom if thou truſt a dinâr, he will not reſtore it unto thee, unleſs thou ſtand over him continually *with great urgency* [e]. This *they do* becauſe they ſay, We

[a] *Some of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given ſeek to ſeduce you, &c.*] This paſſage was revealed when the *Jews* endeavoured to pervert *Hodheifa*, *Ammâr*, and *Moâdh* to their religion [1].

[b] *Why do ye clothe truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth?*] The *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are again accuſed of corrupting the ſcriptures, and ſtifling the prophecies concerning *Mohammed*.

[c] The commentators to explain this paſſage ſay, that *Caab Ebn al Aſhraf* and *Malec Ebn al Seif* (two *Jews* of *Medina*) adviſed their companions, when the *Kebla* was changed [2], to make as if they believed it was done by the divine direction, and to pray towards the *Caaba* in the morning, but that in the evening they ſhould pray as formerly towards the temple of *Jeruſalem*; that *Mohammed*'s followers, imagining the *Jews* were better judges of this matter than themſelves, might imitate their example. But others ſay theſe were certain *Jewiſh* prieſts of *Khaibar*, who directed ſome of their people to pretend in the morning that they had embraced *Mohammediſm*, but in the cloſe of the day to ſay that they had looked into their books of ſcripture, and conſulted their *Rabbins*, and could not find that *Mohammed* was the perſon deſcribed and intended in the law; by which trick they hoped to raiſe doubts in the minds of the *Mohammedans* [3].

[d] *There is of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, unto whom if thou truſt a talent he will reſtore it;*] As an inſtance of this, the commentators bring *Abd'allah Ebn Salâm*, a *Jew*, very intimate with *Mohammed* [4], to whom one of the *Koreiſh* lent 1200 ounces of gold, which he very punctually repaid at the time appointed [5].

[e] *There is alſo of them unto whom if thou truſt a* dinâr, *he will not reſtore it, &c.*] *Al Beidâwi* produces an example of ſuch a piece of injuſtice in one *Phineas Ebn Azûra*, a *Jew*, who borrowed a *dinâr*, which is a gold coin worth about ten ſhillings, of a *Koreiſhite*, and afterwards had the conſcience to deny it.

But the perſon more directly ſtruck at in this paſſage, was the above mentioned *Caab Ebn al Aſhraf*, a moſt inveterate enemy of *Mohammed* and his religion, of whom *Jallalo'ddin* relates the ſame ſtory as *al Beidâwi* does of *Phineas*. This *Caab* after the battle of *Bedr* went to *Mecca*, and there, to excite the *Koreiſh* to revenge themſelves, made and recited verſes lamenting the death of thoſe who were ſlain in that battle, and reflecting very ſeverely on *Mohammed*; and he afterwards returned to *Medina*, and had the boldneſs to repeat them publickly there alſo; at which *Mohammed* was ſo exceedingly provoked, that he proſcribed him, and ſent a party of men to kill him, and he was circumvented and ſlain by *Mohammed*

[1] *Idem.* [2] *See before, c. 2. p. 17.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *See* PRIDEAUX's *Life of Mahom. p. 33.* [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

We are not obliged to obſerve juſtice with the heathen: but they utter a lie againſt GOD, knowingly. Yea; whoſo keepeth his covenant, and feareth GOD, GOD ſurely loveth thoſe who fear *him*. But they who make merchandize of GOD's covenant, and of their oaths, for a ſmall price, ſhall have no portion in the next life, neither ſhall GOD ſpeak to them or regard them on the day of reſurrection, nor ſhall he cleanſe them; but they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. And there are certainly ſome of them, who read the ſcriptures perverſly, that ye may think *what they read* to be really in the ſcriptures, yet it is not in the ſcripture; and they ſay, This is from GOD; but it is not from GOD: and they ſpeak that which is falſe concerning GOD, againſt their own knowledge. It is not *fit* for a man, that GOD ſhould give him a book *of revelations*, and wiſdom, and prophecy; and then he ſhould ſay unto men, Be ye worſhippers of me, beſides GOD; but *he ought to ſay*, Be ye perfect in knowledge and in works, ſince ye know the ſcriptures, and exerciſe your ſelves therein [a]. *GOD* hath not commanded *you* to take the angels and the prophets for *your* Lords: Will he command *you* to become infidels, after ye have been true believers? And *remember* when GOD accepted the covenant of the prophets [b], *ſaying*, *This* verily *is* the ſcripture and the wiſdom which I have given you: hereafter ſhall an apoſtle come unto you, confirming the truth of that *ſcripture* which is with you; ye ſhall ſurely believe on him, and ye ſhall aſſiſt him. *GOD* ſaid, Are ye firmly reſolved, and do ye accept my covenant on this *condition?* They anſwered, We are firmly reſolved: *GOD* ſaid, Be ye therefore witneſſes; and I alſo bear witneſs with you: and whoſoever turneth back after this, they are ſurely the tranſgreſſors. Do they therefore ſeek any other religion but GOD's? ſince to him is reſigned whoſoever is in heaven or on earth, voluntarily, or of force: and to him ſhall they return. Say, We believe in GOD, and that which hath been ſent down unto us, and that which was ſent down unto ABRAHAM, and

hammed Ebn Moſlema in the third year of the *Hejra* [1]. Dr. *Prideaux* [2] has confounded the *Caab* we are now ſpeaking of, with another very different perſon of the ſame name, and a famous poet, but who was the ſon of *Zohair*, and no *Jew*; as a learned gentleman has already obſerved [3]. In conſequence of which miſtake, the doctor attributes what the *Arabian* hiſtorians write of the latter, to the former, and wrongly affirms that he was not put to death by *Mohammed*.

Some of the commentators however ſuppoſe that in the former part of this paſſage the *Chriſtians* are intended, who, they ſay, are generally people of ſome honour and juſtice; and in the latter part the *Jews*, who they think are more given to cheating and diſhoneſty [4].

[a] *It is not fit for a man*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed, ſay the commentators, in anſwer to the *Chriſtians*, who inſiſted that *Jeſus* had commanded them to worſhip him as GOD. *Al Beidâwi* adds that two *Chriſtians*, named *Abu Râfé al Koradhi* and *al Seyid al Najrâni*, offered to acknowledge *Mohammed* for their Lord, and to worſhip him; to which he anſwered, GOD *forbid that we ſhould worſhip any beſides* GOD.

[b] *When* GOD *accepted the covenant of the prophets*, &c.] Some commentators interpret this of the children of *Iſrael* themſelves, of whoſe race the prophets were. But others ſay the ſouls of all the prophets, even of thoſe who were not then born, were preſent on mount *Sinai*, when GOD gave the law to *Moſes*, and that they entred into the covenant here mentioned with him. A ſtory borrowed by *Mohammed* from the *Talmudiſts*, and therefore moſt probably his true meaning in this place.

[1] *Al* JANNABI, ELMACIN. [2] *Life of Mahom. p.* 78, &c. [3] *V.* GAGNIER, *in Not. ad* ABULFED. *Vit. Mah. p.* 64, & 122. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.

and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes, and that which was delivered to MOSES, and JESUS, and the prophets, from their LORD; we make no distinction between any of them; and to him are we resigned. Whoever followeth any other religion than ISLAM, it shall not be accepted of him: and in the next life he shall be of those who perish [a]. How shall GOD direct men who have become infidels after they had believed, and born witness that the apostle was true, and manifest declarations *of the divine will* had come unto them? for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Their reward shall be, that on them *shall fall* the curse of GOD, and of angels, and of all mankind: they shall remain under the same for ever; their torment shall not be mitigated, neither shall they be regarded; except those who repent after this, and amend; for GOD is gracious and merciful. Moreover they who become infidels after they have believed, and yet increase in infidelity, their repentance shall in no wise be accepted, and they are those who go astray. Verily they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, the world full of gold shall in no wise be accepted from any of them, even though he should give it for his ransom; they shall suffer a grievous punishment, and they shall have none to help them. * Ye will never attain unto righteousness, IV.
until ye give in alms of that which ye love: and whatever ye give, GOD knoweth it. All food was permitted unto the children of ISRAEL, except what ISRAEL forbad unto himself [b], before the Pentateuch was sent down [c]. Say *unto the Jews*, Bring hither the Pentateuch and read it, if ye speak truth. Whoever therefore contriveth a lye against GOD after this, they will be evil doers. Say, GOD is true: follow ye therefore the religion of ABRAHAM the orthodox; for he was no idolater. Verily the first house appointed unto men *to worship in* was that which is in BECCA [d]; blessed, and a direction to all

[a] See before, ch. 2. p. 8, *Not.* d.

[b] *All food was permitted unto the children of* Israel, *except what* Israel *forbad unto himself.*] This passage was revealed on the *Jews* reproaching *Mohammed* and his followers with their eating of the flesh and milk of camels [1], which they said was forbidden *Abraham*, whose religion *Mohammed* pretended to follow. In answer to which he tells them, that GOD ordained no distinction of meats before he gave the law to *Moses*, tho' *Jacob* voluntarily abstained from the flesh and milk of camels; which some commentators say was the consequence of a vow made by that patriarch, when afflicted with the *sciatica*, that if he were cured he would eat no more of that meat which he liked best; and that was camels flesh: but others suppose he abstained from it by the advice of physicians only [2].

This exposition seems to be taken from the children of *Israel*'s not eating of the sinew on the hollow of the thigh, because the angel, with whom *Jacob* wrestled at *Penicl*, touched *the hollow of his thigh in the sinew that shrank* [3].

[c] *Before the* Pentateuch *was sent down;*] Wherein the *Israelites*, because of their wickedness and perverseness, were forbidden to eat certain animals which had been allowed their predecessors [4].

[d] *The first house appointed unto men, was that which is in* Becca.] *Mohammed* received this passage, when the *Jews* said that their *Kebla*, or the temple of *Jerusalem*, was more ancient than that of the *Mohammedans*, or the *Caaba* [5]. *Becca* is another name of *Mecca* [6]. *Al Beidâwi* observes that the *Arabs* used the *M* and *B* promiscuously in several words.

[1] *See Lev.* xi. 4. *Deut.* xiv. 7. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *Gen.* xxxii. 32. [4] KORAN, *c.* 4. *See the notes there.* [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. 1. *p.* 3.

all creatures [a]. Therein are manifeſt ſigns [b]: the place where ABRAHAM ſtood; and whoever entreth therein, ſhall be ſafe. And *it is a duty* towards GOD, *incumbent* on thoſe who are able to go thither [c], to viſit this houſe; but whoſoever diſbelieveth, verily GOD needeth not *the ſervice of* any creature. Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures, why do ye not believe in the ſigns of GOD? Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures, why do ye keep back from the way of GOD, him who believeth? Ye ſeek to make it crooked, and yet are witneſſes *that it is the right:* but GOD will not be unmindful of what ye do. O true believers, if ye obey ſome of thoſe who have received the ſcripture, they will render you infidels, after ye have believed [d]: and how can ye be infidels, when the ſigns of GOD are read unto you, and his apoſtle is among you? But he who cleaveth firmly unto GOD, is already directed into the right way. O believers, fear GOD with his true fear; and die not unleſs ye alſo be true believers. And cleave all *of you* unto the covenant [e] of GOD, and depart not *from it*, and remember the favour of GOD towards you:

[a] *A direction to all creatures*:] i. e. the *Kebla*, towards which they are to turn their faces in prayer.

[b] *Therein are manifeſt ſigns*;] Such as the ſtone wherein they ſhew the print of *Abraham*'s feet, and the inviolable ſecurity of the place, immediately mentioned; that the birds light not on the roof of the *Kaaba*, and wild beaſts put off their fierceneſs there; that none who came againſt it in a hoſtile manner ever proſpered [1], as appeared particularly in the unfortunate expedition of *Abraha al Aſhram* [2]; and other fables of the ſame ſtamp which the *Mohammedans* are taught to believe.

[c] *Thoſe who are able to go thither*;] According to an expoſition of this paſſage attributed to *Mohammed*, he is ſuppoſed to be able to perform the pilgrimage, who can ſupply himſelf with proviſions for the journey, and a beaſt to ride upon. *Al Shâfei* has decided that thoſe who have money enough, if they cannot go themſelves, muſt hire ſome other to go in their room. *Malec Ebn Ans* thinks he is to be reckoned *able*, who is ſtrong and healthy, and can bear the fatigue of the journey on foot, if he has no beaſt to ride, and can alſo earn his living by the way. But *AbuHanîfa* is of opinion that both money ſufficient, and health of body are requiſite to make the pilgrimage a duty [3].

[d] *If ye obey ſome of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of a quarrel excited between the tribes of *al Aows* and *al Khazraj*, by one *Shâs Ebn Kais*, a *Jew*; who paſſing by ſome of both tribes as they were ſitting and diſcourſing familiarly together, and being inwardly vexed at the friendſhip and harmony which reigned among them on their embracing *Mohammediſm*, whereas they had been, for 120 years before, moſt inveterate and mortal enemies, tho' deſcendants of two brothers; in order to ſet them at variance, ſent a young man to ſit down by them, directing him to relate the ſtory of the battle of *Boâth* (a place near *Medina*) wherein, after a bloody fight, *al Aws* had the better of *al Khazraj* and to repeat ſome verſes on that ſubject. The young man executed his orders; whereupon thoſe of each tribe began to magnify themſelves, and to reflect on and irritate the other, till at length they called to arms, and great numbers getting together on each ſide, a dangerous battle had enſued, if *Mohammed* had not ſtept in and reconciled them; by repreſenting to them how much they would be to blame if they returned to paganiſm, and revived thoſe animoſities which *Iſlâm* had compoſed; and telling them, that what had happened was a trick of the devil to diſturb their preſent tranquillity [4].

[e] *Cleave unto the covenant of God*, &c.] Literally, *Hold faſt by the cord of* GOD. That is, *Secure your ſelves by adhering to* Iſlâm, which is here metaphorically expreſſed by a *cord*, becauſe it is as ſure a means of ſaving thoſe who profeſs it from periſhing hereafter, as holding by a rope is to prevent one's falling into a well, or other like place. It is ſaid that *Mohammed* uſed for the ſame reaſon to call the *Korân*, *Habl Allah al matîn*, i. e. *the ſure cord of* GOD [5].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See Korân, c.* 105. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.*

you: ſince ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour: and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Thus GOD declareth unto you his ſigns, that ye may be directed. Let there be people among you, who invite to the beſt *religion*; and command that which is juſt, and forbid that which is evil; and they ſhall be happy. And be not as they who are divided, and diſagree *in matters of religion* [a], after manifeſt proofs have been brought unto them: they ſhall ſuffer a great torment. On the day *of reſurrection ſome* faces ſhall become white, and *other* faces ſhall become black [b]. And unto them whoſe faces ſhall become black, *GOD will ſay*, Have ye returned unto *your* unbelief, after ye had believed? therefore taſte the puniſhment, for that ye have been unbelievers: but they whoſe faces ſhall become white *ſhall be* in the mercy of GOD, therein ſhall they remain for ever. Theſe are the ſigns of GOD: we recite them unto thee with truth. GOD will not deal unjuſtly with *his* creatures. And to GOD *belongeth* whatever is in heaven and on earth; and to GOD ſhall *all* things return. Ye are the beſt nation that hath been raiſed up unto mankind: ye command that which is juſt, and ye forbid that which is unjuſt, and ye believe in GOD. And if they who have received the ſcriptures had believed, it had ſurely been the better for them: there are believers among them [c], but the greater part of them are tranſgreſſors. They ſhall not hurt you, unleſs with a *ſlight* hurt; and if they fight againſt you, they ſhall turn their backs to you; and they ſhall not be helped [d]. They are ſmitten with vileneſs whereſoever they are found; unleſs *they obtain ſecurity* by *entering into* a treaty with GOD, and a treaty with men [e]: and they draw on themſelves indignation from GOD, and they are afflicted with poverty. This *they ſuffer*, becauſe they diſbelieved the ſigns of GOD, and ſlew the prophets unjuſtly; this, becauſe they were rebellious, and tranſgreſſed. *Yet* they are not *all* alike: there are of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, upright people [f]; they meditate on the ſigns of GOD [g] in the night ſeaſon, and worſhip; they believe in GOD, and the laſt day; and command that which is juſt, and forbid that which is unjuſt, and zealouſly ſtrive *to excel* in good works: theſe are of the righteous. And ye ſhall not be de-

[a] *And be not as thoſe who are divided, &c.*] i. e. As the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, who diſpute concerning the unity of GOD, the future ſtate, *&c.* [1].

[b] *On the day of the reſurrection the faces of ſome ſhall become white*, &c.] See the Preliminary Diſcourſe, §. IV.

[c] *There are believers among them*;] As *Abd'allah Ebn Salâm* and his companions [2], and thoſe of the tribes of *al Aws* and *al Khazraj* who had embraced *Mohammediſm*.

[d] *And they ſhall not be helped.*] This verſe, *alBeidâwi* ſays, is one of thoſe whoſe meaning is myſterious, and relates to ſomething future; intimating the low condition to which the *Jewiſh* tribes of *Koreidha*, *Nadîr*, *Banu Kainokâ*, and thoſe who dwelt at *Khaibar*, were afterwards reduced by *Mohammed*.

[e] *Unleſs they obtain ſecurity by entering into a treaty with* GOD, *and a treaty with men*;] i. e. Unleſs they either profeſs the *Mohammedan* religion, or ſubmit to pay tribute.

[f] *There are of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, upright people*;] Thoſe namely who have embraced *Iſlâm*.

[g] *The ſigns of* GOD;] That is the *Korân*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

nied *the reward of* the good which ye do[a]; for GOD knoweth the pious. As for the unbelievers, their wealth ſhall not profit them at all, neither their children, againſt GOD: they *ſhall be* the companions of *hell* fire; they ſhall continue therein for ever. The likeneſs of that which they lay out in this preſent life, is as a wind wherein there is a ſcorching cold: it falleth on the ſtanding corn of thoſe men who have injured their own ſouls, and deſtroyeth it. And GOD dealeth not unjuſtly with them; but they injure their own ſouls. O true believers, contract not an intimate friendſhip *with any* beſides your ſelves[b]: they will not fail to corrupt you. They wiſh for that which may cauſe you to periſh: their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths; but what their breaſts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already ſhewn you ſigns *of their ill will towards you*, if ye underſtand. Behold, ye love them, and they do not love you: ye believe in all the ſcriptures, and when they meet you, they ſay, We believe; but when they aſſemble privately together, they bite their fingers ends out of wrath againſt you. Say *unto them*, Die in your wrath: verily GOD knoweth the innermoſt part of *your* breaſts. If good happen unto you, it grieveth them; and if evil befal you, they rejoice at it. But if ye be patient, and fear *GOD*, their ſubtilty ſhall not hurt you at all; for GOD comprehendeth whatever they do. *Call to mind* when thou wenteſt forth early from thy family, that thou mighteſt prepare the faithful a camp for war[c]; and GOD heard and knew *it*; when two companies of you were anxiouſly thoughtful, ſo that ye became faint-hearted[d]; but

[a] *Ye ſhall not be denied*, &c.] Some copies have a different reading in this paſſage, which they expreſs in the third perſon; *They ſhall not be denied*, &c.

[b] *Beſides your ſelves*;] i. e. Of a different religion.

[c] *When thou wenteſt forth to prepare a camp*, &c.] This was at the battle of *Ohod*, a mountain about four miles to the north of *Medina*. The *Koreiſh*, to revenge their loſs at *Bedr*[1], the next year, being the third of the *Hejra*, got together an army of 3000 men, among whom there were 200 horſe, and 700 armed with coats of mail. Theſe forces marched under the conduct of *Abu Sofiân* and ſat down at *Dhu'lholeifa*, a village about ſix miles from *Medina*. *Mohammed* being much inferior to his enemies in numbers, at firſt determined to keep himſelf within the town, and receive them there; but afterwards, the advice of ſome of his companions prevailing, he marched out againſt them at the head of 1000 men (ſome ſay he had 1050 men and others but 900) of whom 100 were armed with coats of mail, but he had no more than one horſe, beſides his own, in his whole army. With theſe forces he formed a camp in a village near *Ohod*, which mountain he contrived to have on his back; and the better to ſecure his men from being ſurrounded, he placed fifty archers in the rear, with ſtrict orders not to quit their poſt. When they came to engage, *Mohammed* had the better at firſt, but afterwards by the fault of his archers, who left their ranks for the ſake of the plunder, and ſuffered the enemies horſe to encompaſs the *Mohammedans* and attack them in the rear, he loſt the day, and was very near loſing his life; being ſtruck down by a ſhower of ſtones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, on puling out of which his two foreteeth dropped out. Of the *Moſlems* 70 men were ſlain, and among them *Hamza* the uncle of *Mohammed*, and of the infidels 22 [2]. To excuſe the ill ſucceſs of this battle, and to raiſe the drooping courage of his followers, is *Mohammed*'s driſt in the remaining part of this chapter.

[d] *When two companies of you were anxiouſly thoughtful*, &c.] Theſe were ſome of the families of *Banu Salma* of the tribe of *al Khazraj*, and *Banu'l Hareth* of the tribe of *al Aws*, who compoſed the two wings of *Mohammed*'s army. Some ill impreſſion had been made on them by *Abdallah*

[1] *See before*, p. 36. [2] ABU'LFEDA, *in vita Moham.* p. 64, &c. ELMACIN *l.* 1. PRIDEAUX's *Life of Mah.* p. 80.

but GOD was the ſupporter of them both; and in GOD let the faithful truſt. And GOD had already given you the victory at BEDR [a], when ye were inferior *in number*; therefore fear GOD, that ye may be thankful. When thou ſaidſt unto the faithful, Is it not enough for you, that your LORD ſhould aſſiſt you with three thouſand angels, ſent down *from heaven?* Verily if ye perſevere, and fear *GOD*, and *your enemies* come upon you ſuddenly, your LORD will aſſiſt you with five thouſand angels, diſtinguiſhed *by their horſes and attire* [b]. And this GOD deſigned only as good tidings for you [c] that your hearts might reſt ſecure: for victory is from GOD alone, the mighty, the wiſe. That he ſhould cut off the uttermoſt part of the unbelievers, or caſt them down, or that they ſhould be overthrown and unſucceſsful, *is nothing to thee.* It is no buſineſs of thine; whether *GOD* be turned unto them, or whether he puniſh them; they are ſurely unjuſt doers [d]. To GOD belongeth whatſoever is in heaven and on earth: he ſpareth whom he pleaſeth, and he puniſheth whom he pleaſeth; for GOD is merciful. O true believers, devour not uſury, doubling it twofold; but fear GOD, that ye may proſper: and fear the fire which is prepared for the unbelievers; and obey GOD, and *his* apoſtle, that ye may obtain mercy. And run with emulation to *obtain* remiſſion from your LORD, and paradiſe, whoſe breadth *equalleth* the heavens and the earth, which is prepared for the godly; who give alms in proſperity and adverſity; who bridle their anger, and forgive men: for GOD loveth the beneficent [e]. And who, after they have committed a crime, or dealt unjuſtly with their own ſouls, remember GOD, and ask pardon for their ſins, (for who forgiveth ſins except GOD?) and perſevere not in what they have done knowingly: their reward ſhall be pardon from their LORD, and gardens wherein rivers flow, they ſhall remain therein for ever: and how excellent is the reward of thoſe who labour! There have already been before you examples of puniſhment *of infidels*, therefore go through the earth, and be-

da'llah Ebn Abi Solûl, then an infidel, who having drawn off 300 men, told them that they were going to certain death, and adviſed them to return back with him; but he could prevail on but a few, the others being kept firm by the divine influence, as the following words intimate [1].

[a] See before, p. 36.

[b] *Diſtinguiſhed*, &c.] The angels who aſſiſted the *Mohammedans* at *Bedr*, rode, ſay the commentators, on black and white horſes, and had on their heads white and yellow ſaſhes, the ends of which hung down between their ſhoulders.

[c] *As good tidings for you*;] i.e. As an earneſt of future ſucceſs.

[d] *It is no buſineſs of thine whether* GOD *be turned unto them*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed when *Mohammed* received the wounds above-mentioned at the battle of *Ohod*, and cried out, *How ſhall that people proſper who have ſtained their prophet's face with blood, while he called them to their Lord?* The perſon who wounded him was *Otba* the ſon of *Abu Wakkâs* [2].

[e] It is related of *Haſan* the ſon of *Ali*, that a ſlave having once thrown a diſh on him boiling hot, as he ſat at table, and fearing his maſter's reſentment, fell immediately on his knees, and repeated theſe words, *Paradiſe is for thoſe who bridle their anger: Haſan* anſwered, *I am not angry.* The ſlave proceeded, *and for thoſe who forgive men: I forgive you*, ſaid *Haſan.* The ſlave however finiſhed the verſe, adding, *for* GOD *loveth the beneficent. Since it is ſo*, replied *Haſan, I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of ſilver* [3]. A noble inſtance of moderation and generoſity.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* ABULFED. *ubi ſupra.* [3] *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Haſſan.*

hold what hath been the end of thoſe who accuſe GOD's *apoſtles* of impoſture. This *book* is a declaration unto men, and a direction, and an admonition to the pious. And be not diſmayed, neither be ye grieved; for ye ſhall be ſuperior *to the unbelievers* if ye believe. If a wound hath happened unto you *in war* [a], a like wound hath already happened unto the *unbelieving* people [b]: and we cauſe theſe days *of different ſucceſs* interchangeably to ſucceed each other among men; that GOD may know thoſe who believe, and may have martyrs from among you: (GOD loveth not the workers of iniquity;) and that GOD might prove thoſe who believe, and deſtroy the infidels. Did ye imagine that ye ſhould enter paradiſe, when as yet GOD knew not thoſe among you who fought ſtrenuouſly *in his cauſe*; nor knew thoſe who perſevered with patience? Moreover ye did ſometime wiſh for death before that ye met it [c]; but ye have now ſeen it, and ye looked on, *but retreated from it.* MOHAMMED is no more than an apoſtle; the *other* apoſtles have already deceaſed before him: if he die therefore, or be ſlain, will ye turn back on your heels [d]? but he who turneth back on his heels, will not hurt GOD at all; and GOD will ſurely reward the thankful. No ſoul can die unleſs by the permiſſion of GOD, according to *what is written in* the book containing the determinations of things [e]. And whoſo chooſeth the reward of this world, we will give him thereof: but whoſo chooſeth the reward of the world to come, we will give him thereof; and we will ſurely reward the thankful. How many prophets have incountered thoſe who had many myriads *of troops:* and yet they deſponded not in their mind for what had befallen them in fighting for the religion of GOD; and were not weakened, neither behaved themſelves in an abject manner? GOD loveth thoſe who perſevere patiently. And their ſpeech was no other than that they ſaid, Our LORD forgive us our offences, and our tranſgreſſions in our buſineſs; and con-

[a] *If a wound hath happened to you in war;*] That is, by your being worſted at *Ohod.*

[b] *A like wound hath happened to the infidels;*] When they were defeated at *Bedr.* It is obſervable that the number of *Mohammedans* ſlain at *Ohod*, was equal to that of the idolaters ſlain at *Bedr*; which was ſo ordered by GOD for a reaſon to be given elſewhere [1].

[c] *Ye wiſhed for death,* &c.] Several of *Mohammed*'s followers who were not preſent at *Bedr*, wiſhed for an opportunity of obtaining, in another action, the like honour as thoſe had gained who fell martyrs in that battle; yet were diſcouraged on ſeeing the ſuperior numbers of the idolaters in the expedition of *Ohod.* On which occaſion this paſſage was revealed [2].

[d] MOHAMMED *is no more than an apoſtle,* &c.] Theſe words were revealed when it was reported in the battle of *Ohod*, that *Mohammed* was ſlain; whereupon the idolaters cried out to his followers, *Since your prophet is ſlain, return to your ancient religion, and to your friends; if* MOHAMMED *had been a prophet he had not been ſlain.* It is related that a *Muſlem* named *Ans Ebn al Nadar*, uncle to *Ans Ebn Malec*, hearing theſe words, ſaid aloud to his companions, *My friends, tho'* MOHAMMED *be ſlain, certainly* MOHAMMED's LORD *liveth and dieth not; therefore value not your lives ſince the prophet is dead, but fight for the cauſe for which he fought:* then he cried out, *O* GOD *I am excuſed before thee, and acquitted in thy ſight of what they ſay;* and drawing his ſword fought valiantly till he was killed [3].

[e] *No ſoul can die, unleſs by the permiſſion of* GOD, *&c.*] *Mohammed*, the more effectually to ſtill the murmurs of his party on their defeat, repreſents to them that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by GOD, and that thoſe who fell in the battle could not have avoided their fate, had they ſtaid at home; whereas they had now obtained the glorious advantage of dying martyrs for the faith. Of the *Mohammedan* doctrine of abſolute predeſtination I have ſpoken in another place [4].

[1] *In not. ad cap.* 8. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV.

confirm our feet, and help us againſt the unbelieving people. And GOD gave them the reward of this world, and a glorious reward in the life to come; for GOD loveth the well-doers. O ye who believe, if ye obey the infidels, they will cauſe you to turn back on your heels, and ye will be turned back and periſh [a]: but GOD is your LORD; and he is the beſt helper. We will ſurely caſt a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers [b], becauſe they have aſſociated with GOD that concerning which he ſent them down no power: their dwelling ſhall be the fire *of hell*; and the receptacle of the wicked ſhall be miſerable. GOD had already made good unto you his promiſe, when ye deſtroyed them by his permiſſion [c], until ye became faint-hearted, and diſputed concerning the command *of the apoſtle*, and were rebellious [d]; after *GOD* had ſhewn you what ye deſired. Some of you choſe this preſent world, and others of you choſe the world to come [e]. Then he turned you *to flight* from before them, that he might make trial of you: (but he hath now pardoned you; for GOD is indued with beneficence towards the faithful;) when ye went up *as ye fled*, and looked not back on any; while the apoſtle called you, in the uttermoſt part of you [f]. Therefore *GOD* rewarded you with affliction on affliction, that ye be not grieved *hereafter* for the *ſpoils* which ye fail of, nor for that which befalleth you [g]; for GOD is well acquainted with whatever ye do. Then he ſent down upon you after affliction ſecurity; a ſoft ſleep which fell on ſome part of

[a] *If ye obey the infidels, they will cauſe you to turn back*, &c.] This paſſage was alſo occaſioned by the endeavours of the *Koreiſh* to ſeduce the *Mohammedans* to their old idolatry, as they fled in the battle of *Ohod*.

[b] *We will ſurely caſt a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers*, &c.] To this *Mohammed* attributed the ſudden retreat of *Abu Sofiân* and his troops, without making any farther advantage of their ſucceſs; only giving *Mohammed* a challenge to meet them next year at *Bedr*, which he accepted. Others ſay, that as they were on their march home, they repented they had not utterly extirpated the *Mohammedans*, and began to think of going back to *Medina* for that purpoſe; but were prevented by a ſudden conſternation or panic fear, which fell on them from GOD [1].

[c] GOD *had already made good unto you his promiſe*, &c.] i. e. In the beginning of the battle, when the *Moſlems* had the advantage, putting the idolaters to flight, and killing ſeveral of them.

[d] *Till ye became faint-hearted and diſputed the command of the apoſtle*, &c.] That is, till the bow-men, who were placed behind to prevent their being ſurrounded, ſeeing the enemy fly, quitted their poſt, contrary to *Mohammed*'s expreſs orders, and diſperſed themſelves to ſeize the plunder; whereupon *Khâled Ebn al Walîd*, perceiving their diſorder, fell on their rear with the horſe which he commanded, and turned the fortune of the day. It is related that tho' *Abda'llah Ebn Jobair*, their captain, did all he could to make them keep their ranks, he had not ten that ſtaid with him out of the whole fifty [2].

[e] *Some of you choſe this preſent world, and others of you choſe the world to come.*] The former were they who, tempted by the ſpoil, quitted their poſt; and the latter they who ſtood firm by their leader.

[f] *And the apoſtle called you*, &c.] Crying aloud, *Come hither to me, O ſervants of* GOD; *I am the apoſtle of* GOD: *he who returneth back ſhall enter paradiſe.* But notwithſtanding all his endeavours to rally his men, he could not get above thirty of them about him.

[g] *Therefore* GOD *rewarded you with affliction*, &c.] i. e. GOD puniſhed your avarice and diſobedience by ſuffering you to be beaten by your enemies, and to be diſcouraged by the report of your prophet's death; that ye might be inured to patience under adverſe fortune, and not repine at any loſs or diſappointment for the future.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

[2] *Vide* D'ABULFED. *vit. Mah. p.* 65, 66. *& not. ib.*

of you; but *other* part were troubled by their own ſouls [a]; falſely thinking of GOD a fooliſh imagination, ſaying, Will any thing of the matter *happen* unto us [b]? Say, Verily the matter *belongeth* wholly unto GOD. They conceal-ed in their minds what they declared not unto thee; ſaying [c], If any thing of the matter had happened unto us [d], we had not been ſlain here. Anſwer, If ye had been in your houſes, verily they would have gone forth to fight, whoſe ſlaughter was decreed, to the places where they died, and *this came to paſs* that GOD might try what was in your breaſts, and might diſcern what was in your hearts; for GOD knoweth the innermoſt parts of the breaſts *of men*. Verily they among you who turned their backs on the day whereon the two armies met each other *at* OHOD, SATAN cauſed them to ſlip, for ſome *crime* which they had committed [e]: but now hath GOD forgiven them; for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, be not as they who be-lieved not, and ſaid of their brethren, when they had journeyed in the land or had been at war, If they had been with us, thoſe had not died, nor had theſe been ſlain: *whereas what befel them was ſo ordained* that GOD might make it *matter of* ſighing in their hearts. GOD giveth life, and cauſeth to die: and GOD ſeeth that which ye do. Moreover if ye be ſlain, or die in defence of the religion of GOD; verily pardon from GOD, and mercy is better than what they heap together *of worldly riches*. And if ye die, or be ſlain, verily unto GOD ſhall ye be gathered. And as to the mercy *granted unto the diſobedient* from GOD, thou O *MOHAMMED* haſt been mild towards them; but if thou hadſt been ſevere, and hard-hearted, they had ſurely ſeparated themſelves from about thee. Therefore forgive them, and aſk pardon for them: and conſult them in the affair *of war*; and after thou haſt deliberated, truſt in GOD; for GOD loveth thoſe who truſt *in him*. If GOD help you, none ſhall conquer you; but if he deſert you, who is it that will help you after him? Therefore in GOD let the faithful truſt. It is not *the part* of a prophet to defraud [f], for he who defraudeth, ſhall bring with him what he hath de-frauded

[a] *Then he ſent down upon you — a ſoft ſleep*, &c.] After the action, thoſe who had ſtood firm in the battle were refreſhed, as they lay in the field, by falling into an agreeable ſleep, ſo that the ſwords fell out of their hands; but thoſe who had behaved themſelves ill were troubled in their minds, imagining they were now given over to deſtruction [1].

[b] *Will any thing of the matter happen unto us?*] That is, Is there any appearance of ſucceſs, or of the divine favour and aſſiſtance which we have been promiſed [2]?

[c] *Saying*, &c.] i.e. To themſelves, or to one another in private.

[d] *If any thing of the matter had happened unto us*, &c.] I. GOD had ſtood by us according to his promiſe; or, as others interpret the words, if we had taken the advice of *Abdallah Ebn Abi Sald*, and had kept within the town of *Medina*; our companions had not loſt their lives [3].

[e] *For ſome crime which they had committed*;] *viz.* For their covetouſneſs in quitting their poſt to ſeize the plunder.

[f] *It is not the part of a prophet to defraud*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed, as ſome ſay, on the diviſion of the ſpoil at *Bedr*; when ſome of the ſoldiers ſuſpected *Mohammed* of having privately taken a ſcarlet carpet made all of ſilk and very rich, which was miſſing [4]. Others ſuppoſe the archers, who occaſioned the loſs of the battle of *Ohod*, left their ſtation becauſe they imagined *Mohammed* would not give them their ſhare of the plunder; becauſe, as it is related, he once ſent out a party as an advanced guard, and in the mean time attacking the enemy, took ſome ſpoils which he divided among thoſe who were with him in the action, and gave nothing to the party that was abſent on duty [5].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

frauded *any one of*, on the day of the reſurrection [a]. Then ſhall every ſoul be paid what he hath gained; and they ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. Shall he therefore who followeth that which is well-pleaſing unto GOD, be as he who bringeth on himſelf wrath from GOD, and whoſe receptacle is hell? an evil journey ſhall it be *thither*. There ſhall be degrees *of rewards and puniſhments* with GOD, for GOD ſeeth what they do. Now hath GOD been gracious unto the believers when he raiſed up among them an apoſtle of their own nation [b], who ſhould recite his ſigns unto them, and purify them, and teach them the book *of the* KORAN and wiſdom [c]; whereas they were before in manifeſt error. After a misfortune hath befallen you *at* OHOD, (ye had already obtained two equal advantages [d]) do ye ſay, Whence *cometh* this? Anſwer, This is from yourſelves [e]: for GOD is almighty. And what happened unto you, on the day whereon the two armies met, was certainly by the permiſſion of GOD; and that he might know the faithful, and that he might know the ungodly. It was ſaid unto them, Come, fight for the religion of GOD, or drive back *the enemy*: they anſwered, If we had known *ye went out* to fight, we had certainly followed you [f]. They were on that day nearer unto unbelief, than they were to faith; they ſpake with their mouths, what was not in their hearts: but GOD perfectly knew what they concealed; who ſaid of their brethren, *while themſelves* ſtaid *at home*, if they had obeyed us, they had not been ſlain. Say, Then keep back death from yourſelves, if ye ſay truth. Thou ſhalt in no wiſe reckon thoſe who have been ſlain *at* OHOD in the cauſe of GOD, dead; nay, they are ſuſtained alive with their LORD [g], rejoicing for what GOD of his favour hath granted them; and being glad for thoſe, who coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them [h]; becauſe there ſhall no fear come on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. They are filled with joy for the favour *which they have received* from GOD, and *his* bounty; and for that GOD ſuffereth not the reward of the faithful to periſh. They who hearkened unto GOD and *his* apoſtle, after a wound had be-

[a] *He who defraudeth ſhall bring with him what he hath defrauded any one of, on the day of reſurrection.*] According to a tradition of *Mohammed*, whoever cheateth another will on the day of judgment carry his fraudulent purchaſe publickly on his neck.

[b] *Of their own nation.*] Some copies inſtead of *min anfoſihim*, i. e. *of themſelves*, read *min anfaſihim*, i. e. *of the nobleſt among them*; for ſuch was the tribe of *Korciſh*, of which *Mohammed* was deſcended [1].

[c] *And wiſdom*;] i. e. The *Sonna* [2].

[d] *Ye had already obtained two equal advantages*;] viz. In the battle of *Bedr*, where ye ſlew ſeventy of the enemy, equalling the number of thoſe who loſt their lives at *Obod*, and alſo took as many priſoners [3].

[e] *This is from your ſelves*;] It was the conſequence of your diſobeying the orders of the prophet, and abandoning your poſt for the ſake of plunder.

[f] *If we had known ye went out to fight*, &c.] That is, if we had conceived the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs when ye marched out of *Medina* to encounter the infidels, and had not known that ye went rather to certain deſtruction, than to battle, we had gone with you. But this *Mohammed* here tells them was only a feigned excuſe; the true reaſon of their ſtaying behind being their want of faith and firmneſs in their religion [4].

[g] See before, p. 18.

[h] *Being glad for thoſe, who coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them*;] i. e. Rejoicing alſo for their ſakes, who are deſtined to ſuffer martyrdom, but have not as yet attained it [5]

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *See before*, p. 36. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *V. Reſ.* vi. 11.

befallen them *at Ohod* [a], ſuch of them as do good works, and fear GOD, ſhall have a great reward; unto whom *certain* men ſaid, Verily the men *of* MECCA have already gathered *forces* againſt you, be ye therefore afraid of them [b]: but *this* increaſed their faith, and they ſaid, GOD is our ſupport, and the moſt excellent patron. Wherefore they returned with favour from GOD, and advantage [c]; no evil befel them: and they followed what was well pleaſing unto GOD; for GOD is endowed with great liberality. Verily that devil [d] would cauſe you to fear his friends: but be ye not afraid of them; but fear me, if ye be true believers. They ſhall not grieve thee, who emulouſly haſten unto infidelity; for they ſhall never hurt GOD at all. GOD will not give them a part in the next life, and they ſhall ſuffer a great puniſhment. Surely thoſe who purchaſe infidelity with faith, ſhall by no means hurt GOD at all, but they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. And let not the unbelievers think, becauſe we grant them lives long and proſperous, that it is better for their ſouls: we grant them long and proſperous lives only that their iniquity may be increaſed; and they ſhall ſuffer an ignominious puniſhment. GOD is not *diſpoſed* to leave the faithful in the condition which ye are now in [e], until

[a] *They who hearkened to* GOD *and his apoſtle*, &c.] The commentators differ a little as to the occaſion of this paſſage. When news was brought to *Mohammed*, after the battle of *Ohod*, that the enemy, repenting of their retreat, were returning towards *Medina*, he called about him thoſe who had ſtood by him in the battle, and marched out to meet the enemy as far as *Homarâ al Aſad* about eight miles from that town, notwithſtanding ſeveral of his men were ſo ill of their wounds that they were forced to be carried; but a panic fear having ſeized the army of the *Koreiſh*, they changed their reſolution and continued their march home; of which *Mohammed* having received intelligence, he alſo went back to *Medina:* and according to ſome commentators the *Korân* here approves the faith and courage of thoſe who attended the prophet on this occaſion. Others ſay the perſons intended in this paſſage were thoſe who went with *Mohammed* the next year, to meet *Abu Sofiân* and the *Koreiſh*, according to their challenge, at *Bedr* [1], where they waited ſometime for the enemy, and then returned home; for the *Koreiſh* tho' they ſet out from *Mecca*, yet never came ſo far as the place of appointment, their hearts failing them on their march; which *Mohammed* attributed to their being ſtruck with a terror from GOD [2]. This expedition the *Arabian* hiſtories call the *ſecond*, or *leſſer expedition of* Bedr.

[b] *Unto whom certain men ſaid, Verily thoſe of* Mecca *have already gathered forces againſt you*, &c.] The perſons who thus endeavoured to diſcourage the *Mohammedans*, were, according to one tradition, ſome of the tribe of *Abd Kais*, who going to *Medina* were bribed by *Abu Sofiân* with a camel's load of dried raiſins; and according to another tradition, it was *No aim Ebn Maſúd al Aſhjaï*, who was alſo bribed with a ſhe camel ten months gone with young, (a valuable preſent in *Arabia*). This *Noaim*, they ſay, finding *Mohammed* and his men preparing for the expedition, told them that *Abu Sofiân*, to ſpare them the pains of coming ſo far as *Bedr*, would ſeek them in their own houſes, and that none of them could poſſibly eſcape otherwiſe than by timely flight. Upon which *Mohammed*, ſeeing his followers a little diſpirited, ſwore that he would go himſelf tho' not one of them went with him. And accordingly he ſet out with ſeventy horſe-men, every one of them crying out *Hasbna Allah*, i. e. GOD *is our ſupport* [3].

[c] *Wherefore they returned with advantage*;] While they ſtaid at *Bedr* expecting the enemy, they opened a kind of fair there, and traded to very conſiderable profit [4].

[d] *That devil*;] Meaning either *Noaim*, or *Abu Sofiân* himſelf.

[e] GOD *will not leave the faithful in the condition ye are now in*, &c.] That is, he will not ſuffer the good and ſincere among you to continue indiſcriminately mixed with the wicked and hypocritical.

[1] *See before, p.* 53. *not. b.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.

til he ſever the wicked from the good; nor is GOD *diſpoſed* to make you acquainted with what is a hidden ſecret, but GOD chuſeth ſuch of his apoſtles as he pleaſeth, *to reveal his mind unto* [a]: believe therefore in GOD, and his apoſtles; and if ye believe, and fear GOD, ye ſhall receive a great reward. And let not thoſe who are covetous of what GOD of his bounty hath granted them, imagine that *their avarice* is better for them: nay, rather it is worſe for them. That which they have covetouſly reſerved ſhall be bound as a collar about their neck [b], on the day of the reſurrection: unto GOD *belongeth* the inheritance of heaven and earth; and GOD is well acquainted with what ye do. GOD hath already heard the ſaying of thoſe who ſaid, Verily GOD is poor, and we are rich [c]: we will ſurely write down what they have ſaid, and the ſlaughter which they have made of the prophets without a cauſe; and we will ſay *unto them*, Taſte ye the pain of burning. This *ſhall they ſuffer* for the *evil* which their hands have ſent before them, and becauſe GOD is not unjuſt towards mankind; who *alſo* ſay, Surely GOD hath commanded us, that we ſhould not give credit to *any* apoſtle, until *one* ſhould come unto us with a ſacrifice, which ſhould be conſumed by fire [d]. Say, Apoſtles have already come unto you before

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their prayers, bring down fire from heaven to conſume the ſacrifice, and therefore they expected *Mohammed* ſhould do the like. And ſome *Mohammedan* doctors agree that GOD appointed this miracle as the teſt of all their prophets, except only JESUS and *Mohammed* [1]; tho' others ſay any other miracle was a proof full as ſufficient as the bringing down fire from heaven [6].

The *Arabian Jews* ſeem to have drawn a general conſequence from ſome particular inſtances of this miracle in the old Teſtament [7]. And the *Jews* at this day ſay, that firſt the fire which fell from heaven on the altar of the tabernacle, [8] after the conſecration of *Aaron* and his ſons, and afterwards that which deſcended on the altar of *Solomon*'s temple, at the dedication of that ſtructure [9], was fed and conſtantly maintained there by the prieſts, both day and night, without being ſuffered once to go out; till it was extinguiſhed, as ſome think, in the reign of *Manaſſes* [10], but according to the more received opinion, when the temple was deſtroyed by the *Chaldeans*. Several *Chriſtians* [11] have given credit to this aſſertion of the *Jews*, with what reaſon I ſhall not here enquire; and the *Jews* in conſequence of this notion, might probably expect, that a prophet who came to reſtore GOD's true religion, ſhould rekindle for them this heavenly fire, which they have not been favoured with ſince the *Babyloniſh* captivity.

[a] *Nor is* GOD *diſpoſed to acquaint you with what is a hidden ſecret, but* GOD *chuſeth ſuch of his apoſtles as he pleaſeth.*] This paſſage was revealed on the rebellious and diſobedient *Mohammedans* telling *Mohammed*, that if he was a true prophet, he could eaſily diſtinguiſh thoſe who ſincerely believed from the diſſemblers [1].

[b] *That which they have covetouſly reſerved ſhall be bound as a collar about their neck*, &c.] *Mohammed* is ſaid to have declared, that whoever pays not his legal contribution of alms duly, ſhall have a ſerpent twiſted about his neck at the reſurrection [2].

[c] GOD *hath heard the ſaying of thoſe who ſaid,* GOD *is poor, and we are rich.*] It is related that *Mohammed*, writing to the *Jews* of the tribe of *Kainokâ* to invite them to *Iſlâm*, and exhorting them, among other things, in the words of the *Korân* [3], *to lend unto* GOD *on good uſury*, *Phineas Ebn Azûra*, on hearing that expreſſion, ſaid, *Surely* GOD *is poor, ſince they ask to borrow for him.* Whereupon *Abu Becr*, who was the bearer of that letter, ſtruck him on the face, and told him, that if it had not been for the truce between them he would have ſtruck off his head: and on *Phineas*'s complaining to *Mohammed* of *Abu Becr*'s ill uſage, this paſſage was revealed [4].

[d] The *Jews*, ſay the commentators, inſiſted that it was a peculiar proof of the miſſion of all the prophets ſent to them, that they could, by

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *Chap.* 2. *p.* 29. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. [7] *Lev.* ix. 24. 1 *Chron.* xxi. 26. 2 *Chron.* vii. 1. [8] *Kings* xviii. 38. [8] *Levit.* ix. 24. [9] 2 *Chron.* vii. 1. [10] *Talmud, Zebachim, c.* 6. [11] *See* PRIDEAUX's *Connect. part* 1. *book* 3. *p.* 158.

fore me [a], with plain proofs, and with the *miracle* which ye mention: why therefore have ye ſlain them, if ye ſpeak truth? If they accuſe thee of impoſture, the apoſtles before thee have alſo been accounted impoſtors, who brought evident demonſtrations, and the ſcriptures, and the book which inlighteneth *the underſtanding*. Every ſoul ſhall taſte of death, and ye ſhall have your rewards on the day of reſurrection; and he who ſhall be far removed from *hell* fire, and ſhall be admitted into paradiſe, ſhall be happy: but the preſent life is only a deceitful proviſion. Ye ſhall ſurely be proved in your poſſeſſions, and *in* your perſons; and ye ſhall hear from thoſe unto whom the ſcripture was delivered before you, and from the idolaters, much hurt: but if ye be patient, and fear GOD, this is a matter that is abſolutely determined. And when GOD accepted the covenant of thoſe to whom the book *of the law* was given, *ſaying*, Ye ſhall ſurely publiſh it unto mankind, ye ſhall not hide it: yet they threw it behind their backs, and ſold it for a ſmall price; but woful *is the price* for which they have ſold *it* [b]. Think not that they who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to be praiſed for what they have not done [c]; think not, *O prophet*, that they ſhall eſcape from puniſhment, for they ſhall ſuffer a painful puniſhment; and unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth: GOD is almighty. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the viciſſitude of night and day, are ſigns unto thoſe who are indued with underſtanding; who remember GOD ſtanding, and ſitting, and *lying* on their ſides [d]; and meditate on the creation of heaven and earth, *ſaying*, O LORD, thou haſt not created this in vain; far be it from thee: therefore deliver us from the torment of *hell* fire: O LORD, ſurely whom thou ſhalt throw into the fire, thou wilt alſo cover with ſhame: nor ſhall the ungodly have any to help them. O LORD, we have heard a preacher [e] inviting *us* to the faith, *and ſaying*, Believe in your LORD: and we believed. O LORD, forgive us therefore our ſins, and expiate our evil deeds from us, and make us to die with the righteous. O LORD, give us alſo *the reward* which thou haſt promiſed by thy apoſtles; and cover us not with ſhame on the day of reſurrection; for thou art not contrary to the promiſe. Their LORD therefore anſwereth them, *ſaying*, I will not ſuffer the work of him among you who worketh to be loſt, whether

[a] *Apoſtles have already come unto you before me;*] Among theſe the commentators reckon *Zacharias* and *John* the *Baptiſt*.

[b] *Woful is the price for which they have ſold it;*] i. e. Dearly ſhall they pay hereafter for taking bribes to ſtifle the truth. *Whoever concealeth the knowledge which* GOD *has given him*, ſays *Mohammed*, GOD *ſhall put on him a bridle of fire on the day of reſurrection.*

[c] *Who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to be praiſed for what they have not done;*] i. e. Who think they have done a commendable deed in concealing and diſſembling the teſtimonies in the *Pentateuch* concerning *Mohammed*, and in diſobeying GOD's commands to the contrary. It is ſaid that *Mohammed* once asking ſome *Jews* concerning a paſſage in their law, they gave him an anſwer very different from the truth, and were mightily pleaſed that they had, as they thought, deceived him. Others however think this paſſage relates to ſome pretended *Mohammedans* who rejoiced in their hypocriſy, and expected to be commended for their wickedneſs [1].

[d] *Who remember* GOD *ſtanding, and ſitting, and lying on their ſides;*] *viz.* At all times and in all poſtures. *Al Beidawi* mentions a ſaying of *Mohammed* to one *Imrân Ebn Hoſein*, to this purpoſe; *pray ſtanding, if thou art able; if not, ſitting; and if thou canſt not ſit up, then as thou lieſt along.* *AlShâfeï* directs that the ſick ſhould pray lying on their right ſide.

[e] *We have heard a preacher*, &c.] Namely *Mohammed*, with the *Korân*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

ther he be male, or female [a]: the one of you is from the other. They therefore who have left their country, and have been turned out of their houſes, and have ſuffered for my ſake, and have been ſlain in battle; verily I will expiate their evil deeds from them, and I will ſurely bring them into gardens watered by rivers; a reward from GOD: and with GOD is the moſt excellent reward. Let not the proſperous dealing of the unbelievers in the land, deceive thee [b]: *it is but* a ſlender proviſion [c]; *and* then their receptacle ſhall be hell; an unhappy couch *ſhall it be.* But they who fear their LORD ſhall have gardens through which rivers flow, they ſhall continue therein for ever: this is the gift of GOD; for what is with GOD ſhall be better for the righteous *than ſhort-lived worldly proſperity.* There are ſome of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, who believe in GOD, and that which hath been ſent down unto you, and that which hath been ſent down to them, ſubmitting themſelves unto GOD [d]; they ſell not the ſigns of GOD for a ſmall price: theſe ſhall have their reward with their LORD; for GOD is ſwift in taking an account [e]. O true believers, be patient, and ſtrive to excel in patience, and be conſtant-minded, and fear GOD, that ye may be happy.

[a] *Whether he be male or female;*] Theſe words were added, as ſome relate, on *Omm Salma,* one of the prophet's wives, telling him that ſhe had obſerved GOD often made mention of the *men* who fled their country for the ſake of their faith, but took no notice of the *women* [1].

[b] *Let not the proſperous dealing,* &c.] The original word properly ſignifies ſucceſs in the affairs of life, and particularly in trade. It is ſaid that ſome of *Mohammed*'s followers obſerving the proſperity the idolaters enjoyed, expreſſed their regret that thoſe enemies of GOD ſhould live in ſuch eaſe and plenty, while themſelves were periſhing for hunger and fatigue; whereupon this paſſage was revealed [2].

[c] *A ſlender proviſion;*] Becauſe of its ſhort continuance.

[d] *There are ſome of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, who believe in* GOD, &c.] The perſons here meant, ſome will have to be *Abdallah Ebn Salâm* [3] and his companions; others ſuppoſe they were forty *Arabs* of *Najrân,* or thirty two *Ethiopians,* or elſe eight *Greeks,* who were converted from *Chriſtianity* to *Mohammediſm*; and others ſay this paſſage was revealed in the ninth year of the *Hejra,* when *Mohammed,* on *Gabriel*'s bringing him the news of the death of *Ashama* king of *Ethiopia,* who had embraced the *Mohammedan* religion ſome years before [4], prayed for the ſoul of the departed; at which ſome of his hypocritical followers were diſpleaſed, and wondred that he ſhould pray for a *Chriſtian* proſelyte whom he had never ſeen [5].

[e] GOD *is ſwift in taking an account,*] See before, p. 23, and the *Preliminary Diſcourſe,* § 4.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *See before, p.* 45. [4] *See the Prelim. Diſcourſe, p.* 45. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. IV.

Intitled, Women [a]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O Men, fear your LORD, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from them two hath multiplied many men, and women: and fear GOD by whom ye beſeech one another [b]; and *reſpect* women [c] *who have born you,* for GOD is watching over you. And give the orphans *when they come to age* their ſubſtance; and render *them* not in exchange bad for good [d]: and devour not their ſubſtance, *by adding it* to your own ſubſtance; for this is a great ſin. And if ye fear that ye ſhall not act with equity towards orphans *of the female ſex,* take in marriage of ſuch *other* women as pleaſe you, two, or three, or four, *and not more* [e]. But if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably *towards ſo many, marry* one *only,* or the ſlaves which ye ſhall have acquired [f]. This will be eaſier, that ye ſwerve not *from righteouſneſs.* And give women their dowry freely; but if they voluntarily remit unto you any part of it, enjoy it with ſatisfaction and advantage. And give not unto thoſe who are weak of underſtanding, the ſubſtance which GOD hath appointed you to preſerve *for them*; but maintain them thereout, and clothe them, and ſpeak kindly unto them. And examine

[a] This title was given to this chapter, becauſe it chiefly treats of matters relating to women; as, marriages, divorces, dower, prohibited degrees, *&c.*

[b] *By whom ye beſeech one another*;] ſaying, I beſeech thee for GOD's ſake [1].

[c] *Women*] Literally, *the wombs.*

[d] *Render them not in exchange bad for good*;] That is, take not what ye find of value among their effects to your own uſe, and give them worſe in its ſtead.

[e] *And if ye fear that ye cannot act with equity towards orphans of the female ſex,* &c.] The commentators underſtand this paſſage differently. The true meaning ſeems to be, as it is here tranſlated; *Mohammed* adviſing his followers that if they found they ſhould wrong the female orphans under their care, either by marrying them againſt their inclinations, for the ſake of their riches or beauty, or by not uſing or maintaining them ſo well as they ought, by reaſon of their having already ſeveral wives, they ſhould rather chuſe to marry other women, to avoid all occaſion of ſin [2]. Others ſay that when this paſſage was revealed, many of the *Arabians,* fearing trouble and temptation, refuſed to take upon them the charge of orphans, and yet multiplied wives to a great exceſs, and uſed them ill; or, as others write, gave themſelves up to fornication; which occaſioned the paſſage. And according to theſe, its meaning muſt be either, that if they feared they could not act juſtly towards orphans, they had as great reaſon to apprehend they could not deal equitably with ſo many wives, and therefore are commanded to marry but a certain number; or elſe, that ſince fornication was a crime as well as wronging of orphans, they ought to avoid that alſo, by marrying according to their abilities [3].

[f] *Or the ſlaves which ye ſhall have acquired.*] For ſlaves requiring not ſo large a dower, nor ſo good and plentiful a maintenance as free women, a man might keep ſeveral of the former, as eaſily as one of the latter.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem,* JALLALO'DDIN.

mine the orphans[a] until they attain *the age of* marriage[b]: but if ye perceive they are able to manage their affairs well, deliver their ſubſtance unto them; and waſte it not extravagantly, or haſtily, becauſe they grow up[c]. Let him who is rich abſtain *entirely from the orphans eſtates*; and let him who is poor take *thereof* according to what ſhall be reaſonable[d]. And when ye deliver their ſubſtance unto them, call witneſſes *thereof* in their preſence: GOD taketh ſufficient account *of your actions*. Men ought to have a part of what *their* parents and kindred leave *behind them when they die*: and women *alſo* ought to have a part of what *their* parents and kindred leave[e], whether it be little, or whether it be much; a determinate part *is due to them*. And when they who are of kin are preſent at the dividing *of what is left*, and alſo the orphans, and the poor; diſtribute unto them *ſome part* thereof; and *if the eſtate be too ſmall, at leaſt* ſpeak comfortably unto them. And let thoſe fear *to abuſe orphans*, who if they leave behind them a weak off-ſpring, are ſollicitous for them: let them therefore fear GOD, and ſpeak that which is convenient[f]. Surely they who devour the poſſeſſions of orphans unjuſtly, ſhall ſwallow down nothing but fire into their bellies, and ſhall broil in raging flames. GOD hath *thus* commanded you concerning your children. A male ſhall have as much as the ſhare of two females[g]: but if they be females *only*, *and* above two *in number*, they ſhall have two third parts of what *the deceaſed* ſhall leave[h]; and if there be *but* one, ſhe ſhall have the half[i]. And the parents of *the deceaſed* ſhall have each of them a ſixth part of what he ſhall leave, if he have a child: but if he have no child, and his parents be his heirs, then his mother ſhall have the third part[k]. And

[a] *Examine the orphans*, &c.] i. e. Try whether they be well grounded in the principles of religion, and have ſufficient prudence for the management of their affairs. Under this expreſſion is alſo comprehended the duty of a curator's inſtructing his pupils in thoſe reſpects.

[b] *Until they attain the age of marriage*;] Or age of maturity, which is generally reckoned to be fifteen; a deciſion ſupported by a tradition of their prophet; though *Abu Hanifah* thinks eighteen the proper age [1].

[c] *Becauſe they grow up*,] i. e. Becauſe they will ſhortly be of age, to receive what belongs to them.

[d] *According to what ſhall be reaſonable*;] That is, no more than what ſhall make ſufficient recompenſe for the trouble of their education.

[e] *Women ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave.*] This law was given to aboliſh a cuſtom of the pagan *Arabs*, who ſuffered not women or children to have any part of their husband's or father's inheritance; on pretence that they only ſhould inherit who were able to go to war [2].

[f] *Let them ſpeak that which is convenient*;] *viz.* Either to comfort the children, or to aſſure the dying father they ſhall be juſtly dealt by [3].

[g] *A male ſhall have as much as the ſhare of two females.*] This is the general rule to be followed in the diſtribution of the eſtate of the deceaſed, as may be obſerved in the following caſes [4].

[h] *If there be above two in number, they ſhall have two third parts*, &c.] Or if there be two and no more, they will have the ſame ſhare.

[i] And the remaining third part, or the remaining moiety of the eſtate, which is not here expreſly diſpoſed of, if the deceaſed leaves behind him no ſon, nor a father, goes to the public treaſury. It muſt be obſerved that Mr. *Selden* is certainly miſtaken, when in explaining this paſſage of the *Koran*, he ſays, that where there is a ſon and an only daughter, each of them will have a moiety [5]: for the daughter can have a moiety but in one caſe only, that is, where there is no ſon; for if there be a ſon, ſhe can have but a third, according to the abovementioned rule.

[k] *His mother ſhall have the third part*:] And his father conſequently the other two thirds [6].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *V. Prelim. Diſc.* §. VI. [5] SELDEN. *de Succeſſ. ad leges Ebræor. l.* 1. *c.* 1. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI.

And if he have brethren, his mother ſhall have a ſixth part, after the legacies [a] which he ſhall bequeath, and his debts *be paid.* Ye know not whether your parents or your children be of greater uſe unto you. *This is* an ordinance from GOD, and GOD is knowing and wiſe. Moreover ye may claim half of what your wives ſhall leave, if they have no iſſue; but if they have iſſue, then ye ſhall have the fourth part of what they ſhall leave, after the legacies which they ſhall bequeath, and the debts *be paid.* They alſo ſhall have the fourth part of what ye ſhall leave, in caſe ye have no iſſue; but if ye have iſſue, then they ſhall have the eighth part of what ye ſhall leave, after the legacies which ye ſhall bequeath, and your debts *be paid.* And if a man or woman's *ſubſtance* be inherited by a diſtant relation [b], and he *or ſhe* have a brother or ſiſter; each of them two ſhall have a ſixth part *of the eſtate* [c]. But if there be more than this *number*, they ſhall be *equal* ſharers in a third part, after *payment of* the legacies which ſhall be bequeathed, and the debts, without prejudice *to the heirs. This is* an ordinance from GOD: and GOD is knowing and gracious. Theſe are the ſtatutes of GOD. And whoſo obeyeth GOD and his apoſtle, *GOD* ſhall lead him into gardens wherein rivers flow, they ſhall continue therein for ever; and this ſhall be great happineſs. But whoſo diſobeyeth GOD, and his apoſtle, and tranſgreſſeth his ſtatutes, *GOD* ſhall caſt him into *hell* fire; he ſhall remain therein for ever, and he ſhall ſuffer a ſhameful puniſhment. If any of your women be guilty of whoredom [d], produce four witneſſes from among you againſt them, and if they bear witneſs *againſt them*, impriſon them in *ſeparate* apartments until death releaſe them, or GOD affordeth them a way *to eſcape* [e]. And if two of you commit the like *wickedneſs* [f], puniſh them both [g]: but if they repent and amend, let them both alone;

[a] *The legacies.*] By *legacies* in this and the following paſſages are chiefly meant thoſe bequeathed to pious uſes; for the *Mohammedans* approve not of a perſon's giving away his ſubſtance from his family and near relations on any other account.

[b] For this may happen by contract, or on ſome other ſpecial occaſion.

[c] *Each of them ſhall have a ſixth part*, &c.] Here, and in the next caſe, the brother and ſiſter are made equal ſharers, which is an exception to the general rule, of giving a male twice as much as a female; and the reaſon is ſaid to be, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of the portions, which deſerve not ſuch exactneſs of diſtribution; for in other caſes the rule holds between brother and ſiſter, as well as other relations [1].

[d] *Whoredom*] Either adultery or fornication.

[e] *Impriſon them—till death releaſe them*, &c.] Their puniſhment in the beginning of *Mohammedaniſm* was to be immured till they died, but afterwards this cruel doom was mitigated, and they might avoid it by undergoing the puniſhment ordained in its ſtead by the *Sonna*; according to which the maidens are to be ſcourged with a hundred ſtripes, and to be baniſhed for a full year; and the married women to be ſtoned [2].

[f] *And if two of you commit the like wickedneſs*, &c.] The commentators are not agreed whether the text ſpeaks of fornication or ſodomy. *Al Zamakhſhari*, and, from him, *al Beidâwi* ſuppoſe the former is here meant: but *Jallalo'ddin* is of opinion that the crime intended in this paſſage muſt be committed between two men, and not between a man and a woman; not only becauſe the pronouns are in the maſculine gender, but becauſe both are ordered to ſuffer the ſame ſlight puniſhment, and are both allowed the ſame repentance and indulgence; and eſpecially for that a different and much ſeverer puniſhment is appointed for the women in the preceding words. *Abu'l Kâſem Hebatâllah* takes ſimple fornication to be the crime intended, and that this paſſage is abrogated by that of the 24th chapter, where the man and the woman who ſhall be guilty of fornication are ordered to be ſcourged with a hundred ſtripes each.

[g] *Puniſh them both.*] The original is, *Do them ſome hurt* or *damage:* by which ſome underſtand that

[1] *See this chap. near the end.*

[2] JALLALO'DDIN.

lone; for GOD is eaſy to be reconciled and merciful. Verily repentance *will be accepted* with GOD, from thoſe who do evil ignorantly, and then repent ſpeedily; unto them will GOD be turned: for GOD is knowing and wiſe. But no repentance *ſhall be accepted* from thoſe who do evil until *the time* when death preſenteth it ſelf unto one of them, *and he* ſaith, Verily I repent now; nor unto thoſe who die unbelievers: for them have we prepared a grievous puniſhment. O true believers, it is not lawful for you to be heirs of women againſt their will [a], nor to hinder them *from marrying others* [b], that ye may take away part of what ye have given them *in dowry*; unleſs they have been guilty of a manifeſt crime [c]: but converſe kindly with them. And if ye hate them, it may happen that ye may hate a thing wherein GOD hath placed much good. If ye be deſirous to exchange a wife for *another* wife [d], and ye have already given one of them a talent [e]; take not away any thing therefrom [f]: will ye take it by ſlandering *her*, and *doing her* manifeſt injuſtice? And how can ye take it, ſince the one of you hath gone in unto the other, and they have received from you a firm covenant? Marry not women, whom your fathers have had to wife; (except what is already paſt:) for this is uncleanneſs, and an abomination, and an evil way. Ye are forbidden *to marry* your mothers, and your daughters, and your ſiſters, and your aunts both on the fathers and on the mothers ſide, and your brothers daughters, and your ſiſters daughters, and your mothers who have given you ſuck, and your foſter-ſiſters, and your wives mothers, and your daughters-in-law which are under your tuition, *born* of your wives unto whom ye have gone in, (but if ye have not gone in unto them, it ſhall be no ſin in you *to marry them*,) and the wives of your ſons who *proceed* out of your loins; and *ye are alſo forbidden* to take to wife two ſiſters [g]; except what is already paſt: for GOD is gracious and merciful. * *Ye* V.
are alſo *forbidden to take to wife* free women *who are married*, except thoſe *women* whom your right hands ſhall poſſeſs *as ſlaves* [h]. *This is* ordained you from GOD.

that they are only to reproach them in public [1], or ſtrike them on the head with their ſlippers [2], (a great indignity in the eaſt;) though ſome imagine they may be ſcourged [3].

[a] *It is not lawful for you to be heirs of women againſt their will.*] It was cuſtomary among the pagan *Arabs*, when a man died, for one of his relations to claim a right to his widow, which he aſſerted by throwing his garment over her; and then he either married her himſelf, if he thought fit, on aſſigning her the ſame dower that her former husband had done, or kept her dower and married her to another, or elſe refuſed to let her marry unleſs ſhe redeemed herſelf by quitting what ſhe might claim of her husband's goods [4]. This unjuſt cuſtom is aboliſhed by this paſſage.

[b] *Nor to hinder them from marrying others.*] Some ſay theſe words are directed to husbands who uſed to impriſon their wives without any juſt cauſe, and out of covetouſneſs, meerly to make them relinquiſh their dower or their inheritance [5].

[c] *A manifeſt crime.*] Such as diſobedience, ill behaviour, immodeſty, and the like [6].

[d] *If ye be deſirous to exchange a wife for another wife*, &c.] That is, by divorcing one, and marrying another.

[e] *A talent*] i. e. Ever ſo large a dower.

[f] See chap. 2. p. 27.

[g] *Ye are forbidden to take to wife two ſiſters.*] The ſame was alſo prohibited by the *Levitical* law [7]

[h] *Ye are forbidden to take to wife free women who are married, except thoſe women whom ye ſhall poſſeſs as ſlaves.*] According to this paſſage it is not lawful to marry a free woman that is already married, be ſhe a *Mohammedan* or not, unleſs ſhe

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, ABUL KASEM HEBATALLAH, *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.* [6] *Idem.* [7] *Levit.* xviii. 18.

GOD. Whatever is beſide this, is allowed you; that ye may with your ſubſtance provide *wives* for your ſelves, acting that which is right, and avoiding whoredom. And for the advantage which ye receive from them, give them their reward [a], according to what is ordained: but it ſhall be no crime in you to make any other agreement among your ſelves [b], after the ordinance *ſhall be complied with*; for GOD is knowing and wiſe. Whoſo among you hath not means ſufficient that he may marry free women, who are believers, *let him marry* with ſuch of your maid-ſervants whom your right hands poſſeſs, as are true believers; for GOD well knoweth your faith. Ye are the one from the other [c]: therefore marry them with the conſent of their maſters; and give them their dower according to juſtice; *ſuch as are* modeſt, not guilty of whoredom, nor entertaining lovers. And when they are married, if they be guilty of adultery, they ſhall ſuffer half the puniſhment which *is appointed* for the free women [d]. This *is allowed* unto him among you, who feareth to ſin *by marrying free women*; but if ye abſtain *from marrying ſlaves, it will be* better for you; GOD is gracious and merciful. GOD is willing to declare *theſe things* unto you and to direct you according to the ordinances of thoſe who *have gone* before you [e], and to be merciful unto you. GOD is knowing and wiſe. GOD deſireth to be gracious unto you; but they who follow *their* luſts [f], deſire that ye ſhould turn aſide *from the truth* with great deviation. GOD is minded to make *his religion* light unto you: for man was created weak [g]. O true believers, conſume not your wealth among your ſelves in vanity [h]; unleſs there be merchandizing among you by mutual conſent: neither ſlay your ſelves [i]; for

ſhe be legally parted from her husband by divorce; but it is lawful to marry thoſe who are ſlaves, or taken in war, after they ſhall have gone through the proper purifications, tho' their husbands be living. Yet, according to the deciſion of *Abu Hanîfah*, it is not lawful to marry ſuch whoſe husbands ſhall be taken, or in actual ſlavery with them [1].

[a] *Give them their reward;*] That is, aſſign them their dower.

[b] *It ſha'l be no crime in you to make any other agreement among your ſelves, &c.*] That is, either to increaſe the dower, or to abate ſome part or even the whole of it.

[c] *Ye are one from the other;*] Being alike deſcended from *Adam*, and of the ſame faith [2].

[d] *The ſlaves, if guilty of adultery, ſhall ſuffer half the puniſhment of the free women.*] The reaſon of this is becauſe they are not preſumed to have had ſo good education. A ſlave therefore, in ſuch a caſe, is to have fifty ſtripes, and to be baniſhed for half a year; but ſhe ſhall not be ſtoned, becauſe it is a puniſhment which cannot be inflicted by halves [3].

[e] *Of thoſe who have been before you;*] *viz.* Of the prophets, and other holy and prudent men of former ages [4].

[f] *They who follow their luſts, &c.*] Some commentators ſuppoſe that theſe words have a particular regard to the *Magians*, who formerly were frequently guilty of inceſtous marriages, their prophet *Zerduſht* having allowed them to take their mothers and ſiſters to wife; and alſo to the *Jews*, who likewiſe might marry within ſome of the degrees here prohibited [5].

[g] *For man was created weak;*] Being unable to refrain from women, and too ſubject to be led away by carnal appetites [6].

[h] *Conſume not your wealth in vanity;*] That is, employ it not in things prohibited by GOD; ſuch as uſury, extortion, rapine, gaming, and the like [7].

[i] *Neither ſlay your ſelves;*] Literally, *ſlay not your ſouls*; i. e. ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, by committing mortal ſins, or ſuch crimes as will deſtroy them. Others however are of opinion that ſelf-murder, which the gentile *Indians* did, and ſtill do, often practiſe in honour of their idols, or elſe the taking away the life of any true believer, is hereby forbidden [8].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] JALLALO'DDIN. *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [7] *Idem.* [8] *Al* BEIDAWI.

for GOD is merciful towards you: and whoever doth this maliciouſly [a] and wickedly, he will ſurely caſt him to be broiled in *hell* fire; and this is eaſy with GOD. If ye turn aſide from the grievous ſins [b], of thoſe which ye are forbidden *to commit*, we will cleanſe you from your *ſmaller* faults; and will introduce you *into paradiſe* with an honourable entry. Covet not that which GOD hath beſtowed on ſome of you preferably to others [c]. Unto the men *ſhall be given* a portion, of what they ſhall have gained, and unto the women *ſhall be given* a portion, of what they ſhall have gained [d]: therefore ask GOD of his bounty; for GOD is omniſcient. We have appointed unto every one kindred, *to inherit part* of what their parents and relations ſhall leave *at their deaths*. And unto thoſe with whom your right hands have made an alliance, give their part *of the inheritance* [e]; for GOD is witneſs of all things. Men ſhall have the pre-eminence above women, becauſe of thoſe *advantages* wherein GOD hath cauſed the one of them to excel the other [f], and for that which they expend of their ſubſtance *in maintaining their wives*. The honeſt women *are* obedient, careful in the abſence *of their husbands* [g], for that GOD preſerveth *them, by committing them to the care and protection of the men*. But thoſe, whoſe perverſeneſs ye ſhall be apprehenſive of, rebuke; and remove them into ſeparate apartments [h], and chaſtiſe them [i]. But if they ſhall be obedient unto you, ſeek not an occaſion *of quarrel* againſt them; for GOD is high and great. And if ye

[a] See Wiſdom xvi. 14. in the vulgate.

[b] *Grievous ſins.*] Theſe ſins *al Beidâwi*, from a tradition of *Mohammed*, reckons to be ſeven (equalling in number the ſins called deadly by *Chriſtians*) that is to ſay, idolatry, murder, falſly accuſing modeſt women of adultery, waſting the ſubſtance of orphans, taking of uſury, deſertion in a religious expedition, and diſobedience to parents. But *Ebn Abbâs* ſays they amount to near ſeven hundred; and others ſuppoſe that idolatry only, of different kinds, in worſhipping idols or any creature, either in oppoſition to, or jointly with the true GOD, is here intended; that ſin being generally eſteemed by *Mohammedans*, and in a few lines after declared by the *Korân* it ſelf, to be the only one which GOD will not pardon [1].

[c] *Covet not that which* GOD *hath beſtowed on ſome of you preferably to others*;] Such as honour, power, riches, and other worldly advantages. Some however underſtand this of the diſtribution of inheritances according to the preceding determinations, whereby ſome have a larger ſhare than others [2].

[d] *Unto the men ſhall be given a portion of what they ſhall have gained*, &c.] That is, they ſhall be bleſſed according to their deſerts; and ought therefore, inſtead of diſpleaſing GOD by envying of others, to endeavour to merit his favour by good works, and to apply to him by prayer.

[e] *Unto thoſe with whom ye have made an alliance, give their part*, &c.] A precept conformable to an old cuſtom of the *Arabs*, that where perſons mutually entred into a ſtrict friendſhip or confederacy, the ſurviving friend ſhould have a ſixth part of the deceaſed's eſtate. But this was afterwards abrogated, according to *Jallalo'ddin* and *al Zamakhſhari*, at leaſt as to infidels. The paſſage may likewiſe be underſtood of a private contract, whereby the ſurvivor is to inherit a certain part of the ſubſtance of him that dies firſt [3].

[f] *Becauſe of thoſe advantages wherein* GOD *hath cauſed the one to excel the other*;] Such as ſuperior underſtanding and ſtrength, and the other privileges of the male ſex, which enjoys the dignities in church and ſtate, goes to war in defence of GOD's true religion, and claims a double ſhare of their deceaſed anceſtors eſtates [4].

[g] *Careful in the abſence of their husbands*;] Both to preſerve their husband's ſubſtance from loſs or waſte, and themſelves from all degrees of immodeſty [5].

[h] *Remove them into ſeparate apartments*;] That is, baniſh them from your bed.

[i] *And chaſtiſe them.*] By this paſſage the *Mohammedans* are in plain terms allowed to beat their wives, in caſe of ſtubborn diſobedience; but not in a violent or dangerous manner [6].

[1] *Idem. See before, chap. 2. p. 11.* [2] *Idem*, JALALO'DDIN. [3] *V. Al* BEIDAWI.
[4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI.

fear a breach between the *husband and wife*, send a judge [a] out of his family, and a judge out of her family: if they shall desire a reconciliation, GOD will cause them to agree; for GOD is knowing and wise. Serve GOD, and associate no creature with him; and *shew* kindness unto parents, and relations, and orphans, and the poor, and *your* neighbour who is of kin to you [b], and also *your* neighbour who is a stranger, and to *your* familiar companion, and the traveller, and *the captives* whom your right hands shall possess; for GOD loveth not the proud *or* vainglorious, who are covetous, and recommend covetousness unto men, and conceal that which GOD of his bounty hath given them [c]; (we have prepared a shameful punishment for the unbelievers;) and who bestow their wealth *in charity* to be observed of men, and believe not in GOD, nor in the last day; and whoever hath SATAN for a companion, an evil companion *hath he!* And what *harm would befal* them if they should believe in GOD, and the last day, and give alms out of that which GOD hath bestowed on them? since GOD knoweth them *who do this*. Verily GOD will not wrong *any one even* the weight of an ant [d]: and if it be a good action, he will double it, and will recompense *it* in his sight with a great reward. How *will it be with the unbelievers* when we shall bring a witness out of each nation *against itself* [e], and shall bring thee, O *MOHAMMED*, a witness against these *people* [f]? In that day they who have not believed, and have rebelled against the apostle *of GOD*, shall wish the earth was levelled with them; and they shall not *be able to* hide any matter from GOD. O true believers, come not to prayers when ye are drunk [g], until ye understand what ye say; nor when ye are polluted by emission of seed, unless ye be travelling on the road, until ye wash yourselves. But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you come from easing nature, or have touched women, and find no water; take fine clean sand and rub your faces and your hands *therewith* [h]; for GOD is merciful and inclined

[a] *Send a judge*, &c.] i. e. Let the magistrate first send two arbitrators or mediators, one on each side, to compose the difference, and prevent, if possible, the ill consequences of an open rupture.

[b] *Your neighbour who is of kin to you*;] Either of your own nation or religion.

[c] *And conceal that which* GOD *of his bounty hath given them*;] Whether it be wealth, knowledge, or any other talent whereby they may help their neighbour.

[d] *God will not wrong any one the weight of an ant*;] Either by diminishing the recompense due to his good actions, or too severely punishing his sins. On the contrary, he will reward the former in the next life, far above their deserts. The *Arabic* word *dharra*, which is translated *an ant*, signifies a very small sort of that insect, and is used to denote a thing that is exceeding small, as a *mite*.

[e] *When we shall bring a witness out of each nation*, &c.] When the prophet who was sent to each nation in particular, shall on the last day be produced to give evidence against such of them as refused to believe on him, or observed not the laws which he brought.

[f] *Against these people*.] That is, the *Arabians*, to whom *Mohammed* was, as he pretended, more peculiarly sent [1].

[g] *Come not to prayers when ye are drunk*, &c.] It is related, that before the prohibition of wine, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf* made an entertainment, to which he invited several of the apostle's companions; and after they had eat and drank plentifully, the hour of evening prayer being come, one of the company rose up to pray, but being overcome with liquor, made a shameful blunder in reciting a passage of the *Korân*; whereupon to prevent the danger of any such indecency for the future, this passage was revealed [2].

[h] *Take sand and rub your faces and your hands therewith*.] See the *Prelim. Disc.* § IV.

[1] *See before*, c. 2. p. 17.

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

clined to forgive. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe unto whom part of the ſcripture [a] was delivered? they ſell error, and deſire that ye may wander from the *right* way; but GOD well knoweth your enemies. GOD is a ſufficient patron, and GOD is a ſufficient helper. Of the Jews there are ſome who pervert words from their places [b]; and ſay, We have heard, and have diſobeyed; and do thou hear without underſtanding *our meaning* [c], and look upon us [d]: perplexing with their tongues, and reviling the *true* religion. But if they had ſaid, We have heard, and do obey; and do thou hear, and regard us [e]: certainly it were better for them, and more right. But GOD hath curſed them by reaſon of their infidelity; therefore a few *of them* only ſhall believe. O *ye* to whom the ſcriptures have been given, believe in the *revelation* which we have ſent down, confirming that which is with you; before we deface *your* countenances, and render them as the back parts thereof [f]; or curſe them, as we curſed thoſe who tranſgreſſed on the ſabbath day [g]; and the command of GOD was fulfilled. Surely GOD will not pardon the giving him an equal [h]; but will pardon any other *ſin*, except that, to whom he pleaſeth [i]: and whoſo giveth a companion unto GOD, hath deviſed a great wickedneſs. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe who juſtify themſelves [k]? But GOD juſtifieth whomſoever he pleaſeth, nor ſhall *they* be wronged a hair [l]. Behold, how they imagine a lie againſt GOD; and therein is iniquity ſufficiently manifeſt. Haſt thou not conſidered thoſe to whom part of the ſcripture hath been given? They believe in falſe gods and idols [m], and ſay of thoſe who believe not,

[a] *Thoſe unto whom part of the ſcripture was delivered*;] Meaning the *Jews*, and particularly their *Rabbins*.

[b] *Who pervert words from their places*;] That is, (according to the commentators,) who change the true ſenſe of the pentateuch by diſlocating paſſages, or by wreſting the words according to their own fancies and luſts [1]. But *Mohammed* ſeems chiefly to intend here the *Jews* bantering of him in their addreſſes, by making uſe of equivocal words, ſeeming to bear a good ſenſe in *Arabic*, but ſpoken by them in deriſion according to their acceptation in *Hebrew*; an inſtance of which he gives in the following words.

[c] *Without underſtanding*;] Literally, *without being made to hear*, or apprehend what we ſay.

[d] *Look upon us*;] The original word is *Raïna*, which being a term of reproach in *Hebrew*, *Mohammed* forbad their uſing to him [2].

[e] *And regard us.*] In *Arabic*, *Ondhorna*; which having no ill equivocal meaning, the prophet ordered them to uſe inſtead of the former.

[f] *And render them as the back parts thereof*;] That is, perfectly plain, without eyes, noſe, or mouth. The original however may alſo be tranſlated, *and turn them behind*, by wringing their necks backward.

[g] *Thoſe who tranſgreſſed on the ſabbath day*;] And were therefore changed into apes [3].

[h] *The giving him an equal*;] That is, idolatry of all kinds.

[i] *To whom he pleaſeth*;] *viz.* To thoſe who repent [4].

[k] *Thoſe who juſtify themſelves*;] i. e. The *Chriſtians* and *Jews*, who called themſelves *the children of* GOD, *and his beloved people* [5].

[l] *A hair.*] The original word ſignifies a little skin in the cleft of a date-ſtone, and is uſed to expreſs a thing of no value.

[m] *In falſe gods and idols*;] The *Arabic* is, in *Jibt* and *Taghût*. The former is ſuppoſed to have been the proper name of ſome idol; but it ſeems rather to ſignify any falſe deity in general. The latter we have explained already [6].

It is ſaid that this paſſage was revealed on the following occaſion. *Hoyai Ebn Akhtab* and *Caab Ebn al Aſhraf* [7], two chief men among the *Jews*, with ſeveral others of that religion, went to *Mecca*, and offered to enter into a confederacy with the *Koreiſh*, and to join their forces againſt *Mohammed*.

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *See before*, *c.* 2. *p.* 14. [3] *See before*, *c.* 2. *p.* 9. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. *See c.* 5. *not far from the beginning*. [6] *See p.* 31. *note* [b]. [7] *See before*, *p.* 45. *not.* [e].

These are more rightly directed in the way *of truth*, than they who believe *on* MOHAMMED. Those are *the men* whom GOD hath curſed; and unto him whom GOD ſhall curſe, thou ſhalt ſurely find no helper. Shall they have a part of the kingdom [a], ſince even then they would not beſtow the ſmalleſt matter [b] on men? Do they envy *other* men that which GOD of his bounty hath given them [c]? We formerly gave unto the family of ABRAHAM a book *of revelations* and wiſdom; and we gave them a great kingdom [d]. There is of them who believeth on him [e]; and there is of them who turneth aſide from him: but the raging fire of hell is *a* ſufficient *puniſhment*. Verily thoſe who diſbelieve our ſigns, we will ſurely caſt to be broiled in *hell* fire; ſo often as their skins ſhall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may taſte the *ſharper* torment; for GOD is mighty and wiſe. But thoſe who believe and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers, therein ſhall they remain for ever, *and* there ſhall they enjoy wives free from all impurity; and we will lead them into perpetual ſhades. Moreover GOD commandeth you to reſtore what ye are truſted with, to the owners [f]; and when ye judge between men, that ye judge according to equity: and ſurely an excellent *virtue it is* to which GOD exhorteth you; for GOD *both* heareth and ſeeth. O true believers, obey GOD, and obey the apoſtle, and thoſe who are in authority among you; and if ye differ in any thing, refer it unto GOD [g] and the apoſtle, if ye believe in GOD, and the laſt day: this is better, and a fairer *method of* determination. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe who pretend they believe in what hath been revealed unto thee, and what

hammed. But the *Koreiſh*, entertaining ſome jealouſy of them, told them, that the *Jews* pretended to have a written revelation from heaven, as well as *Mohammed*, and their doctrines and worſhip approached much nearer to what he taught, than the religion of their tribe; wherefore, ſaid they, if you would ſatisfy us that you are ſincere in the matter, do as we do, and worſhip our gods. Which propoſal, if the ſtory be true, theſe *Jews* complied with, out of their inveterate hatred to *Mohammed* [1].

[a] *Shall they have a part of the kingdom*, &c.] For the *Jews* gave out that they ſhould be reſtored to their ancient power and grandeur [2]; depending, it is to be preſumed, on the victorious *Meſſiah* whom they expected.

[b] *The ſmalleſt matter*;] The original word properly ſignifies a ſmall dent on the back of a date-ſtone; and is commonly uſed to expreſs a thing of little or no value.

[c] *Do they envy other men that which* GOD *of his bounty hath given them?*] *viz.* The ſpiritual gifts of prophecy, and divine revelations; and the temporal bleſſings of victory and ſucceſs, beſtowed on *Mohammed* and his followers.

[d] *We gave them a great kingdom.*] Wherefore GOD will doubtleſs ſhew equal favour to this prophet, (a deſcendant alſo of *Abraham*,) and thoſe who believe on him [3].

[e] *Who believeth on him*;] Namely, on *Mohammed*.

[f] GOD *commandeth you to return what ye are intruſted with, to the owners*;] This paſſage, it is ſaid, was revealed on the day of the taking of *Mecca*, the primary deſign of it being to direct *Mohammed* to return the keys of the *Caaba* to *Othmân Ebn Telha Ebn Abdaldâr*, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place [4], and not to deliver them to his uncle *al Abbâs*, who having already the cuſtody of the well *Zemzem*, would fain have had alſo that of the *Caaba*. The prophet obeying the divine order, *Othmân* was ſo affected with the juſtice of the action, notwithſtanding he had at firſt refuſed him entrance, that he immediately embraced *Mohammediſm*; whereupon the guardianſhip of the *Caaba* was confirmed to this *Othmân* and his heirs for ever [5].

[g] *Unto* GOD;] i. e. To the deciſion of the *Korân*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *See* PRIDEAUX's *Life of* Mahom. *p.* 2.
[5] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 220, 221.

what hath been revealed before thee? They desire to go to judgment before TAGHUT [a], although they have been commanded not to believe in him; and SATAN desireth to seduce them into a wide error. And when it is said unto them, Come unto *the book* which GOD hath sent down, and to the apostle; thou seest the ungodly turn aside from thee, with *great* aversion. But how *will they behave* when a misfortune shall befal them, for that which their hands have sent before them? Then will they come unto thee, and swear by GOD, *saying*, If we intended any other, than to do good, and to reconcile *the parties* [b]. GOD knoweth what is in the hearts of these *men*; therefore let them alone, and admonish them, and speak unto them a word which may affect their souls. We have not sent any apostle, but that he might be obeyed by the permission of GOD: but if they, after they have injured their own souls [c], come unto thee, and ask pardon of GOD, and the apostle ask pardon for them, they shall surely find GOD easy to be reconciled and merciful. And by thy LORD they will not *perfectly* believe, until they make thee judge of their controversies; and shall not afterwards find in their own minds any hardship in what thou shalt determine, but shall acquiesce *therein* with *entire* submission. And if we had commanded them, *saying*, Slay your selves, or depart from your houses [d]; they would not have done it, except a few of them. And if they had done what they were admonished, it would certainly have been better for them, and more efficacious for confirming *their faith*; and we should then have surely given them in our sight an *exceeding* great reward, and we should have directed them in the right way. Whoever obeyeth GOD and the apostle, they *shall be* with those unto whom GOD hath been gracious, of the prophets, and the sincere, and the martyrs, and the righteous; and these are the most excellent company. This is bounty from GOD; and GOD is sufficiently knowing. O true believers, take your *necessary* precaution [e] *against your enemies*,

[a] *They desire to go to judgment before* Taghut;] That is, before the tribunals of infidels. This passage was occasioned by the following remarkable accident. A certain *Jew* having a dispute with a wicked *Mohammedan*, the latter appealed to the judgment of *Caab Ebn al Ashraf*, a principal *Jew*, and the former to *Mohammed*. But at length they agreed to refer the matter to the prophet singly, who giving it in favour of the *Jew*, the *Mohammedan* refused to acquiesce in his sentence, but would needs have it re-heard by *Omar*, afterwards *Khalif*. When they came to him, the *Jew* told him that *Mohammed* had already decided the affair in his favour, but that the other would not submit to his determination; and the *Mohammedan* confessing this to be true, *Omar* bid them stay a little, and fetching his sword, struck off the obstinate *Moslem*'s head, saying aloud, *This is the reward of him who refuseth to submit to the judgment of* GOD *and his apostle.* And from this action *Omar* had the surname of *al Farûk*, which alludes both to his *separating* that knave's head from his body, and to his *distinguishing* between truth and falshood [1]. The name of *Taghût* [2] therefore in this place seems to be given to *Caab Ebn al Ashraf*.

[b] *They will swear they intended no other than to do good*, &c.] For this was the excuse of the friends of the *Mohammedan* whom *Omar* slew, when they came to demand satisfaction for his blood [3].

[c] *After they have injured their own souls*;] *viz.* By acting wickedly, and appealing to the judgment of infidels.

[d] *Slay your selves, or depart from your houses*;] Some understand these words of their venturing their lives in a religious expedition; and others, of their undergoing the same punishments which the *Israelites* did, for their idolatry in worshiping the golden calf [4].

[e] *Take your precaution*;] i. e. Be vigilant, and provide your selves with arms and necessaries.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. *See* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 688, *and* OCKLEY's *Hist. of the Sarac. v.* 1. *p.* 365. [2] *See before, p.* 31. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem. See before, p.* 7.

enemies, and *either* go forth *to war* in ſeparate parties, or go forth all together *in a body*. There is of you who tarrieth behind [a]; and if a misfortune befal you, he ſaith, Verily GOD hath been gracious unto me, that I was not preſent with them: but if ſucceſs attend you from GOD, he will ſay, (as if there was no friendſhip between you and him [b],) Would to GOD I had been with them, for I ſhould have acquired great merit. Let them therefore fight for the religion of GOD, who part with the preſent life in exchange for that which is to come [c]; for whoſoever fighteth for the religion of GOD, whether he be ſlain, or be victorious [d], we will ſurely give him a great reward. And what ails you, that ye fight not for GOD's true religion, and *in defence of* the weak among men, women, and children [e], who ſay, O LORD, bring us forth from this city, whoſe inhabitants are wicked; grant us from before thee a protector, and grant us from before thee a defender [f]. They who believe fight for the religion of GOD; but they who believe not fight for the religion of TAGHUT [g]. Fight therefore againſt the friends of SATAN, for the ſtratagem of SATAN is weak. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe unto whom it was ſaid, With-hold your hands *from war*, and be conſtant at prayers, and pay the legal alms [h]? But when war is commanded them, behold, a part of them fear men as they ſhould fear GOD, or with a greater fear, and ſay, O LORD, wherefore haſt thou commanded us to go to war, and haſt not ſuffered us to wait *our* approaching end [i]? Say *unto them*. The proviſion of this life is *but* ſmall; but the future *ſhall be* better for him who feareth *GOD*; and ye ſhall not be in the leaſt injured *at the day of judgment*. Whereſoever ye be, death will overtake you, although ye be in lofty towers. If good befal them, they ſay, This is from GOD; but if evil befal them, they ſay, This is from thee, *O MOHAMMED* [k]: ſay, All is from GOD; and what aileth theſe people, that they are

[a] *Who tarrieth behind*, &c.] *Mohammed* here upbraids the hypocritical *Moſlems*, who for want of faith and conſtancy in their religion were backward in going to war for its defence.

[b] *As if there was no friendſhip between you and him*;] i. e. As one who attendeth not to the public, but his own private intereſt. Or elſe theſe may be the words of the hypocritical *Mohammedan* himſelf, inſinuating that he ſtaid not behind the reſt of the army by his own fault, but was left by *Mohammed*, who choſe to let the others ſhare in his good fortune, preferably to him [1].

[c] *Who part with the preſent life in exchange for that which is to come*;] By venturing their lives and fortunes in defence of the faith.

[d] *Whether he be ſlain, or be victorious.*] For no man ought to quit the field, till he either fall a martyr, or gain ſome advantage for the cauſe [2].

[e] *In defence of the weak*, &c.] *viz.* Thoſe believers who ſtaid behind at *Mecca*, being detained there either forcibly by the idolaters, or for want of means to fly for refuge to *Medina*. *Al Beidâwi* obſerves that *children* are mentioned here to ſhew the inhumanity of the *Koreiſh*, who perſecuted even that tender age.

[f] *O* LORD *bring us forth from this city, and grant us from thee a protector*, &c.] This petition, the commentators ſay, was heard. For GOD afforded ſeveral of them an opportunity and means of eſcaping, and delivered the reſt at the taking of *Mecca* by *Mohammed*, who left *Otâb Ebn Oſaid* governor of the city: and under his care and protection thoſe who had ſuffered for their religion, became the moſt conſiderable men in the place.

[g] *Taghût*] See before, p. 31.

[h] *Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe unto whom it was ſaid, With-hold your hands from war*, &c.] Theſe were ſome of *Mohammed*'s followers, who readily performed the duties of their religion, ſo long as they were commanded nothing that might endanger their lives.

[i] *Our approaching end*;] That is, a natural death.

[k] *If evil befal them, &c. This is from thee*;] As the *Jews* in particular, who pretended that their land was grown barren, and proviſions ſcarce, ſince *Mohammed* came to *Medina* [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

are ſo far from underſtanding what is ſaid *unto them?* Whatever good befalleth thee, *O man* it is from GOD; and whatever evil befalleth thee, it is from thy ſelf[a]. We have ſent thee an apoſtle unto men, and GOD is a ſufficient witneſs *thereof.* Whoever obeyeth the apoſtle, obeyeth GOD; and whoever turneth back, we have not ſent thee *to be* a keeper over them[b]. They ſay, Obedience: yet when they go forth from thee, part of them meditate by night *a matter* different from what thou ſpeakeſt; but GOD ſhall write down what they meditate by night: therefore let them alone, and truſt in GOD, for GOD is a ſufficient protector. Do they not attentively conſider the KORAN? if it had been from any beſides GOD, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions. When any news cometh unto them, either of ſecurity or fear, they *immediately* divulge it; but if they told it to the apoſtle and to thoſe who are in authority among them, ſuch of them would underſtand *the truth of* the matter, as inform themſelves thereof *from the apoſtle and his chiefs.* And if the favour of GOD and his mercy *had* not *been* upon you, ye had followed the devil, except a few *of you*. Fight therefore for the religion of GOD, and oblige not any to what is difficult[d], except thy ſelf; however excite the faithful *to war*, perhaps GOD will reſtrain the courage of the unbelievers; for GOD is ſtronger *than they*, and more able to puniſh. He who intercedeth *between men* with a good interceſſion[c] ſhall have a portion thereof; and he who intercedeth with an evil interceſſion ſhall have a portion thereof; for GOD overlooketh all things. When ye are ſaluted with a ſalutation, ſalute *the perſon* with a better ſalutation[f], or *at leaſt* return the ſame; for GOD taketh an account of all things. GOD! there is no GOD but he; he will ſurely gather you together on the day of reſurrection; there is no doubt of it: and who is more true than GOD in what he ſaith? Why are ye *divided* concerning the ungodly into two parties[g]; ſince GOD hath overturned them for what they have

[a] *Whatever evil befalleth thee, it is from thy ſelf*;] Theſe words are not to be underſtood as contradictory to the preceding, *That all proceeds from* GOD; ſince the evil which befals mankind, tho' ordered by GOD, is yet the conſequence of their own wicked actions.

[b] *We have not ſent thee to be a keeper over them*;] Or, to take an account of their actions; for this is GOD's part.

[c] *If* GOD's *mercy had not been upon you, ye had followed the devil, except a few of you*:] That is, if GOD had not ſent his apoſtle with the *Koran* to inſtruct you in your duty, ye had continued in idolatry and been doomed to deſtruction; except only thoſe who, by GOD's favour, and their ſuperior underſtanding, ſhould have true notions of the divinity; ſuch, for example, as *Zeid Ebn Amru Ebn Nofail* [1], and *Waraka Ebn Nawfal* [2], who left idols, and acknowledged but one GOD, before the miſſion of *Mohammed* [3].

[d] *Oblige not any to what is difficult, except thy ſelf*;] It is ſaid this paſſage was revealed when the *Mohammedans* refuſed to follow their prophet to the leſſer expedition of *Bedr*, ſo that he was obliged to ſet out with no more than 70[+]. Some copies vary in this place, and inſtead of *la tokallafo*, in the ſecond perſon ſingular, read *la nokallafo*, in the firſt perſon plural, *We do not oblige*, &c. The meaning being, that the prophet only was under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of obeying GOD's commands, however difficult, but others might chuſe, tho' at their peril.

[e] *With a good interceſſion*;] i. e. To maintain the right of a believer, or to prevent his being wronged.

[f] *Salute the perſon with a better ſalutation*;] By adding ſomething farther. As when one ſalutes another by this form, *Peace be upon thee*, he ought not only to return the ſalutation, but to add, *and the mercy of* GOD, *and his bleſſing.*

[g] *Why are ye divided concerning the ungodly into two parties?*] This paſſage was revealed, according to ſome, when certain of *Mohammed*'s followers, pretending not to like *Medina*, deſired leave to go elſewhere, and having obtained it, went

[1] *V.* Millium, *de Mohammediſmo ante Moh. p.* 311. [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 43. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [+] *See before, ch.* 3. *p.* 56.

have committed? Will ye direct him whom GOD hath led astray; since for him whom GOD shall lead astray, thou shalt find no *true* path? They desire that ye should become infidels, as they are infidels, and that ye should be equally *wicked with themselves.* Therefore take not friends from among them, until they fly *their country* for the religion of GOD; and if they turn back *from the faith*, take them, and kill them where-ever ye find them; and take no friend from among them, nor any helper, except those who go unto a people who are in alliance with you [a], or those who come unto you, their hearts forbidding them either to fight against you, or to fight against their own people. And if GOD pleased he would have permitted them to have prevailed against you, and they would have fought against you. But if they depart from you, and fight not against you, and offer you peace, GOD doth not allow you *to take or kill* them. Ye shall find others who are desirous to enter into a confidence with you, and *at the same time* to preserve a confidence with their own people [c]: so often as they return to sedition, they shall be subverted therein; and if they depart not from you, and offer you peace, and restrain their hands *from warring against you*, take them and kill them wheresoever ye find them; over these have we granted you a manifest power. It is not *lawful* for a believer to kill a believer, unless *it happen* by mistake [d]; and whoso killeth a believer by mistake, *the penalty shall be* the freeing of a believer from slavery, and a fine to be paid to the family of *the deceased* [e], unless they remit *it* as alms: and if *the slain person* be of a people at enmity with you, and be a true believer, *the penalty shall be* the freeing of a believer [f]; but if he be of a people in confederacy with you, a fine to be paid to his family, and the freeing of a believer. And he who findeth not *wherewith to do this*, shall fast two months consecutively, *as* a penance *injoined* from GOD; and GOD is knowing and wise. But whoso killeth a believer designedly, his reward shall be hell; he shall remain therein *for ever* [g]; and GOD shall be angry with him,

went farther and farther, till they joined the idolaters; or, as others say, on occasion of some deserters at the battle of *Ohod*; concerning whom the *Moslems* were divided in opinion whether they should be slain as infidels, or not.

[a] *A people who are in alliance with you;*] The people here meant, say some, were the tribe of *Khozâah*, or, according to others, the *Aslamians*, whose chief named *Helâl Ebn Owaimar*, agreed with *Mohammed*, when he set out against *Mecca*, to stand neuter; or, as others rather think, *Banu Beer Ebn Zeid* [1].

[b] *Whose hearts forbid them to fight either against you, or their own people:*] These, it is said, were the tribe of *Modlaj*, who came in to *Mohammed*, but would not be obliged to assist him in war.

[c] *Who desire to enter into a confidence with you,* &c.] The persons hinted at here, were the tribes of *Asad* and *Ghatfân*, or, as some say, *Banu Abdaldâr*, who came to *Medina* and pretended to embrace *Mohammedism*, that they might be trusted by the *Moslems*, but when they returned, fell back to their old idolatry [3].

[d] *Unless it be by mistake;*] That is, by accident and without design. This passage was revealed to decide the case of *Ayâsh Ebn Abi Rabîa*, the brother, by the mother's side, of *Abu Jahl*, who meeting *Hareth Ebu Zeid* on the road, and not knowing that he had embraced *Mohammedism*, slew him [4].

[e] *And a fine to be paid to the family of the deceased;*] Which fine is to be distributed according to the laws of inheritances given in the beginning of this chapter [5].

[f] *The freeing of a true believer;*] And no fine shall be paid, because in such case his relations, being infidels and at open war with the *Moslems*, have no right to inherit what he leaves.

[g] *He shall remain therein for ever;*] That is, unless he repent. Others however understand not

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.*
[5] *Idem.*

him, and ſhall curſe him, and ſhall prepare for him a great puniſhment. O true believers, when ye are on a march in defence of the true religion, juſtly diſcern *ſuch as ye ſhall happen to meet*, and ſay not unto him who ſaluteth you, Thou art not a true believer [a]; ſeeking the accidental goods of the preſent life [b]; for with GOD is much ſpoil. Such have ye formerly been; but GOD hath been gracious unto you [c]; therefore make a juſt diſcernment, for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. Thoſe believers who ſit ſtill *at home*, not having any hurt [d], and thoſe who employ their fortunes and their perſons for the religion of GOD, ſhall not be held equal. GOD hath preferred thoſe who employ their fortunes and their perſons *in that cauſe*, to a degree *of honour* above thoſe who ſit at home: GOD hath indeed promiſed every one paradiſe, but GOD hath preferred thoſe who fight *for the faith* before thoſe who ſit ſtill, *by adding unto them* a great reward, *by* degrees *of honour conferred on them* from him, and *by granting them* forgiveneſs, and mercy; for GOD is indulgent *and* merciful. Moreover unto thoſe whom the angels put to death, having injured their own ſouls [e], *the angels* ſaid, Of what *religion* were ye? they anſwered, We were weak in the earth [f]. *The angels* replied, Was not GOD's earth wide *enough*, that ye might fly therein *to a place of refuge* [g]? Therefore their habitation ſhall be hell; and an evil journey *ſhall it be thither:* except the weak among men, and women, and children, who were not able to find means, and were not directed in the way; theſe peradventure GOD will pardon, for GOD is ready to forgive *and* gracious. Whoſoever flieth *from his country* for the ſake of GOD's true religion, ſhall find in the earth many forced *to do the ſame*, and plenty *of proviſions*. And whoever departeth from his houſe, and flieth unto GOD and his apoſtle, if death overtake him *in the way* [h],

L GOD

not here an eternity of damnation, (for it is the general doctrine of the *Mohammedans* that none who profeſs that faith ſhall continue in hell for ever) but only a long ſpace of time [1].

[a] *Say not unto him who ſaluteth you, Thou art not a true believer*;] On pretence that he only feigns to be a *Moſlem*, that he might eſcape from you. The commentators mention more inſtances than one, of perſons ſlain and plundered by *Mohammed*'s men under this pretext, notwithſtanding they declared themſelves *Moſlems* by repeating the uſual form of words, and ſaluting them; for which reaſon this paſſage was revealed, to prevent ſuch raſh judgments for the future.

[b] *Seeking the accidental goods of this life*;] That is, being willing to judge him an infidel, only that ye may kill and plunder him.

[c] *Such were ye formerly*, &c.] *viz.* At your firſt profeſſion of *Iſlamiſm*, before ye had given any demonſtrations of your ſincerity and zeal therein.

[d] *Not having any hurt*;] i. e. Not being diſabled from going to war by ſickneſs, or other juſt impediment. It is ſaid that when the paſſage was firſt revealed, there was no ſuch exception therein, which occaſioned *Ebn Omm Mactûm*, on his hearing it repeated, to object, *And what, if I ſhould be blind?* Whereupon *Mohammed*, falling into a kind of trance, which was ſucceeded by ſtrong agitations, pretended he had received the divine direction to add theſe words to the text [2]. *through the*

[e] *Thoſe whom the angels put to death*, &c.] Theſe were certain inhabitants of *Mecca*, who held with the hare and ran with the hounds, for tho' they embraced *Mohammediſm*, yet they would not leave that city to join the prophet, as the reſt of the *Moſlems* did, but on the contrary, went out with the idolaters, and were therefore ſlain with them at the battle of *Bedr* [3].

[f] *We were weak in the earth*;] Being unable to fly, and compelled to follow the infidels to war.

[g] *Was not* GOD's *earth wide enough, that ye might fly to a place of refuge?*] As they did who fled to *Ethiopia* and to *Medina*.

[h] *If death overtake him in the way*;] This paſſage was revealed, ſays *al Beidâwi*, on account of *Jondob Ebn Damra*. This perſon being ſick, was, in his flight, carried by his ſons on a couch, and

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*. [3] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

GOD will be obliged to reward him, for GOD is gracious *and* merciful. When ye march *to war* in the earth, it ſhall be no crime in you if ye ſhorten your prayers, in caſe ye fear the infidels may attack you; for the infidels are your open enemy. But when thou, *O prophet*, ſhalt be among them, and ſhalt pray with them, let a party of them ariſe to prayer with thee, and let them take their arms; and when they ſhall have worſhipped, let them ſtand behind you [a], and let another party come that hath not prayed, and let them pray with thee, and let them be cautious and take their arms. The unbelievers would that ye ſhould neglect your arms and your baggage *while ye pray*, that they might turn upon you at once. It ſhall be no crime in you, if ye be incommoded by rain, or be ſick, that ye lay down your arms; but take your *neceſſary* precaution [b]: GOD hath prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious puniſhment. And when ye ſhall have ended *your* prayer, remember GOD, ſtanding, and ſitting, and *lying* on your ſides [c]. But when ye are ſecure *from danger*, complete *your* prayers; for prayer is commanded the faithful, *and* appointed *to be ſaid* at the ſtated times. Be not negligent in ſeeking out the *unbelieving* people, though ye ſuffer *ſome inconvenience*; for they *alſo* ſhall ſuffer, as ye ſuffer, and ye hope for *a reward* from GOD which they cannot hope for; and GOD is knowing *and* wiſe [d]. We have ſent down unto thee the book *of the* KORAN with truth, that thou mayeſt judge between men through that *wiſdom* which GOD ſheweth thee *therein*; and be not an advocate for the fraudulent [e]; but aſk pardon of GOD *for thy wrong intention*, ſince GOD is indulgent *and* merciful. Diſpute not for thoſe who deceive one another, for GOD loveth not him who is a deceiver *or* unjuſt [f]. *Such* conceal themſelves from men, but they conceal not themſelves from GOD; for he is with them when they imagine by night a ſaying which pleaſeth *him* not [g], and GOD comprehendeth what they do. Behold, ye are they who have diſputed for them in this preſent life; but

and before he arrived at *Medina*, perceiving his end approached, he clapped his right hand on his left, and ſolemnly plighting his faith to GOD and his apoſtle, died.

[a] *And let them ſtand behind you*;] To defend thoſe who are at prayers, and to face the enemy.

[b] *Take your neceſſary precaution*;] By keeping ſtrict guard.

[c] *Standing, and ſitting, and lying on your ſides*;] That is, in ſuch poſture as ye ſhall be able [1].

[d] *Be not negligent in ſeeking out the unbelievers*, &c.] This verſe was revealed on occaſion of the unwillingneſs of *Mohammed*'s men to accompany him in the leſſer expedition of *Bedr* [2].

[e] *And be not an advocate for the fraudulent*, &c.] *Tima Ebn Obeirak* of the ſons of *Dhafar*, one of *Mohammed*'s companions, ſtole a coat of mail from his neighbour *Kitâda Ebn al Nomân*, in a bag of meal; and hid it at a *Jew*'s, named *Zeid Ebn al Samîn*: *Tima* being ſuſpected, the coat of mail was demanded of him, but he denying he knew any thing of it, they followed the track of the meal, which had ran out thro' a hole in the bag, to the *Jew*'s houſe, and there ſeized it, accuſing him of the theft; but he producing witneſſes of his own religion that he had it of *Tima*, the ſons of *Dhafar* came to *Mohammed*, and deſired him to defend his companion's reputation, and condemn the *Jew*; which he having ſome thoughts of doing, this paſſage was revealed, reprehending him for his raſh intention, and commanding him to judge not according to his own prejudice and opinion, but according to the merit of the caſe [3].

[f] *For* GOD *loveth not a deceiver or unjuſt perſon*.] *Al Beidâwi*, as an inſtance of the divine juſtice, adds, that *Tima*, after the fact above mentioned, fled to *Mecca*, and returned to idolatry; and there undermining the wall of a houſe, in order to commit a robbery, the wall fell in upon him and cruſhed him to death.

[g] *When they imagine by night a ſaying which pleaſeth him not*;] That is, when they ſecretly contrive means, by falſe evidence or otherwiſe, to lay their crimes on innocent perſons.

[1] *See before, ch.* 3. *p.* 58. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA,

but who ſhall diſpute with GOD for them on the day of reſurrection, or who will become their patron? yet he who doth evil, or injureth his own ſoul, and afterwards asketh pardon of GOD, ſhall find GOD gracious *and* merciful. Whoſo committeth wickedneſs, committeth it againſt his own ſoul: GOD is knowing *and* wiſe. And whoſo committeth a ſin or iniquity, and afterwards layeth it on the innocent, he ſhall ſurely bear *the guilt of* calumny and manifeſt injuſtice. If the indulgence and mercy of GOD had not been upon thee, ſurely a part of them had ſtudied to ſeduce thee [a]; but they ſhall ſeduce themſelves only, and ſhall not hurt thee at all. GOD hath ſent down unto thee the book *of the* KORAN and wiſdom, and hath taught thee that which thou kneweſt not [b]; for the favour of GOD hath been great towards thee. There is no good in the multitude of their private diſcourſes, unleſs *in the diſcourſe* of him who recommendeth alms, or that which is right, or agreement amongſt men: whoever doth this out of a deſire to pleaſe GOD, we will ſurely give him a great reward. But whoſo ſeparateth himſelf from the apoſtle, after *true* direction hath been manifeſted unto him, and followeth any other way, than that of the true believers, we will cauſe him to obtain that to which he is inclined [c], and will caſt him to be burned in hell; and an unhappy journey ſhall it be *thither*. Verily GOD will not pardon the giving him a companion, but he will pardon *any crime* beſides that, unto whom he pleaſeth: and he who giveth a companion unto GOD, is ſurely led aſide into a wide miſtake: the *infidels* invoke beſide him only female *deities* [d]; and only invoke rebellious SATAN. GOD curſed him; and he ſaid, Verily I will take of thy ſervants a part cut off *from the reſt* [e], and I will ſeduce them, and will inſinuate *vain* deſires into them, and I will command them and they ſhall cut off the ears of cattle [f]; and I will command them and they ſhall change GOD's creature [g]. But whoever taketh SATAN for his patron, beſides GOD [h], ſhall ſurely periſh with a manifeſt deſtruction. He maketh them promiſes, and inſinuateth into them vain deſires; yet SATAN maketh them only deceitful promiſes. The receptacle of theſe ſhall be hell, they ſhall find no refuge from it. But they who believe, and do good works, we will ſurely lead them into gardens,

[a] *A part of them had ſtudied to ſeduce thee*;] Meaning the ſons of *Dhafar*.

[b] *And hath taught thee that which thou kneweſt not*;] By inſtructing thee in the knowledge of right and wrong, and the rules of juſtice.

[c] *We will cauſe him to obtain that towards which he is inclined*;] *viz.* Error, and falſe notions of religion.

[d] *The infidels invoke beſides him only female deities*;] Namely, *Allât*, *al Uzza*, and *Menât*, the idols of the *Meccans*; or the angels, whom they called the *daughters of* GOD [i].

[e] *A part cut off from the reſt*;] Or, as the original may be tranſlated, a part *deſtined* or *predetermined* to be ſeduced by me.

[f] *And they ſhall cut off the ears of cattle*;] Which was done out of ſuperſtition by the old pagan *Arabs*. See more of this cuſtom in the notes to the 5th chapter.

[g] *And they ſhall change* GOD's *creature*;] Either by maiming it, or putting it to uſes not deſigned by the Creator. *Al Beidâwi* ſuppoſes the text to intend not only the ſuperſtitious amputations of the ears and other parts of cattle, but the caſtration of ſlaves, the marking their bodies with figures, by pricking and dying them with woad or indico, (as the *Arabs* did and ſtill do) the ſharpening their teeth by filing; and alſo ſodomy, and the unnatural amours between thoſe of the female ſex, the worſhip of the ſun, moon, and other parts of nature, and the like.

[h] *Beſides* GOD;] i. e. By leaving the ſervice of GOD, and doing the works of the devil.

[i] *See the Prelim. Diſcourſe*, §. 1. *p.* 17, *&c.*

through which rivers flow, they ſhall continue therein for ever, *according to* the true promiſe of GOD; and who is more true than GOD in what he ſaith? It ſhall not be according to your deſires, nor *according to* the deſires of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures [a]. Whoſo doth evil, ſhall be rewarded for it; and ſhall not find any patron or helper, beſide GOD; but whoſo doth good works, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer; they ſhall be admitted into paradiſe, and ſhall not in the leaſt be unjuſtly dealt with. Who is better in point of religion, than he who reſigneth himſelf unto GOD, and is a worker of righteouſneſs, and followeth the law of ABRAHAM the orthodox? ſince GOD took ABRAHAM for his friend [b]: and to GOD *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and on earth; GOD comprehendeth all things. They will conſult thee concerning women [c]; Anſwer, GOD inſtructeth you concerning them [d], and that which is read unto you in the book *of the* KORAN concerning female orphans, to whom ye give not that which is ordained them, neither will ye marry them [e], and concerning weak infants [f], and that ye obſerve juſtice towards orphans: whatever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. If a woman fear ill uſage, or averſion from her husband, it ſhall be no crime in them if they agree the matter amicably between themſelves [g]; for a reconciliation is better *than a ſeparation. Mens* ſouls are naturally

[a] *It ſhall not be according to your deſires, nor according to the deſires of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures*;] That is, the promiſes of GOD are not to be gained by acting after your own fancies, nor yet after the fancies of the *Jews* or *Chriſtians*, but by obeying the commands of GOD. This paſſage, they ſay, was revealed on a diſpute which aroſe between thoſe of the three religions, each preferring his own, and condemning the others. Some however ſuppoſe the perſons here ſpoken to in the ſecond perſon, were not the *Mohammedans*, but the idolaters [1].

[b] *Since* GOD *took* Abraham *for his friend*;] Therefore the *Mohammedans* uſually call that patriarch, as the ſcripture alſo does, *Khalîl Allah*, the *Friend of* GOD, and ſimply *al Khalîl*; and they tell the following ſtory. That *Abraham* in a time of dearth ſent to a friend of his in *Egypt* for a ſupply of corn; but the friend denied him, ſaying in his excuſe, That tho' there was a famine in their country alſo, yet had it been for *Abraham*'s own family, he would have ſent what he deſired, but he knew he wanted it only to entertain his gueſts and give away to the poor, according to his uſual hoſpitality. The ſervants whom *Abraham* had ſent on this meſſage, being aſhamed to return empty, to conceal the matter from their neighbours, filled their ſacks with fine white ſand, which in the eaſt pretty much reſembles meal. *Abraham* being informed by his ſervants, on their return, of their ill ſucceſs, the concern he was under threw him into a ſleep; and in the mean time *Sarah*, knowing nothing of what had happened, opening one of the ſacks, found good flower in it, and immediately ſet out about making of bread. *Abraham* awaking and ſmelling the new bread, asked her whence ſhe had the flower? *Why*, ſays ſhe, *from your friend in* Egypt; *Nay*, replied the Patriarch, *it muſt have come from no other than my friend* GOD *Almighty* [2].

[c] *They will conſult thee concerning women*;] i. e. As to the ſhare they are to have in the diſtribution of the inheritances of their deceaſed relations; for it ſeems the *Arabs* were not ſatisfied with *Mahammed*'s deciſion in this point, againſt the old cuſtoms.

[d] GOD *inſtructeth you concerning them*, &c.] i.e. He hath already made his will known unto you, by revealing the paſſages concerning inheritances in the beginning of this chapter.

[e] *Neither will ye marry with them*;] Or the words may be rendred in the affirmative, *and whom ye deſire to marry*. For the pagan *Arabs* uſed to wrong their female orphans in both inſtances; obliging them to marry againſt their inclinations, if they were beautiful or rich; or elſe not ſuffering them to marry at all, that they might keep what belonged to them [3].

[f] *And concerning weak infants*;] That is, male children of tender years, to whom the *Arabs*, in the time of paganiſm, uſed to allow no ſhare in the diſtribution of their parents eſtate [4].

[g] *If they agree the matter between themſelves*;] *viz.* By the wife's remitting part of her dower or other dues.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA. *p.* 14. & MORGAN's *Mahometiſm explain'd*, *V.* 1. *p.* 132. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *See before*, *p.* 61. *not.* e.

ly inclined to covetouſneſs [a]: but if ye be kind *towards women*, and fear *to wrong them*, GOD is well acquainted with what ye do. Ye can by no means carry your ſelves equally between women *in all reſpects*, although ye ſtudy *to do it*; therefore turn not *from a wife* with all *manner of* averſion [b], nor leave her like one in ſuſpenſe [c]: if ye agree, and fear *to abuſe your wives*, GOD is gracious *and* merciful; but if they ſeparate, GOD will ſatisfy *them* both of his abundance [d]; for GOD is extenſive *and* wiſe, and unto GOD *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and on earth. We have already commanded thoſe unto whom the ſcriptures were given before you, and *we command* you alſo, *ſaying*, Fear GOD; but if ye diſbelieve, unto GOD *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and on earth; and GOD is ſelf-ſufficient [e], *and* to be praiſed; for unto GOD *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and on earth, and GOD is a ſufficient protector. If he pleaſeth he will take you away, O men, and will produce others [f] *in your ſtead*; for GOD is able to do this. Whoſo deſireth the reward of this world, verily with GOD is the reward of this world, and *alſo* of that which is to come; GOD *both* heareth *and* ſeeth. O true believers, obſerve juſtice when ye bear witneſs before GOD, although *it be* againſt your ſelves, or *your* parents, or relations; whether *the party* be rich, or *whether he be* poor; for GOD is more worthy than them both: therefore follow not *your own* luſt *in bearing teſtimony*, ſo that ye ſwerve *from juſtice*. And whether ye wreſt *your evidence*, or decline *giving it*, GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. O true believers, believe in GOD and his apoſtle, and the book which he hath cauſed to deſcend unto his apoſtle, and the book which he hath formerly ſent down [g]. And whoſoever believeth not in GOD, and his angels, and his ſcriptures, and his apoſtles, and the laſt day, he ſurely erreth in a wide miſtake. Moreover they who believed, and afterwards became infidels, and then believed *again*, and after that diſbelieved, and increaſed in infidelity [h], GOD will by no means forgive them, nor direct them into

[a] *Mens ſouls are naturally inclined to covetouſneſs*;] So that the woman, on the one ſide, is unwilling to part with any of her right, and the husband, on the other, cares not to retain one he has no affection for; or, if he ſhould retain her, ſhe can ſcarce expect he will uſe her in all reſpects as he ought [1].

[b] *Turn not from a wife with all manner of averſion*;] i. e. Tho' you cannot uſe her equally well with a beloved wife, yet obſerve ſome meaſures of juſtice towards her; for if a man is not able perfectly to perform his duty, he ought not, for that reaſon, intirely to neglect it [2].

[c] *Nor leave her like one in ſuſpenſe*;] Or like one that neither has a husband, nor is divorced and at liberty to marry elſewhere.

[d] GOD *will ſatisfy them both*, &c.] That is, either will bleſs them with a better and more advantageous match, or with peace and tranquillity of mind [3].

[e] GOD *is ſelf-ſufficient*;] Wanting the ſervice of no creature.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

[f] *And will produce others*, &c.] i. e. Either another race of men, or a different ſpecies of creatures.

[g] *Believe in* GOD *and his apoſtle*, &c.] It is ſaid that *Abdallah Ebn Salâm* and his companions told *Mohammed*, that they believed in him, and his *Korân*, and in *Moſes*, and the pentateuch, and in *Ezra*, but no farther; whereupon this paſſage was revealed, declaring that a partial faith is little better than none at all, and that a true believer muſt believe in all GOD's prophets and revelations without exception [4].

[h] *They who believed and afterwards became infidels; and then believed again, and after that diſbelieved, and again increaſed in infidelity*;] Theſe were the *Jews*, who firſt believed in *Moſes*, and afterwards fell into idolatry by worſhipping the golden calf; and tho' they repented of that, yet in after ages rejected the prophets who were ſent to them, and particularly *Jeſus* the ſon of *Mary*, and now filled up the meaſure of their unbelief by rejecting of *Mohammed* [5].

[3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.*

into the *right* way. Declare unto the ungodly [a] that they ſhall ſuffer a painful puniſhment. They who take the unbelievers for their protectors, beſides the faithful, do they ſeek for power with them? ſince all power belongeth unto GOD. And he hath already revealed unto you, in the book *of the* KORAN [b], *the following paſſage*, When ye ſhall hear the ſigns of GOD, they ſhall not be believed, but they ſhall be laughed to ſcorn. Therefore ſit not with them *who believe not*, until they engage in different diſcourſe; for *if ye do* ye will certainly *become* like unto them. GOD will ſurely gather the ungodly and the unbelievers together in hell. They who wait *to obſerve what befalleth* you, if victory be *granted* you from GOD, ſay, Were we not with you [c]? But if any advantage happen to the infidels, they ſay *unto them*, Were we not ſuperior to you [d], and have we not defended you againſt the believers? GOD ſhall judge between you on the day of reſurrection; and GOD will not grant the unbelievers means *to prevail* over the faithful. The hypocrites act deceitfully with GOD, but he will deceive them; and when they ſtand up to pray, they ſtand carelеſly, affecting to be ſeen of men, and remember not GOD, unleſs a little [e], wavering between *faith and infidelity*, *and adhering* neither unto theſe nor unto thoſe [f]: and for him whom GOD ſhall lead aſtray, thou ſhalt find no true path. O true believers, take not the unbelievers for *your* protectors, beſides the faithful. Will ye furniſh GOD with an evident argument *of impiety* againſt you? Moreover the hypocrites ſhall be in the loweſt bottom of *hell* fire [g], and thou ſhalt not find any to help them *thence*. But they who repent and amend, and adhere firmly unto GOD, and approve the ſincerity of their religion to GOD, they ſhall be *numbered* with the faithful; and GOD will ſurely give the faithful a great reward. And how ſhould GOD go about to puniſh you, if ye
VI. be thankful and believe? for GOD is grateful *and* wiſe. * GOD loveth not the ſpeaking ill *of any one* in public, unleſs he who is injured *call for aſſiſtance*; and GOD heareth *and* knoweth: whether ye publiſh a good *action*, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily GOD is gracious *and* powerful. They who believe not in GOD, and his apoſtles, and would make a diſtinction between GOD and his apoſtles [h], and ſay, We believe in ſome *of the prophets* and reject others *of them*, and ſeek to take a *middle* way in this *matter*; theſe are really unbelievers: and we have prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious puniſhment. But they who believe in GOD and his apoſtles, and make no diſtinction between any of them, unto thoſe will we ſurely give their reward; and GOD is gra-

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[a] *Declare unto the ungodly, &c.*] *Mohammed* here means thoſe who hypocritically pretended to believe in him but really did not, and by their treachery did great miſchief to his party [1].

[b] *In the* Koran;] Chap. 6.

[c] *Were we not with you?*] i. e. Did we not aſſiſt you? therefore give us a part of the ſpoil [2].

[d] *Were we not ſuperior to you?*] Would not our army have cut you off, if it had not been for our faint aſſiſtance, or rather deſertion, of the *Moſlems*, and our diſheartning them [3]?

[e] *Unleſs a little*;] That is, with the tongue, and not with the heart.

[f] *Adhering neither unto theſe nor unto thoſe*;] Halting between two opinions, and being ſtaunch friends neither to the *Moſlems*, nor the infidels.

[g] *The hypocrites ſhall be in the loweſt bottom of hell fire*;] See the Preliminary Diſcourſe § IV. p. 92.

[h] See chap. 2. p. 34. not. *b*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

cious *and* merciful. They who have received the ſcriptures [a] will demand of thee, that thou cauſe a book to deſcend unto them from heaven: they formerly aſked of MOSES a greater *thing* than this; for they ſaid, Shew us GOD viſibly [b]. Wherefore a ſtorm of fire from heaven deſtroyed them, becauſe of their iniquity. Then they took the calf *for their GOD* [c], after that evident proofs *of the divine unity* had come unto them: but we forgave *them* that, and gave MOSES a manifeſt power *to puniſh them* [d]. And we lifted the mountain *of SINAI* over them [e], *when we exacted from them* their covenant; and ſaid unto them, Enter the gate *of the city* worſhipping [f]. We alſo ſaid unto them, Tranſgreſs not on the ſabbath day. And we received from them a firm covenant, *that they would obſerve theſe things.* Therefore for that [g] they have made void their covenant, and have not believed in the ſigns of GOD, and have ſlain the prophets unjuſtly, and have ſaid, Our hearts are uncircumciſed; (but GOD hath ſealed them up, becauſe of their unbelief; therefore they ſhall not believe, except a few *of them:*) and for that they have not believed *on JESUS*, and have ſpoken againſt MARY a grievous calumny [h]; and have ſaid, Verily we have ſlain CHRIST JESUS the ſon of MARY, the apoſtle of GOD; yet they ſlew him not, neither crucified him, but he was repreſented *by one* in his likeneſs [i]; and verily they who diſagreed concerning him [k], were in a doubt as to this *matter*, and had no *ſure* knowledge thereof, but followed only an *uncertain* opinion. They did not really kill him; but GOD took him up unto himſelf: and GOD is mighty *and* wiſe. And *there ſhall not be one* of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, who ſhall not believe in him, before his death [l]; and on the day of reſurrection he ſhall be a witneſs againſt them.

[a] *They who have received the ſcriptures*, &c.] That is, the *Jews*; who demanded of *Mohammed*, as a proof of his miſſion, that they might ſee a book of revelations deſcend to him from heaven, or that he would produce one written in a celeſtial character, like the two tables of *Moſes*.

[b] *Shew us* GOD *viſibly*, &c.] See chap. 2. p. 7. This ſtory ſeems to be an addition to what *Moſes* ſays of the ſeventy elders, who went up to the mountain with him, and with *Aaron*, *Nadab*, and *Abihu*, and ſaw the GOD of *Iſrael* [1].

[c] See chap. 2. p. 6.

[d] See ibid. p. 7. not. *a*.

[e] See ibid. p. 9.

[f] See ibid. p. 7.

[g] *Therefore for that*, &c.] There being nothing in the following words of this ſentence, to anſwer to the cauſal *for that*, *Jallalo'ddin* ſuppoſes ſomething to be underſtood to compleat the ſenſe, as, *therefore we have curſed them*, or the like.

[h] *And have ſpoken againſt* Mary *a grievous calumny*;] By accuſing her of fornication [2].

[i] *Yet they ſlew him not*, &c.] See chap. 3. p. 42. and the notes there.

[k] *Who diſagreed concerning him*;] For ſome maintained that he was juſtly and really crucified; ſome inſiſted that it was not *Jeſus*, who ſuffered, but another who reſembled him in the face, pretending the other parts of his body, by their unlikeneſs, plainly diſcovered the impoſition; ſome ſaid he was taken up into heaven; and others, that his manhood only ſuffered, and that his godhead aſcended into heaven [3].

[l] *There ſhall not be one of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, who ſhall not believe in him, before his death*;] This paſſage is expounded two ways.

Some, referring the relative *his*, to the firſt antecedent, take the meaning to be, that no *Jew* or *Chriſtian* ſhall die, before he believes in *Jeſus*: for they ſay, that when one of either of thoſe religions is ready to breathe his laſt, and ſees the angel of death before him, he ſhall then believe in that prophet as he ought, tho' his faith will not then be of any avail. According to a tradition of *Hejâj*, when a *Jew* is

[1] *Exod.* xxiv. 9, 10, 11. [2] *See the Kor. ch.* 19. *and that virulent book intitled* Toldoth Jeſu. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

them[a]. Becauſe of the iniquity of thoſe who judaize, we have forbidden them good things, which had been *formerly* allowed them [b]; and becauſe they ſhut out many from the way of GOD, and have taken uſury, which was forbidden them *by the law*, and devoured men's ſubſtance vainly: we have prepared for ſuch of them as are unbelievers a painful puniſhment. But thoſe among them who are well grounded in knowledge[c], and the faithful, who believe in that which hath been ſent down unto thee, and that which hath been ſent down *unto the prophets* before thee, and who obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and give alms, and believe in GOD and the laſt day; unto theſe will we give a great reward. Verily we have revealed *our will* unto thee, as we have revealed *it* unto NOAH and the prophets who ſucceeded him; and *as* we revealed *it* unto ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes, and unto JESUS, and JOB, and JONAS, and AARON, and SOLOMON; and *we have given thee the KORAN, as* we gave the pſalms unto DAVID: *ſome* apoſtles *have we ſent*, whom we have formerly mentioned unto thee, and *other* apoſtles *have we ſent*, whom we have not mentioned unto thee; and GOD ſpake unto MOSES, diſcourſing *with him*; apoſtles declaring good tidings, and denouncing threats, leſt men ſhould have an argument *of excuſe* againſt GOD, after the apoſtles *had been ſent unto them*; GOD is mighty *and* wiſe. GOD is witneſs of that *revelation* which he hath ſent down unto thee; he ſent it down with his *ſpecial* knowledge: the angels alſo are witneſſes *thereof*; but GOD is a ſufficient witneſs. They who believe not, and turn aſide *others* from the way of GOD, have erred in a wide miſtake. Verily thoſe who believe not, and act unjuſtly, GOD will by no means forgive, neither will he direct them into *any other* way, than the way of hell; they ſhall remain therein for ever: and this is eaſy with GOD. O men, now is the apoſtle come unto you, with truth from your LORD; believe therefore; *it will be* better for you. But if ye diſbelieve, verily unto GOD *belongeth* whatſoever *is* in heaven and on earth; and GOD is knowing *and* wiſe. O ye who have received the ſcriptures, exceed not the juſt bounds in your religion[d], neither ſay of GOD *any other* than the truth. Verily CHRIST JESUS the ſon of MARY *is* the apoſtle of GOD, and his Word, which he conveyed unto MARY, and a ſpirit proceeding from him: believe therefore in GOD and his apoſtles, and ſay not, *There are* three *Gods*. Deſiſt, *it will be* better for you. GOD is only one God: far be it from his glory that he ſhould have a ſon, whatſoever *is* in heaven and whatſoever *is* in earth belongeth unto him, and GOD is a ſufficient protector. The MESSIAH will not diſdain to be a ſervant unto GOD, neither will the angels who approach near unto him. And whoſoever diſdaineth his ſervice and is proud, he will aſſemble them all unto himſelf at the reſurrection. But as to thoſe who believe and do the things which are right, he will pay them their reward, and will increaſe unto them of his bounty: but as to thoſe who diſdained and were proud, he will puniſh them with a painful puniſhment, and they ſhall not find for themſelves any protector or helper beſides GOD. O men, there is now come unto you a demonſtration from your LORD, and we have ſent down unto you a clear light. As to thoſe therefore who believe in GOD, and hold faſt by him, he will cauſe them to enter into mercy from himſelf, and his favour, and will guide them unto himſelf by the right way. They will conſult thee for a deciſion. Say, GOD will inſtruct you concerning the caſe of him who hath no iſſue and hath no father. If a man die, and hath a ſiſter, unto her ſhall belong half of what he hath left, and he ſhall be her heir if ſhe have no iſſue. But if there be two ſiſters, unto them ſhall belong two thirds of what he hath left. And if there be brethren, men and women, unto the male ſhall belong a portion equal to that of two females. GOD teacheth you leſt ye err, and GOD knoweth all things.

[a] *He ſhall be a witneſs againſt them*;] i. e. Againſt the *Jews*, for rejecting him; and againſt the *Chriſtians*, for calling him GOD, and the Son of GOD [2].

[b] See chap. 3. p. 42 and 47, and the notes there.

[c] *Thoſe among them who are well grounded in knowledge*;] as *Abdallah Ebn Salâm*, and his companions [3].

[d] *Exceed not the juſt bounds in your religion*;] Either by rejecting and contemning of *Jeſus*, as the *Jews* do; or raiſing him to an equality with GOD, as do the *Chriſtians* [4].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, *and Al* BEIDAWI. *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. iv. *p.* 81. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.*

conveyed into MARY, and a ſpirit *proceeding* from him. Believe therefore in GOD, and his apoſtles, and ſay not, *There are* three *Gods*[a]; forbear *this*; it will be better for you. GOD is but one GOD. Far be it from him that he ſhould have a ſon! unto him *belongeth* whatſoever *is* in heaven and on earth; and GOD is a ſufficient protector. CHRIST doth not proudly diſdain to be a ſervant unto GOD; neither the angels who approach near *to his preſence*: and whoſo diſdaineth his ſervice, and is puffed up with pride, *GOD* will gather them all to himſelf, *on the laſt day*. Unto thoſe who believe, and do that which is right, he ſhall give their rewards, and ſhall *ſuperabundantly* add unto them of his liberality: but thoſe who are diſdainful and proud, he will puniſh with a grievous puniſhment; and they ſhall not find any to protect or to help them, beſides GOD. O men, now is an evident proof come unto you from your LORD, and we have ſent down unto you manifeſt light[b]. They who believe in GOD and firmly adhere to him, he will lead them into mercy from him, and abundance; and he will direct them in the right way to himſelf[c]. They will conſult thee *for thy deciſion in certain caſes*; ſay *unto them*, GOD giveth you *theſe* determinations, concerning the more remote degrees of kindred[d]. If a man die without iſſue, and have a ſiſter; ſhe ſhall have the half of what he ſhall leave[e]: and he ſhall be heir to her[f], in caſe ſhe have no iſſue. But if there be two *ſiſters*, they ſhall have *between them* two third parts of what he ſhall leave; and if there be *ſeveral*, *both* brothers and ſiſters, a male ſhall have as much as the portion of two females. GOD declareth unto you *theſe precepts*, leſt ye err: and GOD knoweth all things.

[a] *Say not, there are three Gods*;] Namely, God, *Jeſus*, and *Mary*[1]. For the eaſtern writers mention a ſect of *Chriſtians*, which held the Trinity to be compoſed of thoſe three[2]; but it is allowed that this hereſy has been long ſince extinct[3]. The paſſage however is equally levelled againſt the Holy Trinity, according to the doctrine of the orthodox *Chriſtians*, who, as *Al Beidâwi* acknowledges, believe the divine nature to conſiſt of three perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; by the Father, underſtanding God's eſſence, by the Son, his knowledge, and by the Holy Ghoſt, his life.

[b] *An evident proof and manifeſt light*;] That is, *Mohammed* and his *Korân*.

[c] *In the right way to him*;] viz. Into the religion of *Iſlâm*, in this world, and the way to paradiſe in the next[4].

[d] See the beginning of this chapter, p. 62.

[e] *She ſhall have the half of what he ſhall leave*;] And the other half will go to the public treaſury.

[f] *And he ſhall be heir to her*;] That is, he ſhall inherit her whole ſubſtance.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA. [2] ELMACIN. *p.* 227. EUTYCH. *p.* 120. *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 35. [3] AHMED EBN ABD'AL HALIM. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. V.

Intitled, The Table[a]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O True believers, perform your contracts. Ye are allowed *to eat* the brute cattle[b], other than what ye are commanded *to abſtain from*; except the game which ye are allowed *at other times, but not* while ye are on pilgrimage *to MECCA*; GOD ordaineth that which he pleaſeth. O true believers, violate not the holy rites of GOD[c], nor the ſacred month[d], nor the offering, nor the ornaments hung *thereon*[e], nor thoſe who are travelling to the holy houſe, ſeeking favour from their LORD, and to pleaſe *him.* But when ye ſhall have finiſhed *your pilgrimage*; then hunt. And let not the malice of ſome, in that they hindred you *from entring* the ſacred temple[f], provoke you to tranſgreſs, *by taking revenge on them in the ſacred months.* Aſſiſt one another according to juſtice and piety, but aſſiſt not one another in injuſtice and malice: therefore fear GOD; for GOD is ſevere in puniſhing. Ye are forbidden *to eat* that which dieth of it ſelf, and blood, and ſwine's fleſh, and that on which the name of any beſides GOD, hath been invocated[g]; and that which hath been ſtrangled, or killed by a blow, or by a fall, or by the horns *of another beaſt*, and that which hath been eaten by a wild beaſt[h], except what ye ſhall kill *your ſelves*[i]; and that which hath been ſacrificed unto idols[k]. *It is likewiſe unlawful for you* to make diviſion by caſting lots with arrows[l]. This is an impiety. On this day[m], wo be unto thoſe who have apoſtatized from their religion;

[a] This title is taken from the *Table*, which, towards the end of the chapter, is fabled to have been let down from heaven to *Jeſus*. It is ſometimes alſo called the chapter of *Contracts*, which word occurs in the firſt verſe.

[b] *The brute cattle*, &c.] As camels, oxen, and ſheep; and alſo wild cows, antelopes, &c[1]: but not ſwine, nor what is taken in hunting during the pilgrimage.

[c] *The holy rites of* GOD;] i. e. The ceremonies uſed in the pilgrimage of *Mecca*.

[d] See the *Prelim. Diſc.* §. VII.

[e] *Nor the offering, nor the ornaments hung thereon*;] The offering here meant, is the ſheep led to *Mecca*, to be there ſacrificed; about the neck of which they uſe to hang garlands, green boughs, or ſome other ornament, that it may be diſtinguiſhed as a thing ſacred[2].

[f] *In that they hindred you from entering the ſacred temple*;] In the expedition of *Al Hodeibiya*[3].

[g] *On which the name of any beſides* GOD *hath been invocated*;] For the idolatrous *Arabs* uſed, in killing any animal for food, to conſecrate it, as it were, to their idols, by ſaying, In the name of *Allât*, or *al Uzzà*[4].

[h] *Which hath been eaten by a wild beaſt*;] Or by a creature trained up to hunting[5].

[i] *Except what ye ſhall kill your ſelves*;] That is, unleſs ye come up time enough to find life in the animal, and to cut its throat.

[k] *Idols.*] The word alſo ſignifies certain ſtones, which the pagan *Arabs* uſed to ſet up near their houſes, and on which they ſuperſtitiouſly ſlew animals, in honour of their gods[6].

[l] See Prelim. Diſc. §. V.

[m] *On this day*, &c.] This paſſage, it is ſaid, was revealed on friday evening, being the day of the pilgrims viſiting mount *Arafat*, the laſt time *Mohammed* viſited the temple of *Mecca*, therefore called the *Pilgrimage of valediction*[7].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 52. [4] *See ch.* 2. *p.* 20. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] *Idem.* [7] *Idem.* *See* PRID. *Life of* Mahom. *p.* 99.

ligion; therefore fear not them, but fear me. This day have I perfected your religion for you [a], and have compleated my mercy upon you [b]; and I have choſen for you ISLAM, *to be your* religion. But whoſoever ſhall be driven by neceſſity through hunger, *to eat of what we have forbidden*, not deſigning to ſin, ſurely GOD *will be* indulgent *and* merciful *unto him.* They will ask thee what is allowed them *as lawful to eat?* Anſwer, Such things as are good [c] are allowed you; and what ye ſhall teach animals of prey *to catch* [d], training them up for hunting after the manner of dogs, *and* teaching them according to the *skill* which GOD hath taught you. Eat therefore of that which they ſhall catch for you; and commemorate the name of GOD thereon [e]; and fear GOD, for GOD is ſwift in taking an account. This day are ye allowed to eat ſuch things as are good, and the food of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given [f] is *alſo* allowed as lawful unto you; and your food is allowed as lawful unto them. And *ye are alſo allowed to marry* free women that are believers, and alſo free women of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures before you, when ye ſhall have aſſigned them their dower; living chaſtly *with them*, neither committing fornication, nor taking *them for* concubines. Whoever ſhall renounce the faith, his work ſhall be vain, and in the next life he ſhall be of thoſe who periſh. O true believers, when ye prepare your ſelves to pray, waſh your faces, and your hands unto the elbows; and rub your heads, and your feet unto the ancles; and if ye be polluted by having lain with a woman, waſh your ſelves *all over.* But if ye be ſick, or on a journey, or any of you cometh from the privy, or *if* ye have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean ſand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith; GOD would not put a difficulty upon you; but he deſireth to purify you, and to compleat his favour upon you, that ye may give thanks. Remember the favour of GOD towards you, and his covenant which he hath made with you, when ye ſaid, We have heard, and will obey [g]. Therefore fear GOD, for GOD knoweth the innermoſt parts of the breaſts *of men.* O true believers, obſerve juſtice when ye appear as witneſſes before GOD, and let not hatred towards any induce you to do wrong: *but* act juſtly; this will approach nearer unto piety; and fear GOD, for GOD is fully acquainted with what ye do. GOD hath promiſed unto thoſe who believe, and do that which is right, that they ſhall receive pardon and a great reward. But they who believe not, and accuſe our ſigns of falſehood, they ſhall be the companions of hell. O true believers, remember GOD's favour towards you, when certain men deſigned to ſtretch forth their hands againſt you, but he reſtrained their hands from *hurting* you [h]; therefore fear GOD, and in GOD let the faithful truſt. GOD

[a] *This day have I perfected your religion for you;*] And therefore the commentators ſay, that after this time, no poſitive or negative precept was given [1].

[b] *And have compleated my mercy upon you;*] By having given you a true and perfect religion; or, by the taking of *Mecca*, and the deſtruction of idolatry.

[c] *Such things as are good;*] Not ſuch as are filthy, or unwholſome.

[d] *Animals of prey;*] Whether beaſts or birds.

[e] *And commemorate the name of* GOD *thereon;*] Either when ye let go the hound, hawk, or other animal, after the game; or when ye kill it.

[f] *Viz.* Slain or dreſſed by *Jews* or *Chriſtians.*

[g] *We have heard and will obey;*] Theſe words are the form uſed at the inauguration of a prince; and *Mohammed* here intends the oath of fidelity which his followers had taken to him at *al Akaba* [2].

[h] *When certain men deſigned to ſtretch forth their hands againſt you, but he reſtrained them;*] The com-

[1] *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Moh. p.* 131. [2] *V. ib. p.* 43, *and the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *f.* 48.

formerly accepted the covenant of the children of ISRAEL, and we appointed out of them twelve leaders: and GOD ſaid, Verily I am with you [a]: if ye obſerve prayer, and give alms, and believe in my apoſtles, and aſſiſt them, and lend unto GOD on good uſury [b], I will ſurely expiate your evil *deeds* from you, and I will lead you into gardens, wherein rivers flow: but he among you who disbelieveth after this, erreth from the ſtrait path. Wherefore becauſe they have broken their covenant, we have curſed them, and hardened their hearts; they diſlocate the words *of the pentateuch* from their places, and have forgotten part of what they were admoniſhed; and thou wilt not ceaſe to diſcover deceitful practices among them, except a few of them. But forgive them [c], and pardon them, for GOD loveth the beneficent. And from thoſe who ſay, We are Chriſtians, we have received their covenant; but they have forgotten part of what they were admoniſhed; wherefore we have raiſed up enmity and hatred among them, till the day of reſurrection; and GOD will *then* ſurely declare unto them what they have been doing. O ye who have received the ſcriptures, now is our apoſtle come unto you, to make manifeſt unto you many *things* which ye concealed in the ſcriptures [d]; and to paſs over many

commentators tell ſeveral ſtories as the occaſion of this paſſage. One ſays, that *Mohammed* and ſome of his followers being at *Oſfân* (a place not far from *Mecca*, in the way to *Medina*) and performing their noon devotions, a company of idolaters, who were in view, repented they had not taken that opportunity of attacking them, and therefore waited till the hour of evening prayer, intending to fall upon them then: but GOD defeated their deſign, by revealing the verſe of *fear*. Another relates, that the prophet going to the tribe of *Koreidha* (who were *Jews*) to levy a fine for the blood of two *Moſlems*, who had been killed by miſtake, by *Amru Ebn Ommeya al Dimri*, they deſired him to ſit down and eat with them, and they would pay the fine; *Mohammed* complying with their requeſt, while he was ſitting, they laid a deſign againſt his life, one *Amru Ebn Jahâſh* undertaking to throw a mill-ſtone upon him; but GOD with-held his hand, and *Gabriel* immediately deſcended to acquaint the prophet with their treachery, upon which he roſe up and went his way. A third ſtory is, that *Mohammed* having hung up his arms on a tree, under which he was reſting himſelf, and his companions being diſperſed ſome diſtance from him, an *Arab* of the deſart came up to him, and drew his ſword, ſaying, *Who hindreth me from killing thee?* To which *Mohammed* anſwered, GOD: and *Gabriel* beating the ſword out of the *Arab*'s hand, *Mohammed* took it up, and asked him the ſame queſtion, *Who hinders me from killing thee?* the *Arab* replied, *No body*; and immediately profeſſed *Mohammediſm* [1]. *Abûlfeda* [2] tells the ſame ſtory, with ſome variation of circumſtances.

[a] GOD *appointed them twelve leaders, and ſaid, Verily I am with you*, &c.] After the *Iſraelites* had eſcaped from *Pharaoh*, GOD ordered them to go againſt *Jericho*, which was then inhabited by giants, of the race of the *Canaanites*, promiſing to give it into their hands; and *Moſes*, by the divine direction, appointed a prince or captain over each tribe, to lead them in that expedition [3], and when they came to the borders of the land of *Canaan*, ſent the captains as ſpies to get information of the ſtate of the country, injoining them ſecrecy; but they being terrified at the prodigious ſize and ſtrength of the inhabitants, diſheartned the people by publickly telling what they had ſeen, except only *Caleb* the ſon of *Yufanna* (*Jephunneh*) and *Joſhua* the ſon of *Nun* [4].

[b] *And lend unto* GOD *on good uſury*;] By contributing towards this holy war.

[c] *Forgive them, and pardon them*;] That is, if they repent and believe, or ſubmit to pay tribute. Some however think theſe words are abrogated by the verſe of the *ſword* [5].

[d] *To make manifeſt unto you many things which ye concealed in the ſcriptures*;] Such as the verſe of ſtoning adulterers [6], the deſcription of *Mohammed*, and *Chriſt*'s prophecy of him by the name of *Ahmed* [7].

[e] *And to paſs over many things*;] i. e. Thoſe which it was not neceſſary to reſtore.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Vit. Moh. p.* 73 [3] *See Numb.* i. 4, 5. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See Numb.* xiii, and xiv. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] *See Chap.* 3. *p.* 37. [7] *Al* BEIDAWI.

many *things*. Now is light and a perſpicuous book *of revelations* come unto you from GOD. Thereby will GOD direct him who ſhall follow his good pleaſure, into the paths of peace; and ſhall lead them out of darkneſs into light, by his will, and ſhall direct them in the right way. They are infidels, who ſay, Verily GOD is CHRIST the ſon of MARY. Say unto them, And who could obtain any thing from GOD *to the contrary*, if he pleaſed to deſtroy CHRIST the ſon of MARY, and his mother, and all thoſe who are on the earth? For unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and whatſoever *is contained* between them; he createth what he pleaſeth, and GOD is almighty. The Jews and the Chriſtians ſay, We are the children of GOD, and his beloved. Anſwer, Why therefore doth he puniſh you for your ſins? Nay, but ye are men, of thoſe whom he hath created. He forgiveth whom he pleaſeth, and puniſheth whom he pleaſeth; and unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and of what *is contained* between them both; and unto him ſhall *all things* return. O ye who have received the ſcriptures, now is our apoſtle come unto you, declaring unto you *the true religion*, during the ceſſation of apoſtles[a], leſt ye ſhould ſay, There came unto us no bearer of good tidings, nor any warner: but now is a bearer of good tidings, and a warner come unto you; and GOD is almighty. *Call to mind* when MOSES ſaid unto his people, O my people, remember the favour of GOD towards you, ſince he hath appointed prophets among you, and conſtituted you kings[b], and beſtowed on you what he hath given to no *other nation* in the world[c]. O my people, enter the holy land, which GOD hath decreed you, and turn not your backs, leſt ye be ſubverted and periſh. They anſwered, O MOSES, verily there are a gigantic people in the *land*[d]; and we will by no means enter it, until they depart thence; but if they depart thence, then will we enter *therein*. *And* two men[e] of thoſe who feared GOD, unto whom GOD had been gracious, ſaid, Enter ye upon them *ſuddenly by* the gate *of the city*; and when ye ſhall have entred the ſame, ye ſhall ſurely be victorious: therefore truſt in GOD, if ye are true believers. They replied, O MOSES, we will never enter *the land*, while they remain therein: go therefore thou, and thy LORD, and fight; for we will ſit here. MOSES ſaid, O LORD, ſurely I am not maſter of any except my ſelf, and my brother; therefore make a diſtinction between us and the ungodly people. GOD anſwered, Verily the *land* ſhall be forbidden them forty years; *during which time* they ſhall wander *like men aſtoniſhed* in the earth[f]; there-

[a] *During the ceſſation of apoſtles*;] The *Arabic* word *al Fatra* ſignifies the intermediate ſpace of time between two prophets, during which no new revelation or diſpenſation was given; as the interval between *Moſes* and JESUS, and between JESUS and *Mohammed*, at the expiration of which laſt, *Mohammed* pretended to be ſent.

[b] *And conſtituted you kings*;] This was fulfilled either by GOD's giving them a kingdom, and a long ſeries of princes; or by his having made them *kings* or *maſters* of themſelves, by delivering them from the *Egyptian* bondage.

[c] *And beſtowed on you what he hath given to no other nation*;] Having divided the red ſea for you, and guided you by a cloud, and fed you with quails and manna, &c. [1]

[d] *A gigantic people*;] The largeſt of theſe giants, the commentators ſay, was *Og* the ſon of *Anak*; concerning whoſe enormous ſtature, his eſcaping the flood, and the manner of his being ſlain by *Moſes*, the *Mohammedans* relate ſeveral abſurd fables [2].

[e] *Two men*;] Namely, *Caleb*, and *Joſhua*.

[f] *The land ſhall be forbidden them forty years; during which they ſhall wander in the earth like men*

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *V.* MARRACC. *in Alcor. p.* 231, *&c.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 336.

therefore be not thou ſollicitous for the ungodly people. Relate alſo unto them the hiſtory of the two ſons of ADAM [a], with truth. When they offered *their* offering [b], and it was accepted from one of them, and was not accepted from the other, *CAIN* ſaid *to his brother*, I will certainly kill thee. *ABEL* anſwered, GOD only accepteth *the offering* of the pious; if thou ſtretcheſt forth thy hand againſt me, to ſlay me, I will not ſtretch forth my hand againſt thee, to ſlay thee; for I fear GOD the LORD of all creatures [d]. I chooſe that thou ſhouldeſt bear my iniquity and thine own iniquity; and that thou become a companion of *hell* fire; for that is the reward of the unjuſt [e]. But his ſoul ſuffered him to ſlay his brother, and he ſlew him [f]; wherefore he became *of the number* of thoſe who periſh. And GOD ſent a raven, which ſcratched the earth, to ſhew him how he ſhould hide the ſhame of his brother [g], *and* he ſaid, Wo is me! am I unable to be like this raven, that I may hide my brother's ſhame? and he became *one* of thoſe who repent. Wherefore we commanded the children of ISRAEL, that he who ſlayeth a ſoul, without *adding thereto the murder of another* ſoul, or *without* committing wickedneſs in

men aſtoniſhed.] The commentators pretend that the *Iſraelites*, while they thus wandred in the deſart, were kept within the compaſs of about eighteen (or as ſome ſay twenty ſeven) miles; and that tho' they travelled from morning to night, yet they conſtantly found themſelves the next day at the place from whence they ſet out [1].

[a] *The two ſons of* Adam;] viz. *Cain* and *Abel*, whom the *Mohammedans* call *Kâbîl* and *Hâbîl*.

[b] *When they offered their offering.*] The occaſion of their making this offering is thus related, according to the common tradition in the eaſt [2]. Each of them being born with a twin-ſiſter, when they were grown up, *Adam*, by GOD's direction, ordered *Cain* to marry *Abel*'s twin-ſiſter, and that *Abel* ſhould marry *Cain*'s; (for it being the common opinion that marriages ought not to be had in the neareſt degrees of conſanguinity, ſince they muſt neceſſarily marry their ſiſters, it ſeemed reaſonable to ſuppoſe they ought to take thoſe of the remoter degree) but this *Cain* refuſing to agree to, becauſe his own ſiſter was the handſomeſt, *Adam* ordered them to make their offerings to GOD, thereby referring the diſpute to his determination [3]. The commentators ſay *Cain*'s offering was a ſheaf of the very worſt of his corn, but *Abel*'s a fat lamb, of the beſt of his flock.

[c] *And it was accepted from one of them;*] Namely from *Abel*; whoſe ſacrifice GOD declared his acceptance of in a viſible manner, by cauſing fire to deſcend from heaven and conſume it, without touching that of *Cain* [4].

[d] *I will not ſtretch forth my hand againſt thee;*] To enhance *Abel*'s patience, *al Beidâwi* tells us, that he was the ſtronger of the two, and could eaſily have prevailed againſt his brother.

[e] The converſation between the two brothers is related ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe in the *Jeruſalem Targum* and that of *Jonathan ben Uzziel*.

[f] *And he ſlew him;*] Some ſay he knocked out his brains with a ſtone [5]; and pretend that as *Cain* was conſidering which way he ſhould effect the murther, the devil appeared to him in a humane ſhape, and ſhewed him how to do it, by cruſhing the head of a bird between two ſtones [6].

[g] GOD *ſent a raven which ſcratched the earth, and ſhewed him how to hide his brother's ſhame;*] i. e His dead corps. For *Cain*, having committed this fratricide, became exceedingly troubled in his mind, and carried the dead body about on his ſhoulders for a conſiderable time, not knowing where to conceal it, till it ſtank horridly; and then GOD taught him to bury it by the example of a raven, who having killed another raven in his preſence, dug a pit with his claws and beak, and buried him therein [7]. For this circumſtance of the raven *Mohammed* was beholden to the *Jews*, who tell the ſame ſtory, except only that they make the raven to appear to *Adam*, and that he thereupon buried his ſon [8].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALOD'DIN. [2] *V.* ABU'LFARAG. *p.* 6, 7. EUTYCH. *annal. p.* 15, 16. *and* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Cabil.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *V.* EUTYCH. *ubi ſupra.* [6] *V.* D'HERBELOT, *ubi ſup.* [7] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [8] *V.* R. ELIEZER, *Pirke, c.* 20.

in the earth[a], *ſhall be* as if he had ſlain all mankind[b]: but he who ſaveth *a ſoul* alive, *ſhall be* as if he had ſaved the lives of all mankind. Our apoſtles formerly came unto them, with evident *miracles*; then were many of them, after this, tranſgreſſors on the earth. But the recompenſe of thoſe who fight againſt GOD and his apoſtle, and ſtudy to act corruptly in the earth, *ſhall be*, that they ſhall be ſlain, or crucified, or have their hands and their feet cut off on the oppoſite *ſides*, or be baniſhed the land[c]. This ſhall be their diſgrace in this world, and in the next world they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment; except thoſe who ſhall repent, before ye prevail againſt them; for know that GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. O true believers, fear GOD, and earneſtly deſire a near conjunction with him, and fight for his religion, that ye may be happy. Moreover they who believe not, although they had whatever *is* in the earth, and as much more withal, that they might therewith redeem themſelves from puniſhment on the day of reſurrection; it ſhall not be accepted from them, but they ſhall ſuffer a painful puniſhment. They ſhall deſire to go forth from the fire, but they ſhall not go forth from it, and their puniſhment ſhall be permanent. If a man or a woman ſteal, cut off their hands[d], in retribution for that which they have committed; *this is* an exemplary puniſhment *appointed* by GOD; and GOD is mighty *and* wiſe. But whoever ſhall repent after his iniquity, and amend, verily GOD will be turned unto him[e], for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. Doſt thou not know that the kingdom of heaven and earth is GOD's? He puniſheth whom he pleaſeth, and he pardoneth whom he pleaſeth; for GOD is almighty. O apoſtle, let not them grieve thee, who haſten to infidelity[f], *either* of thoſe who ſay, We believe, with their mouths, but whoſe hearts believe not[g]; or of the Jews, who hearken to a lie, *and* hearken to other people[h]; *who* come not unto thee: they pervert the words *of the law*

[a] *Without committing wickedneſs on the earth*;] Such as idolatry, or robbing on the high-way [1].

[b] *Shall be as if he had ſlain all mankind*;] Having broken the commandment which forbids the ſhedding of blood.

[c] The lawyers are not agreed as to the applying of theſe puniſhments. But the commentators ſuppoſe, that they who commit murder only, are to be put to death in the ordinary way; thoſe who murder and rob too, to be crucified; thoſe who rob without committing murder, to have their right hand and their left foot cut off; and they who aſſault perſons and put them in fear, to be baniſhed [2]. It is alſo a doubt whether they who are to be crucified ſhall be crucified alive, or be firſt put to death, or whether they ſhall hang on the croſs till they die [3].

[d] *Cut off their hands*;] But this puniſhment, according to the *Sonna*, is not to be inflicted, unleſs the value of the thing ſtolen amount to four *dinârs*, or about forty ſhillings. For the firſt offence the criminal is to loſe his right hand, which is to be cut off at the wriſt; for the ſecond offence, his left foot, at the ancle; for the third, his left hand; for the fourth, his right foot; and if he continue to offend, he ſhall be ſcourged at the diſcretion of the judge [4].

[e] *But whoever ſhall repent and amend*, GOD *will be turned unto him*, &c.] That is, GOD will not puniſh him for it hereafter; but his repentance does not ſuperſede the execution of the law here, nor excuſe him from making reſtitution. Yet, according to *al Shâfeï*, he ſhall not be puniſhed if the party wronged forgive him before he be carried before a magiſtrate [5].

[f] *Who haſten to infidelity*;] i. e. Who take the firſt opportunity to throw off the mask, and to join the unbelievers.

[g] *Who ſay, We believe, with their mouths*, &c.] *viz.* The hypocritical *Mohammedans*.

[h] *Who hearken to a lie, and hearken to other people*;] Theſe words are capable of two ſenſes; and may either mean that they attended to the lies and forgeries of their *Rabbins*, neglecting the remonſtrances of *Mohammed*; or elſe, that they

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Idem*.

law from their *true* places[a], *and* ſay, If this be brought unto you, receive it; but if it be not brought unto you, beware *of receiving ought elſe*[b]; and in behalf of him whom GOD ſhall reſolve to ſeduce, thou ſhalt not prevail with GOD at all. They whoſe hearts GOD ſhall not pleaſe to cleanſe, ſhall ſuffer ſhame in this world, and a grievous puniſhment in the next: who hearken to a lie, *and* eat that which is forbidden[c]. But if they come unto thee *for judgment*, either judge between them, or leave them[d]; and if thou leave them, they ſhall not hurt thee at all. But if thou *undertake to* judge, judge between them with equity; for GOD loveth thoſe who obſerve juſtice. And how will they ſubmit to thy deciſion, ſince they have the law, containing the judgment of GOD[e]? Then will they turn their backs, after this[f]; but thoſe are not true believers[g]. We have ſurely ſent down the law, containing direction, and light: thereby did the prophets, who profeſſed the true religion, judge theſe who Judaized; and the doctors and prieſts *alſo judged* by the book of GOD, which had been committed to their cuſtody; and they were witneſſes thereof[h]. Therefore fear not men, but fear me; neither ſell my ſigns for a ſmall price. And whoſo judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are infidels. We have therein commanded them, that *they ſhould give* life for life[i], and eye for

they came to hear *Mohammed* as ſpies only, that they might report what he ſaid to their companions, and repreſent him as a liar [1].

[a] See Ch. 4. p. 67. Note b.

[b] *If this be brought unto you, receive it; but if it be not brought unto you, beware of receiving ought elſe;*] That is, if what *Mohammed* tells you, agrees with ſcripture, as corrupted and diſlocated by us, then you may accept it as the word of GOD, but if not, reject it. Theſe words, it is ſaid, relate to the ſentence pronounced by that prophet, on an adulterer and an adultereſs [2], both perſons of ſome figure among the *Jews*. For they, it ſeems, tho' they referred the matter to *Mohammed*, yet directed the perſons who carried the criminals before him, that if he ordered them to be ſcourged, and to have their faces blackened (by way of ignominy) they ſhould acquieſce in his determination, but in caſe he condemned them to be ſtoned, they ſhould not. And *Mohammed* pronouncing the latter ſentence againſt them, they refuſed to execute it, till *Ebn Sûriya* (a *Jew*) who was called upon to decide the matter, acknowledged the law to be ſo. Whereupon they were ſtoned at the door of the moſque [3].

[c] *And eat that which is forbidden;*] Some underſtand this of unlawful meats; but others of taking or *devouring*, as it is expreſſed, of uſury and bribes [4].

[d] *Either judge between them, or leave them;*] i e. Take thy choice, whether thou wilt determine their differences or not. Hence *al Shâfeï* was of opinion that a judge was not obliged to decide cauſes between *Jews* or *Chriſtians*; tho' if one or both of them be tributaries, or under the protection of the *Mohammedans*, they are obliged: this verſe not regarding them. *Abu Hanîfa* however thought that the magiſtrates were obliged to judge all caſes which were ſubmitted to them [5].

[e] *And how will they ſubmit to thy deciſion, ſince they have the law*, &c.] In the following paſſage *Mohammed* endeavours to anſwer the objections of the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, who inſiſted that they ought to be judged, the former by the law of *Moſes*, and the latter by the goſpel. He allows that the law was the proper rule of judging till the coming of *Jeſus Chriſt*, after which the goſpel was the rule; but pretends that both are ſet aſide by the revelation of the *Korân*, which is ſo far from being contradictory to either of the former, that it is more full and explicit; declaring ſeveral points which had been ſtifled, or corrupted therein, and requiring a rigorous execution of the precepts in both, which had been two remiſsly obſerved, or rather neglected, by the latter profeſſors of thoſe religions.

[f] *Then will they turn their backs after this;*] That is, notwithſtanding their outward ſubmiſſion, they will not abide by thy ſentence, tho' conformable to the law, if it contradict their own falſe and looſe deciſions.

[g] *Theſe are not true believers;*] As gainſaying the doctrine of the books which they acknowledge for ſcripture.

[h] *And they were witneſſes thereof;*] That is, vigilant, to prevent any corruptions therein.

[i] *Life;*] The original word is *ſoul*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See ch. 3. p. 37. not. c.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.*

for eye, and noſe for noſe, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth; and *that* wounds *ſhould alſo be puniſhed by* retaliation [a]: but whoever ſhould remit it as alms, it *ſhould be accepted as* an atonement for him. And whoſo judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are unjuſt. We alſo cauſed JESUS the ſon of MARY to follow the footſteps of *the prophets*, confirming the law which *was ſent down* before him; and we gave him the goſpel, containing direction and light; confirming alſo the law which *was given* before it, and a direction and admonition unto thoſe who fear *GOD*: that they who have received the goſpel might judge according to what GOD hath revealed therein: and whoſo judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are tranſgreſſors. We have alſo ſent down unto thee the book *of the KORAN* with truth, confirming that ſcripture which *was revealed* before it; and preſerving the ſame ſafe *from corruption*. Judge therefore between them according to that which GOD hath revealed; and follow not their deſires, *by ſwerving* from the truth which hath come unto thee. Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path; and if GOD had pleaſed, he had ſurely made you one people [b]; but *he hath thought fit to give you different laws*, that he might try you in that which he hath given you *reſpectively*. Therefore ſtrive to excel each other in good works: unto GOD ſhall ye all return, and *then* will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have diſagreed. Wherefore *do thou, O prophet*, judge between them according to that which GOD hath revealed, and follow not their deſires; but beware of them, leſt they cauſe thee to err [c] from part of thoſe *precepts* which GOD hath ſent down unto thee; and if they turn back [d], know that GOD is pleaſed to puniſh them for ſome of their crimes; for a great number of men are tranſgreſſors. Do they therefore deſire the judgment of *the time of* ignorance [e]? but who is better than GOD, to judge between people who reaſon aright? O true believers, take not the Jews, or Chriſtians for *your* friends; they are friends the one to the other; but whoſo among you taketh them for *his* friends, he *is* ſurely *one* of them: verily GOD directeth not unjuſt people. Thou ſhalt ſee thoſe in whoſe hearts there is an infirmity, to haſten unto them, ſaying, We fear leſt ſome adverſity befal us [f]; but it is eaſy for GOD to give victory, or a

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[a] See Exod. xxi. 24, &c.

[b] *He had made you one people*;] i. e. He had given you the ſame laws, which ſhould have continued in force thro' all ages, without being aboliſhed or changed by new diſpenſations; or he could have forced you all to embrace the *Mohammedan* religion [1].

[c] *And follow not their deſires, but beware of them, leſt they cauſe thee to err*, &c.] It is related, that certain of the *Jewiſh* prieſts came to *Mohammed* with a deſign to intrap him; and having firſt repreſented to him, that if they acknowledged him for a prophet, the reſt of the *Jews* would certainly follow their example, made this propoſal; that if he would give judgment for them in a controverſy of moment which they pretended to have with their own people, and which was agreed to be referred to his deciſion, they would believe on him: but this *Mohammed* abſolutely refuſed to comply with [2].

[d] *If they turn back*;] Or refuſe to be judged by the *Korân*.

[e] *The judgment of the time of ignorance*;] That is, to be judged according to the cuſtoms of paganiſm, which indulge the paſſions and vicious appetites of mankind: for this, it ſeems, was demanded by the *Jewiſh* tribes of *Koreidha* and *al Nadîr* [3].

[f] *We fear leſt ſome adverſity befal us*;] Theſe were the words of *Ebn Obba*, who, when *Obâdah Ebn al Sâmat* publickly renounced the friendſhip of the infidels, and profeſſed that he took

God

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

command from him[a], that they may repent of that which they concealed in their minds. And they who believe will ſay, Are theſe *the men* who have ſworn by GOD, with a moſt firm oath, that they ſurely *held* with you[b]? their works are become vain, and they are of thoſe who periſh. O true believers, whoever of you apoſtatizeth from his religion, GOD will certainly bring *other* people *to ſupply his place*[c], whom he will love, and who will love him; *who ſhall be* humble towards the believers, *but* ſevere to the unbelievers: they ſhall fight for the religion of GOD, and ſhall not fear the obloquy of the detracter. This *is* the bounty of GOD, he beſtoweth it on whom he pleaſeth: GOD *is* extenſive *and* wiſe. Verily your protector is GOD, and his apoſtle, and thoſe who believe, who obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and give alms, and who bow down *to worſhip*. And whoſo taketh GOD, and his apoſtle, and the believers for his friends, *they are* the party of GOD, *and* they *ſhall be* victorious. O true believers, take not ſuch of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were delivered before you, or of the infidels, for your friends, who make a laughing-ſtock, and a jeſt of your religion[d]; but fear GOD, if ye be true believers; *nor thoſe who*, when ye call to prayer, make a laughing-ſtock and a jeſt of it,

GOD and his apoſtle for his patrons, ſaid that he was a man apprehenſive of the ficklenеſs of fortune, and therefore would not throw off his old friends, who might be of ſervice to him hereafter [1].

[a] *I command from him*;] To extirpate and baniſh the *Jews*; or to detect and puniſh the hypocrites.

[b] *Are theſe the men who have ſworn*, &c.] Theſe words may be ſpoken by the *Mohammedans* either to one another, or to the *Jews*; ſince theſe hypocrites had given their oaths to both [2].

[c] *Whoever of you apoſtatizeth from his religion*, GOD *will certainly bring others to ſupply his place*, &c.] This is one of thoſe accidents which, it is pretended, were foretold by the *Korân* long before they came to paſs. For in the latter days of *Mohammed*, and after his death, conſiderable numbers of the *Arabs* quitted his religion, and returned to Paganiſm, Judaiſm, or Chriſtianity. *Al Beidawi* reckons them up in the following order. 1. Three companies of *Banu Modlaj*, ſeduced by *Dhu'lhamâr al Aſwad al Anſi*, who ſet up for a prophet in *Yaman*, and grew very powerful there[3]. 2. *Banu Honeifa*, who followed the famous falſe prophet *Moſeilama*[4]. 3. *Banu aſad*, who acknowledged *Toleiha Ebn Khowailed*, another pretender to divine revelation [5], for their prophet. All theſe fell off in *Mohammed*'s life time. The following, except only the laſt, apoſtatized in the reign of *Abu Becr*. 4. Certain of the tribe of *Fezârah*, headed by *Oyeyna Ebn Hoſein*. 5. Some of the tribe of *Ghatfân*, whoſe leader was *Korrah Ebn Salma*. 6. *Banu Soleim*, who followed *al Fajâah Ebn Abd Yalil*. 7. *Banu Yarbu*, whoſe captain was *Malec Ebn Noweirah Ebn Kais*. 8. Part of the tribe of *Tamîm*, the proſelytes of *Sajâj* the daughter of *al Mondhar*, who gave her ſelf out for a propheteſs [6]. 9. The tribe of *Kendah*, led by *al Aſhâth Ebn Kais*. 10. *Banu Becr Ebn al Wayel* in the provence of *Bahrein*, headed by *al Hotam Ebn Zeid*. And, 11. Some of the tribe of *Ghaſſân*, who, with their prince *Jabalah Ebn al Ayham*, renounced *Mohammediſm* in the time of *Omar*, and returned to their former profeſſion of *Chriſtianity* [7].

But as to the perſons who fulfilled the other part of this prophecy, by ſupplying the loſs of ſo many renegates, the commentators are not agreed. Some will have them to be the inhabitants of *Yaman*, and others the *Perſians*; the authority of *Mohammed* himſelf being vouched for both opinions. Others, however, ſuppoſe them to be 2000 of the tribe of *al Nakhá* (who dwelt in *Yaman*) 5000 of thoſe of *Kenda* and *Bajîlah*, and 3000 of unknown deſcent, who were preſent at the famous battle of *Kadeſia*[8], fought in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, and which put an end to the *Perſian* empire [9].

[d] *Take not thoſe for your friends who make a laughing-ſtock of your religion.*] This paſſage was primarily intended to forbid the *Moſlems* entring into a friendſhip with two hypocrites named *Rifâa Ebn Zeid*, and *Soweid Ebn al Hareth*, who tho'

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. VIII. [4] *See ib.* [5] *See ib.*
[6] *See ib.* [7] *See ib.* §. I. p. 11. [8] *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 226. [9] *Al* BEIDAWI.

it [a], this *they do*, becauſe they are people who do not underſtand. Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures, do ye reject us *for any other reaſon* than becauſe we believe in GOD, and that *revelation* which hath been ſent down unto us, and that which was formerly ſent down, and for that the greater part of you are tranſgreſſors? Say, Shall I denounce unto you a worſe *thing* than this, *as to* the reward *which ye are to expect* with GOD? He whom GOD hath curſed, and with whom he hath been angry, having changed *ſome* of them into apes and ſwine [b], and *who* worſhip TAGHUT [c], they *are* in the worſe condition, and err more *widely* from the ſtraitneſs of the path. When they came unto you, they ſaid, We believe: yet they entred *into your company* with infidelity, and went forth *from you* with the ſame; but GOD well knew what they concealed. Thou ſhalt ſee many of them haſtening unto iniquity and malice, and to eat things forbidden [d]; and woe *unto them for* what they have done. Unleſs *their* doctors and prieſts forbid them uttering wickedneſs, and eating things forbidden; woe *unto them for* what they ſhall have committed. The Jews ſay, The hand of GOD is tied up [e]. Their hands ſhall be tied up [f], and they ſhall be curſed for that which they have ſaid. Nay, his hands are both ſtretched forth; he beſtoweth as he pleaſeth: that which hath been ſent down unto thee from thy LORD [g] ſhall increaſe the tranſgreſſion and infidelity of many of them; and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of reſurrection. So often as they ſhall kindle a fire for war, GOD ſhall extinguiſh it [h]; and they ſhall ſet their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but GOD loveth not the corrupt doers.

tho' they had embraced *Mohammediſm*, yet ridiculed it on all occaſions, and were notwithſtanding greatly beloved among the prophet's followers.

[a] *Nor thoſe who when ye call to prayer, make a jeſt of it*;] Theſe words were added on occaſion of a certain *Chriſtian*, who hearing the *Muadhdhin*, or cryer, in calling to prayers, repeat this part of the uſual form, *I profeſs that* Mohammed *is the apoſtle of* GOD, ſaid aloud, *May* GOD *burn the lier*: but a few nights after his own houſe was accidentally ſet on fire by a ſervant, and himſelf and his family periſhed in the flames [1].

[b] *Having changed ſome of them into apes and ſwine*;] The former were the *Jews* of *Ailah*, who broke the ſabbath [2]; and the latter thoſe who believed not in the miracle of the *Table* which was let down from heaven to JESUS [3]. Some, however, imagine that the *Jews* of *Ailah* only are meant in this place, pretending that the young men among them, were metamorphoſed into apes, and the old men into ſwine [4].

[c] See chap. 2. p. 31.

[d] See before, p. 88.

[e] GOD's *hand is tied up*;] That is, he is become niggardly and cloſe-fiſted. Theſe were the words of *Phinees Ebn Azura* (another indecent expreſſion of whom, almoſt to the ſame purpoſe, is mentioned elſewhere [5]) when the *Jews* were much impoveriſhed by a dearth, which the commentators will have to be a judgment on them for their rejecting of *Mohammed*; and the other *Jews* who heard him, inſtead of reproving him, expreſſed their approbation of what he had ſaid [6].

[f] *Their hands ſhall be tied up*;] i.e. They ſhall be puniſhed with want and avarice. The words may alſo allude to the manner wherein the reprobates ſhall appear at the laſt day, having their right hands tied up to their necks [7]; which is the proper ſignification of the *Arabic* word.

[g] Viz. The *Korân*.

[h] *So often as they kindle fire for war*, GOD *ſhall extinguiſh it*;] Either by raiſing feuds and quarrels among themſelves, or by granting the victory to the *Moſlems*. *Al Beidawi* adds, that on the *Jews* neglecting the true obſervance of their law, and corrupting their religion, GOD has ſucceſſively delivered them into the hands, firſt of *Bakht Naſr* or *Nebuchadnezzar*, then of *Titus* the *Roman*, and afterwards of the *Perſians*, and has now at laſt ſubjected them to the *Mohammedans*.

[1] *Idem*. [2] *See chap. 2. p. 9.* [3] *See towards the end of this chapter.* [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Chap. 3. p. 57.* [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. [7] *See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 89.*

Moreover, if they who have received the ſcriptures believe, and fear GOD, we will ſurely expiate their ſins from them, and we will lead them into gardens of pleaſure; and if they obſerve the law, and the goſpel, and *the other ſcriptures* which have been ſent down unto them from their LORD, they ſhall ſurely eat *of good things* both from above them, and from under their feet[a]. Among them there are people who act uprightly; but how evil is that which many of them do work! O apoſtle, publiſh *the whole of* that which hath been ſent down unto thee from thy LORD: for if thou do not, thou doſt not *in effect* publiſh any part thereof[b]; and GOD will defend thee againſt *wicked* men[c]; for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures, ye are not *grounded* on any thing, until ye obſerve the law and the goſpel, and that which hath been ſent down unto you from your LORD. That which hath been ſent down unto thee from thy LORD ſhall ſurely increaſe the tranſgreſſion and infidelity of many of them: but be not thou ſollicitous for the unbelieving people. Verily they who believe, and thoſe who judaize, and the Sabians, and the Chriſtians, whoever *of them* believeth in GOD and the laſt day, and doth that which is right, *there ſhall come* no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved[d]. We formerly accepted the covenant of the children of ISRAEL, and ſent apoſtles unto them. So often as an apoſtle came unto them with that which their ſouls deſired not, they accuſed ſome of them of impoſture, and ſome of them they killed: and they imagined that there ſhould be no puniſhment *for thoſe crimes*, and they became blind, and deaf[e]. Then was GOD turned unto them[f]; afterwards many of them *again* became blind and deaf; but GOD ſaw what they did. They are ſurely infidels, who ſay, Verily GOD is CHRIST the ſon of MARY; ſince CHRIST ſaid, O children of ISRAEL, ſerve GOD, my LORD and your LORD; whoever ſhall give a companion unto GOD, GOD ſhall exclude him from paradiſe, and his habitation ſhall be *hell* fire; and the ungodly ſhall have none to help them. They are certainly infidels, who ſay, GOD is the third of three[g]: for there is no GOD, beſides one GOD; and if they refrain not from what they ſay, a painful torment ſhall ſurely be inflicted on ſuch of them as are unbelievers. Will they not therefore be turned unto GOD, and ask pardon of him? ſince GOD is gracious *and* merciful. CHRIST the ſon of MARY is no more than an apoſtle; *other* apoſtles have preceded him; and his mother was a woman of veracity[h]: they

[a] *They ſhall eat of the good things both from above them, and from under their feet*;] That is, they ſhall enjoy the bleſſings both of heaven and earth.

[b] *If thou publiſh not the whole, thou doſt not, in effect, publiſh any part thereof*;] That is, if thou do not compleat the publication of all thy revelations without exception, thou doſt not anſwer the end for which they were revealed; becauſe the concealing of any part, renders the ſyſtem of religion which GOD has thought fit to publiſh to mankind by thy miniſtry, lame and imperfect [1].

[c] GOD *will defend thee*, &c.] Until this verſe was revealed, *Mohammed* entertained a guard of armed men for his ſecurity; but on his receiving this aſſurance of GOD's protection, he immediately diſmiſſed them [2].

[d] See chap. 2. p. 8.

[e] *And they became blind and deaf*;] Shutting their eyes and ears againſt conviction and the remonſtrances of the law; as when they worſhipped the calf.

[f] *Then was* GOD *turned unto them*;] i. e. Upon their repentance.

[g] See Chap. 4. p. 81.

[h] *His mother was a woman of veracity*;] Never pretending to partake of the divine nature, or to be the mother of GOD [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem.* [3] JALLALO'DDIN.

they *both* eat food [a]. Behold, how we declare unto them the ſigns *of* GOD's *unity*; and then behold, how they turn aſide *from the truth*. Say *unto them*, Will ye worſhip, beſides GOD, that which can cauſe you neither harm nor profit? GOD *is* he who heareth *and* ſeeth. Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures, exceed not *the juſt bounds* in your religion [b], *by ſpeaking* beſide the truth; neither follow the deſires of people who have heretofore erred, and who have ſeduced many, and have gone aſtray from the ſtrait path [c]. Thoſe among the children of ISRAEL who believed not, were curſed by the tongue of DAVID, and of JESUS the ſon of MARY [d]. This *befel them* becauſe they were rebellious and tranſgreſſed: they forbade not one another the wickedneſs which they committed; and wo *unto them for* what they committed. Thou ſhalt ſee many of them take for their friends, thoſe who believe not. Wo *unto them* for what their ſouls have ſent before them [e], for that GOD is incenſed againſt them, and they ſhall remain in torment *for ever*. But, if they had believed in GOD, and the prophet, and that which hath been revealed unto him, they had not taken them for *their* friends; but many of them are evil doers. Thou ſhalt ſurely find the moſt violent of *all* men in enmity againſt the true believers, *to be* the Jews, and the idolaters: and thou ſhalt ſurely find thoſe among them *to be* the moſt inclinable to *entertain* friendſhip for the true believers, who ſay, We are Chriſtians. This *cometh to paſs*, becauſe there are prieſts and monks among them; and becauſe they are not elated with pride [f]: * And when VII.
they hear that which hath been ſent down to the apoſtle *read unto them*, thou ſhalt ſee their eyes overflow with tears, becauſe of the truth which they perceive *therein* [g], ſaying, O LORD, we believe; write us down therefore with thoſe who bear witneſs *to the truth*: and what *ſhould hinder* us from believing in GOD, and the truth which hath come unto us, and from earneſtly deſiring that our LORD would introduce us *into paradiſe* with the righteous people? There-

[a] *They both eat food*;] Being obliged to ſupport their lives by the ſame means, and being ſubject to the ſame neceſſities and infirmities as the reſt of mankind, and therefore no GODS [1].

[b] See chap. 4. p. 80. But here the words are principally directed to the *Chriſtians*.

[c] *Neither follow the deſires of people who have heretofore erred*, &c.] That is, of their prelates and predeceſſors, who erred in aſcribing divinity to *Chriſt*, before the miſſion of *Mohammed* [2].

[d] See before, p. 91. not. [b].

[e] See chap. 2. p. 12. not. [h].

[f] *And are not elated with pride*;] Having not that high conceit of themſelves, as the *Jews* have; but being humble and well diſpoſed to receive the truth; qualities, ſays *al Beidawi*, which are to be commended even in infidels.

[g] *And when they hear that which hath been ſent down to the apoſtle, read unto them, their eyes overflow with tears*, &c.] The perſons directly intended in this paſſage, were, either *Aſhama*, king of *Ethiopia*, and ſeveral biſhops and prieſts, who, being aſſembled for that purpoſe, heard *Jaafar Ebn Abi Taleb*, who fled to that country in the firſt flight [3], read the 29th and 30th, and afterwards the 18th, and 19th chapters of the *Korân*; on hearing of which the king and the reſt of the company burſt into tears, and confeſſed what was delivered therein to be conformable to truth; that prince himſelf, in particular, becoming a proſelyte to *Mohammediſm* [4]: or elſe, thirty, or as others ſay, ſeventy perſons, ſent ambaſſadors to *Mohammed* by the ſame king of *Ethiopia*, to whom the prophet himſelf read the thirty ſixth chapter, intitled Y. S. Whereupon they began to weep, ſaying, *How like is this to that which was revealed unto* Jeſus! and immediately profeſſed themſelves *Muſlems* [5].

[1] *Idem, Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 44, 45. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI, *Al* THALABI. *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Mob. p.* 25, &c. MARRACC. *Prodr. ad refut. Alcor. part.* 1. *p.* 45. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. *V.* MARRACC. *ubi ſup.*

Therefore hath GOD rewarded them, for what they have ſaid, with gardens through which rivers flow; they ſhall continue therein *for ever*; and this is the reward of the righteous. But they who believe not, and accuſe our ſigns of falſhood, they *ſhall be* the companions of hell. O true believers, forbid not the good things which GOD hath allowed you[a]; but tranſgreſs not, for GOD loveth not the tranſgreſſors. And eat of what GOD hath given you for food *that which is* lawful *and* good: and fear GOD, in whom ye believe. GOD will not puniſh you for an inconſiderate word in your oaths[b]; but he will puniſh you for what ye ſolemnly ſwear *with deliberation*. And the expiation of ſuch *an* ~~*inconſiderata*~~ *oath ſhall be* the feeding of ten poor men with ſuch moderate *food* as ye feed your own families withal; or to cloath them[c]; or to free the neck *of a true believer from captivity*: but he who ſhall not find *wherewith to perform one of theſe three things*, ſhall faſt three days[d]. This is the expiation of your oaths, when ye ſwear *inadvertently*. Therefore keep your oaths. Thus GOD declareth unto you his ſigns, that ye may give thanks. O true believers, ſurely wine, and lots[e], and images[f], and divining arrows[g] *are* an abomination of the work of SATAN; therefore avoid them, that ye may proſper. SATAN ſeeketh to ſow diſſenſion and hatred among you, by means of wine and lots, and to divert you from remembring GOD, and from prayer: will ye not therefore abſtain *from them?* Obey GOD, and obey the apoſtle, and take heed *to your ſelves*: but if ye turn back, know that the duty of our apoſtle is only to preach publickly[h]. In thoſe who believe and do good works, it is no ſin that they have taſted *wine or gaming before they were forbidden*; if they fear GOD, and believe, and do good works, and *ſhall for the future* fear GOD, and believe, and *ſhall perſevere to* fear *him*, and *to* do good[i]; for GOD loveth thoſe who do good. O true believers, GOD will ſurely prove you in *offering you plenty of* game, which ye may take with your hands or your lances,

[a] *Forbid not the good things which* GOD *hath allowed you*;] Theſe words were revealed, when certain of *Mohammed*'s companions agreed to oblige themſelves to continual faſting and watching, and to abſtain from women, eating fleſh, ſleeping on beds, and other lawful enjoyments of life, in imitation of ſome ſelf-denying *Chriſtians*; but this the prophet diſapproved, declaring, that he would have no *monks* in his religion[1].

[b] See chap. 2. p. 26.

[c] The commentators give us the different opinions of the doctors, as to the quantity of food and cloaths to be given in this caſe; which I think ſcarce worth tranſcribing.

[d] *Shall faſt three days*;] That is, three days together, ſays *Abu Hanîfa*. But this is not obſerved in practice, being neither explicitly commanded in the *Korân*, nor ordered in the *Sonna*[2].

[e] *Wine and lots*;] That is, all inebriating liquors, and games of chance. See the Prelim. Diſc. §. V. and chap. 2. p. 25.

[f] *Images*;] *Al Beidâwi* and ſome other commentators expound this of idols; but others, with more probability, of the carved pieces, or men, with which the pagan *Arabs* played at cheſs, being little figures of men, elephants, horſes and dromedaries; and this is ſuppoſed to be the only thing which *Mohammed* diſliked in that game: for which reaſon the *Sonnites* play with plain pieces of wood, or ivory; but the *Perſians* and *Indians*, who are not ſo ſcrupulous, ſtill make uſe of the carved ones[3].

[g] See the Prelim. Diſcourſe, §. V.

[h] See ibid. §. II. p. 48, &c.

[i] The commentators endeavour to excuſe the tautology of this paſſage, by ſuppoſing the threefold repetition of *fearing* and *believing*, refer either to the three parts of time, paſt, preſent and future, or to the threefold duty of man, towards GOD, himſelf, and his neighbour, &c[4].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *V. Prel. Diſc.* §. V. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.

lances [a], that GOD may know who feareth him in ſecret; but whoever tranſgreſſeth after this, ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. O true believers, kill no game while ye are on pilgrimage [b]; whoſoever among you ſhall kill any deſignedly, ſhall reſtore the like of what he ſhall have killed, in domeſtic animals [c], according to the determination of two juſt perſons among you, to be brought as an offering to the CAABA; or in attonement thereof ſhall feed the poor; or inſtead thereof ſhall faſt, that he may taſte the heinouſneſs of his deed. GOD hath forgiven what is paſt, but whoever returneth *to tranſgreſs*, GOD will take vengeance on him; for GOD is mighty *and* able to avenge. It is lawful for you to fiſh in the ſea [d], and to eat *what ye ſhall catch*, as a proviſion for you and for thoſe who travel; but it is unlawful for you to hunt by land, while ye are performing the rites of pilgrimage [e]; therefore fear GOD, before whom ye ſhall be aſſembled *at the laſt day*. GOD hath appointed the CAABA, the holy houſe, an eſtabliſhment [f] for mankind; and *hath ordained* the ſacred month [g], and the offering, and the ornaments hung *thereon* [h]. This *hath he done* that ye might know that GOD knoweth whatſoever *is* in heaven and on earth, and that GOD is omniſcient. Know that GOD is ſevere in puniſhing, and that GOD *is alſo* ready to forgive *and* merciful. The duty of our apoſtle is to preach only [i]; and GOD knoweth that which ye diſcover, and that which ye conceal. Say, Evil and good ſhall not be equally eſteemed of, though the abundance of evil pleaſeth thee [k]; therefore fear GOD, O ye of underſtand-

[a] GOD *will prove you, in offering you plenty of game*, &c.] This temptation or trial was at *al Hodeibiya*, where *Mohammed*'s men, who had attended him thither with an intent to perform a pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, and had initiated themſelves with the uſual rites, were ſurrounded by ſo great a number of birds and beaſts, that they impeded their march; from which unuſual accident, ſome of them concluded that GOD had allowed them to be taken; but this paſſage was to convince them of the contrary [1].

[b] *While ye are on pilgrimage*;] Literally, *while ye are* Mohrims, or have actually initiated yourſelves as pilgrims, by putting on the garment worn at that ſolemnity. Hunting and fowling are hereby abſolutely forbidden to perſons in this ſtate; tho' they are allowed to kill certain kinds of noxious animals [2].

[c] *Shall reſtore the like in domeſtic animals*, &c.] That is, he ſhall bring an offering to the temple of *Mecca*, to be ſlain there and diſtributed among the poor, of ſome domeſtic or tame animal, equal in value to what he ſhall have killed; as a ſheep, for example, in lieu of an antelope, a pidgeon for a partridge, &c. And of this value two prudent perſons were to be judges. If the offender was not able to do this, he was to give a certain quantity of food to one or more poor men; or, if he could not afford that, to faſt a proportionable number of days [3].

[d] This, ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, is to be underſtood of fiſh that live altogether in the ſea, and not of thoſe that live in the ſea and on land both, as crabs, &c. The *Turks*, who are *Hanifites*, never eat this ſort of fiſh; but the ſect of *Ans Ebn Malec*, and perhaps ſome others, make no ſcruple of it.

[e] See above note [b].

[f] *An eſtabliſhment*;] That is, the place where the practice of their religious ceremonies is chiefly eſtabliſhed; where thoſe who are under any apprehenſion of danger may find a ſure *aſylum*, and the merchant certain gain, &c [4].

[g] *The ſacred month*;] *Al Beidâwi* underſtands this of the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, wherein the ceremonies of the pilgrimage are performed; but *Jallalo'ddin* ſuppoſes all the four ſacred months are here intended [5].

[h] See before, p. 82.

[i] See the Prelim. Diſcourſe, §. II. p. 48.

[k] *Evil and good ſhall not be equally eſteemed, tho' the abundance of evil pleaſeth thee*;] For judgment is to be made of things not from their plenty or ſcarcity, but from their intrinſic good or bad qualities [6].

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. V. [3] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem*. [5] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. VII. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI.

ſtanding, that ye may be happy. O true believers, inquire not concerning things, which, if they be declared unto you, may give you pain [a]; but if ye ask concerning them when the KORAN is ſent down, they will be declared unto you: GOD pardoneth *you as to* theſe matters; for GOD is ready to forgive, *and* gracious. People who have been before you formerly enquired concerning them; and afterwards diſbelieved therein. GOD hath not ordained *any thing* concerning BAHIRA, nor SAIBA, nor WASILA, nor HAMI [b]; but the unbelievers have invented a lie againſt GOD: and the greater part of them do not underſtand. And when it was ſaid unto them, Come unto that which GOD hath revealed, and to the apoſtle; they anſwered, That *religion* which we found our fathers *to follow* is ſufficient for us. What, though their fathers knew nothing, and were not *rightly* directed? O true believers, take care of your ſouls. He who erreth ſhall not hurt you, while ye are *rightly* directed [c]: unto GOD ſhall ye all return, and he will tell you that which ye have done. O true believers, let witneſſes be taken between you, when death approaches any of you, at the time of *making* the teſtament; *let there be* two *witneſſes*, juſt men, from among you [d]; or two others of *a* different *tribe or faith* from your ſelves [e], if ye be journeying in the earth, and the accident of death befal you. Ye ſhall ſhut them both up, after the *afternoon* prayer [f], and they ſhall ſwear by GOD, if ye doubt *them, and they ſhall ſay*, We will not ſell *our evidence* for a bribe, although *the perſon concerned* be one who is related *to us*, neither will we conceal the teſtimony of GOD, for then ſhould we certainly

[a] *Inquire not concerning things which if they be declared unto you may give you pain*, &c.] The *Arabs* continually teazing their prophet with queſtions, which probably he was not always prepared to anſwer, they are here ordered to wait, till GOD ſhould think fit to declare his pleaſure, by ſome farther revelation: and, to abate their curioſity, they are told, at the ſame time, that very likely the anſwers would not be agreeable to their inclinations. *Al Beidâwi* ſays, that when the pilgrimage was firſt commanded, *Soràka Ebn Malec* asked *Mohammed* whether they were obliged to perform it every year? To this queſtion the prophet at firſt turned a deaf ear; but being asked it a ſecond, and a third time, he at laſt ſaid, *No: but if I had ſaid, yes, it would have become a duty, and if it were a duty, ye would not be able to perform it; therefore give me no trouble as to things wherein I give you none:* whereupon this paſſage was revealed.

[b] GOD *hath not ordained any thing concerning* Bahîra, *nor* Sâïba, *nor* Wasîla, *nor* Hâmi, &c.] Theſe were the names given by the pagan *Arabs* to certain camels or ſheep which were turned looſe to feed, and exempted from common ſervices, in ſome particular caſes; having their ears ſlit, or ſome other mark, that they might be known; and this they did in honour of their gods [1]. Which ſuperſtitions are here declared to be no ordinances of GOD, but the inventions of fooliſh men.

[c] *He who erreth ſhall not hurt you*, &c.] This was revealed when the infidels reproached thoſe who embraced *Mohammediſm* and renounced their old idolatry, that by ſo doing they arraigned the wiſdom of their forefathers [2].

[d] *Two juſt men from among you*;] That is, of your kindred, or religion.

[e] *Or two others of a different tribe or faith*;] They who interpret theſe words of perſons of another religion, ſay they are abrogated, and that the teſtimony of ſuch ought not to be received againſt a *Moſlem* [3].

[f] *Ye ſhall ſhut them both up after the afternoon prayer*, &c.] In caſe there was any doubt, the witneſſes were to be kept apart from company, leſt they ſhould be corrupted, till they gave their evidence, which they generally did when the afternoon prayer was over; becauſe that was the time of people's aſſembling in public, or, ſay ſome, becauſe the guardian angels then relieve each other, ſo that there would be four angels to witneſs againſt them if they gave falſe evidence. But others ſuppoſe they might be examined after the hour of any other prayer, when there was a ſufficient aſſembly [4].

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. V. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.*

tainly be *of the number* of the wicked. But if it appear that both have been guilty of iniquity, two others ſhall ſtand up in their place, of thoſe who have convicted them *of falſhood*, the two neareſt *in blood*, and they ſhall ſwear by GOD, *ſaying*, Verily our teſtimony is more true than the teſtimony of theſe two, neither have we prevaricated; for *then* ſhould we become *of the number* of the unjuſt. This will be eaſier, that *men* may give teſtimony according to the plain intention thereof, or fear leaſt a *different* oath be given, after their oath. Therefore fear GOD, and hearken; for GOD directeth not the unjuſt people [a]. On *a certain* day [b] ſhall GOD aſſemble the apoſtles, and ſhall ſay unto them, What anſwer was returned you, *when ye preached unto the people to whom ye were ſent?* They ſhall anſwer, We have no knowledge, but thou art the knower of ſecrets [c]. When GOD ſhall ſay, O JESUS ſon of MARY, remember my favour towards thee, and towards thy mother; when I ſtrengthened thee with the holy ſpirit [d], that thou ſhouldeſt ſpeak unto men in the cradle, and when thou waſt grown up [e]; and when I taught thee the ſcripture, and wiſdom, and the law, and the goſpel; and when thou didſt create of clay as it were the figure of a bird, by my permiſſion, and didſt breathe thereon, and it became a bird by my permiſſion; and thou didſt heal one blind from his birth, and the leper, by my permiſſion; and when thou didſt bring forth the dead *from their graves*, by my permiſſion [f]; and when I with-held the children of ISRAEL from *killing* thee [g], when thou hadſt come unto them with evident *miracles*, and ſuch of them as believed not, ſaid, This is nothing but manifeſt ſorcery. And when I commanded the apoſtles of *JESUS ſaying*, Believe in me, and in my meſſenger; they anſwered, We do believe;

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[a] The occaſion of the preceding paſſage is ſaid to have been this. *Tamîm al Dâri* and *Addi Ebn Yazîd*, both *Chriſtians*, took a journey into *Syria* to trade, in company with *Bodeil*, the freed-man of *Amru Ebn al As*, who was a *Moſlem*. When they came to *Damaſcus*, *Bodeil* fell ſick, and died; having firſt wrote down a liſt of his effects on a piece of paper, which he hid in his baggage, without acquainting his companions with it, and deſired them only to deliver what he had to his friends of the tribe of *Sahm*. The ſurvivors however ſearching among his goods, found a veſſel of ſilver of conſiderable weight, and inlaid with gold, which they concealed, and on their return, delivered the reſt to the deceaſed's relations; who finding the liſt of *Bodeil*'s writing, demanded the veſſel of ſilver of them, but they denied it; and the affair being brought before *Mohammed*, theſe words, *viz. O true believers take witneſſes*, &c. were revealed, and he ordered them to be ſworn at the pulpit in the moſque, juſt as afternoon prayer was over, and on their making oath that they knew nothing of the plate demanded, diſmiſſed them. But afterwards the veſſel being found in their hands, the *Sahmites*, ſuſpecting it was *Bodeil*'s, charged them with it, and they confeſſed it was his, but inſiſted that they had bought it of him, and that they had not produced it, becauſe they had no proof of the bargain. Upon this they went again before *Mohammed*, to whom theſe words, *And if it appear*, &c. were revealed; and thereupon *Amru Ebn al As* and *al Motalleb Ebn Abi Refâa*, both of the tribe of *Sahm*, ſtood up, and were ſworn againſt them; and judgment was given accordingly [i].

[b] *On a certain day*;] That is, on the day of judgment.

[c] *We have no knowledge*, &c.] That is, We are ignorant whether our proſelytes were ſincere, or whether they apoſtatized after our deaths; but thou well knoweſt not only what anſwer they gave us, but the ſecrets of their hearts, and whether they have ſince continued firm in their religion or not.

[d] See chap. 2. p. 12.

[e] See chap. 3. p. 41.

[f] See ibid.

[g] See ibid. p. 42.

[i] *Idem.*

lieve; and do thou bear witneſs that we are reſigned *unto thee.* *Remember* when the apoſtles ſaid, O JESUS ſon of MARY, is thy LORD able to cauſe a table to deſcend unto us from heaven [a]? He anſwered, Fear GOD, if ye be true believers. They ſaid, We deſire to eat thereof, and that our hearts may reſt at eaſe, and that we may know that thou haſt told us the truth, and that we may be witneſſes thereof. JESUS the ſon of MARY ſaid, O GOD our LORD, cauſe a table to deſcend unto us from heaven, that *the day of its deſcent* may become a feſtival day [b] unto us, unto the firſt of us, and unto the laſt of us, and a ſign from thee; and do thou provide food for us, for thou art the beſt provider. GOD ſaid, Verily I will cauſe it to deſcend unto you; but whoever among you ſhall diſbelieve hereafter, I will ſurely puniſh him with a puniſhment, wherewith I will not puniſh any other creature. And when GOD ſhall ſay *unto JESUS, at the laſt day*, O JESUS ſon of MARY, haſt thou ſaid unto men, Take me and my mother for two gods, beſide GOD? He ſhall anſwer, Praiſe be unto thee! it is not for me to ſay that which I ought not; if I had ſaid ſo, thou wouldeſt ſurely have known it: thou knoweſt what is in me, but I know not what is in thee; for thou art the knower of ſecrets. I have not ſpoken to them *any other* than what thou didſt command me; *namely*, Worſhip GOD, my LORD and your LORD: and I was a witneſs *of their actions* while I ſtaid among them; but ſince thou haſt taken me to thy ſelf,

[a] *Is thy* LORD *able to cauſe a table to deſcend unto us from heaven*, &c.] This miracle is thus related by the commentators. *Jeſus* having, at the requeſt of his followers, asked it of GOD, a red table immediately deſcended, in their ſight, between two clouds, and was ſet before them; whereupon he roſe up, and having made the ablution, prayed, and then took off the cloth which covered the table, ſaying, *In the name of* GOD, *the beſt provider of food.* What the proviſions were, with which this table was furniſhed, is a matter wherein the expoſitors are not agreed. One will have them to be nine cakes of bread, and nine fiſhes; another, bread and fleſh; another, all ſorts of food except fleſh; another, all ſorts of food, except bread and fleſh; another, all except bread and fiſh; another, one fiſh which had the taſte of all manner of food; and another, fruits of paradiſe: but the moſt received tradition is, that when the table was uncovered, there appeared a fiſh ready dreſt, without ſcales or prickly fins, dropping with fat, having ſalt placed at its head, and vinegar at its tail, and round it all ſorts of herbs, except leeks, and five loaves of bread, on one of which there were olives, on the ſecond honey, on the third butter, on the fourth cheeſe, and on the fifth dried fleſh. They add, that *Jeſus*, at the requeſt of the apoſtles, ſhewed them another miracle, by reſtoring the fiſh to life, and cauſing its ſcales and fins to return to it; at which the ſtanders by being affrighted, he cauſed it to become as it was before: that one thouſand three hundred men and women, all afflicted with bodily infirmities or poverty, eat of theſe proviſions, and were ſatisfied; the fiſh remaining whole as it was at firſt: that then the table flew up to heaven in the ſight of all; and every one who had partaken of this food, were delivered from their infirmities and misfortunes: and that it continued to deſcend for forty days together, at dinner time, and ſtood on the ground till the ſun declined, and was then taken up into the clouds. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers are of opinion that this table did not really deſcend, but that it was only a parable; but moſt think the words of the *Korân* are plain to the contrary. A further tradition is, that ſeveral men were changed into ſwine for diſbelieving this miracle, and attributing it to magic art; or, as others pretend, for ſtealing ſome of the victuals from off it [1]. Several other fabulous circumſtances are alſo told, which are ſcarce worth tranſcribing [2].

[b] *A feſtival day*;] Some ſay the table deſcended on a ſunday, which was the reaſon of the *Chriſtians* obſerving that day as ſacred. Others pretend this day is ſtill kept among them as a very great feſtival; and it ſeems as if the ſtory had its riſe from an imperfect notion of *Chriſt*'s laſt ſupper, and the inſtitution of the Euchariſt.

[1] *Idem, Al* THALABI. [2] *V.* MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 238, *&c.*

ſelf[a], thou haſt been the watcher over them; for thou art witneſs of all things. If thou puniſh them, they are ſurely thy ſervants; and if thou forgive them, thou art mighty *and* wiſe. GOD will ſay, This day ſhall their veracity be of advantage unto thoſe who ſpeak truth; they ſhall have gardens wherein rivers flow, they ſhall remain therein for ever: GOD hath been well-pleaſed in them, and they have been well-pleaſed in him. This *ſhall be* great felicity. Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth, and of whatever therein is; and he is almighty.

[a] *Since thou haſt taken me to thy ſelf*;] Or, *ſince thou haſt cauſed me to die*: but as it is a diſpute among the *Mohammedans* whether *Chriſt* actually died or not, before his aſſumption [1], and the original may be tranſlated either way, I have choſen the former expreſſion, which leaves the matter undecided.

[1] *See chap.* 3. *p.* 43.

CHAP. VI.

Intitled, Cattle[a]; *revealed at* MECCA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

PRaiſe be unto GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath ordained the darkneſs and the light; nevertheleſs they who believe not in the LORD, equalize *other gods with him.* It is he who hath created you of clay; and then decreed the term *of your lives*; and the prefixed term is with him[c]: yet do ye doubt *thereof.* He is GOD in heaven and in earth; he knoweth what ye keep ſecret, and what ye publiſh, and knoweth what ye deſerve. There came not unto them any ſign, of the ſigns of their LORD, but they retired from the ſame; and they have gainſaid the truth, after that it hath come unto them: but a meſſage ſhall come unto them, concerning that which they have mocked at[d]. Do they not conſider how many generations we have deſtroyed before them? We had eſtabliſhed them in the earth in a manner wherein we have not eſtabliſhed you[e]; we ſent the heaven to rain abundantly upon

[a] This chapter is ſo intitled, becauſe ſome ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the *Meccans*, as to certain cattle, are therein incidentally mentioned.

[b] Except only ſix verſes, or, ſay others, three verſes, which are taken notice of in the notes.

[c] *And then decreed the term of their lives; and the prefixed term is with him.*] By the laſt term ſome underſtand the time of the reſurrection. Others think that by the firſt term is intended the ſpace between creation and death, and by the latter, that between death and the reſurrection.

[d] *A meſſage ſhall come unto them,* &c.] That is, they ſhall be convinced of the truth which they have made a jeſt of, when they ſee the puniſhment which they ſhall ſuffer for ſo doing, both in this world and the next; or when they ſhall ſee the glorious ſucceſs of *Mohammediſm.*

[e] *We had eſtabliſhed them in the earth, as we have not eſtabliſhed you,* &c.] i. e. We had bleſſed them with greater power, and length of proſperity than we have granted you, O men of *Mecca* [1]. *Mohammed* ſeems here to mean the ancient and potent tribes of *Ad*, and *Thamud*, &c [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 6, *&c.*

on them, and we gave *them* rivers which flowed under *their feet:* yet we deſtroyed them in their ſins, and raiſed up other generations after them. Although we had cauſed to deſcend unto thee a book *written* on paper, and they had handled it with their hands, the unbelievers had ſurely ſaid, This *is* no other than manifeſt ſorcery. They ſaid, Unleſs an angel be ſent down unto him, *we will not believe.* But if we had ſent down an angel, verily the matter had been decreed [a], and they ſhould not have been born with, *by having time granted them to repent.* And if we had appointed an angel *for our meſſenger*, we ſhould have ſent him *in the form of* a man [b], and have cloathed *him* before them, as they are cloathed. *Other* apoſtles have been laughed to ſcorn, before thee, but *the judgment* which they made a jeſt of, encompaſſed thoſe who laughed them to ſcorn. Say, Go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of thoſe, who accuſed *our prophets* of impoſture. Say, Unto whom *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and earth? Say, Unto GOD. He hath preſcribed unto himſelf mercy. He will ſurely gather you together on the day of reſurrection; there is no doubt of it. They who deſtroy their own ſouls *are thoſe who* will not believe. Unto him *is owing* whatſoever happeneth by night or by day; *it is* he who heareth and knoweth. Say, Shall I take any other protector than GOD, the creator of heaven and earth, who feedeth *all* and is not fed *by any?* Say, Verily I am commanded to be the firſt who profeſſeth ISLAM [c], and *it was ſaid unto me*, Thou ſhalt by no means be *one* of the idolaters. Say, Verily I fear, if I ſhould rebel againſt my LORD, the puniſhment of the great day: from whomſoever it ſhall be averted on that day, *GOD* will have been merciful unto him; this *will be* manifeſt ſalvation. If GOD afflict thee with any hurt: there is none who can take it off *from thee*, except himſelf; but if he cauſe good to befal thee, he is almighty; he is the ſupreme *LORD* over his ſervants; and he *is* wiſe *and* knowing. Say, What thing is the ſtrongeſt in bearing teſtimony [d]? Say, GOD; *he is* witneſs between me and you. And this KORAN was revealed unto me, that I ſhould admoniſh you thereby, and *alſo* thoſe unto whom it ſhall reach. Do ye really profeſs that there are other gods together with GOD? Say, I do not profeſs *this.* Say, Verily he is one GOD; and I am guiltleſs of what ye aſſociate *with him.* They unto whom we have given the ſcripture know *our apoſtle*, even as they know their own children [e]; *but* they who deſtroy their own ſouls, will not believe. Who is more unjuſt than he who inventeth a lie againſt GOD,

[a] *Verily the matter had been decreed*, &c.] That is to ſay, As they would not have believed, even if an angel had deſcended to them from heaven, GOD has ſhewn his mercy in not complying with their demands; for if he had, they would have ſuffered immediate condemnation, and would have been allowed no time for repentance.

[b] *We ſhould have ſent him in the form of a man*;] As *Gabriel* generally appeared to *Mohammed*; who, tho' a prophet, was not able to bear the ſight of him when he appeared in his proper form, much leſs would others be able to ſupport it.

[c] *The firſt who profeſſeth* Iſlâm;] That is, the firſt of my nation [1].

[d] *What thing is the ſtrongeſt in bearing teſtimony*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed when the *Koreiſh* told *Mohammed* that they had asked the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* concerning him, who aſſured them they found no mention or deſcription of him in their books of ſcripture, *Therefore* ſaid they, *who bears witneſs to thee, that thou art the apoſtle of* GOD [2]?

[e] See chap. 2. p. 18.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

[2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

GOD [a], or chargeth his ſigns with impoſture? Surely the unjuſt ſhall not proſper. And on the day *of reſurrection* we will aſſemble them all; then will we ſay unto thoſe who aſſociated *others with* GOD, Where are your companions [b], whom ye imagined *to be thoſe of* GOD? But they ſhall have no other excuſe, than that they ſhall ſay, By GOD our LORD, we have not been idolaters. Behold, how they lye againſt themſelves, and what they have *blaſphemouſly* imagined *to be the companion of* GOD flieth from them [c]. There is of them who hearkeneth unto thee *when thou readeſt the* KORAN [d]; but we have caſt vails over their hearts, that they ſhould not underſtand it, and a deafneſs in their ears: and though they ſhould ſee all *kinds of* ſigns, they will not believe therein; *and their infidelity will arrive to that height* that they will even come unto thee, to diſpute with thee. The unbelievers will ſay, This is nothing but ſilly fables of ancient *times*. And they will forbid *others* from *believing therein*, and will retire afar off from it; but they will deſtroy their own ſouls only, and they are not ſenſible *thereof*. If thou didſt ſee, when they ſhall be ſet over the fire *of hell!* and they ſhall ſay, Would to GOD we might be ſent back *into the world*; we would not charge the ſigns of our LORD with impoſture, and we would become true believers: nay, but that is become manifeſt unto them, which they formerly concealed [e]; and though they ſhould be ſent back *into the world*, they would ſurely return to that which was forbidden them; and they are ſurely liars. And they ſaid, There is no *other life* than our preſent life; neither ſhall we be raiſed again. But if thou couldſt ſee, when they ſhall be ſet before their LORD [f]! He ſhall ſay *unto them*, Is not this in truth *come to paſs?* They ſhall anſwer, Yea, by our LORD. *GOD* ſhall ſay, Taſte therefore the puniſhment *due unto you*, for that ye have diſbelieved. They are loſt who reject as a falſhood the meeting of GOD *in the next life*, until the hour [g] cometh ſuddenly upon them. *Then will* they ſay, Alas! for that we have behaved our ſelves negligently in *our life time*; and they ſhall carry their burthens on their backs [h]; will it not be evil which they ſhall be loaden with?

[a] *Who inventeth a lie againſt* GOD;] Saying the angels are the daughters of GOD, and interceſſors for us with him, *&c.* [1].

[b] *Your companions*;] i. e. Your idols and falſe gods.

[c] *And what they have blaſphemouſly imagined flieth from them*;] That is, their imaginary deities prove to be nothing, and diſappear like vain fantoms and chimæras.

[d] The perſons here meant were *Abu Sofiân*, *al Walîd*, *al Nodar*, *Otba*, *Abu Jahl*, and their comrades, who went to hear *Mohammed* repeat ſome of the *Korân*; and *Nodar* being asked what he ſaid, anſwered, with an oath, that he knew not, only that he moved his tongue, and told a parcel of fooliſh ſtories, as he had done to them [2].

[e] *That is become manifeſt unto them which they formerly concealed*;] *viz.* Their hypocriſy and vile actions: nor does their promiſe proceed from any ſincere intention of amendment, but from the anguiſh and miſery of their condition [3].

[f] *When they ſhall be ſet before their* LORD, *&c.*] *viz.* In order for judgment.

[g] *The hour*,] The laſt day is here called *the Hour*, as it is in ſcripture [4]; and the preceding expreſſion of *meeting* GOD on that day is alſo agreeable to the ſame [5].

[h] *They ſhall carry their burthens on their backs*, &c.] When an infidel comes forth from his grave, ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, his works ſhall be repreſented to him under the ugliеſt form that ever he beheld, having a moſt deformed countenance, a filthy ſmell, and a diſagreeable voice; ſo that he ſhall cry out, GOD *defend me from thee*,

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] 1 *John* v. 25, &c. [5] 1 *Theſ.* iv. 17.

with? This preſent life is no other than a play and a vain amuſement; but ſurely the future manſion *ſhall be* better for thoſe who fear GOD: will they not therefore underſtand? Now we know that what they ſpeak grieveth thee: yet they do not accuſe thee of falſehood; but the ungodly contradict the ſigns of GOD [a]. And apoſtles before thee have been accounted liars: but they patiently bore their being accounted liars, and their being vexed, until our help came unto them; for there is none who can change the words of GOD: and thou haſt received ſome information concerning thoſe who have been *formerly* ſent *from him* [b]. If their averſion *to thy admonitions* be grievous unto thee, if thou canſt ſeek out a den *whereby thou mayeſt penetrate* into *the inward parts of* the earth, or a ladder *by which thou mayeſt aſcend* into heaven, that thou mayeſt ſhew them a ſign, *do ſo, but thy ſearch will be fruitleſs*; for if GOD pleaſed he would bring them all to the *true* direction: be not therefore *one* of the ignorant [c]. He will give a favourable anſwer unto thoſe only who ſhall hearken *with attention*: and GOD will raiſe the dead; then unto him ſhall they return. The *infidels* ſay, Unleſs ſome ſign be ſent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe*: anſwer, Verily GOD is able to ſend down a ſign: but the greater part of them know *it* not [d]. There is no *kind of* beaſt on earth, nor fowl which flieth with its wings, but *the ſame is* a people like unto you [e]; we have not omitted any thing in the book [f] *of our decrees*: then unto their LORD ſhall they return [g]. They who accuſe our ſigns of falſhood, *are* deaf and dumb, *walking* in darkneſs: GOD will lead into error whom he pleaſeth, and whom he pleaſeth

thee, what art thou, I never ſaw any thing more deteſtable? To which the figure will anſwer, *Why doſt thou wonder at my uglineſs? I am thy evil works* [1]; *thou didſt ride upon me, while thou waſt in the world, but now will I ride upon thee, and thou ſhalt carry me.* And immediately it ſhall get upon him; and whatever he ſhall meet ſhall terrify him, and ſay, *Hail, thou enemy of* GOD, *thou art he who was meant by* (theſe words of the *Korân*) *and they ſhall carry their burthens*, &c [2].

[a] *They do not accuſe thee of falſhood, but the ungodly contradict the ſigns of* GOD;] That is, it is not thou but GOD whom they injure by their impious gainſaying of what has been revealed to thee. It is ſaid that *Abu Jahl* once told *Mohammed*, that they did not accuſe him of falſhood, becauſe he was known to be a man of veracity, but only they did not believe the revelations which he brought them; which occaſioned this paſſage [3].

[b] *And thou haſt received ſome information concerning thoſe who have been formerly ſent from him*;] i. e. Thou haſt been acquainted with the ſtories of ſeveral of the preceding prophets; what perſecutions they ſuffered from thoſe to whom they were ſent, and in what manner GOD ſupported them and puniſhed their enemies, according to his unalterable promiſe [4].

[c] In this paſſage *Mohammed* is reproved for his impatience, in not bearing with the obſtinacy of his countrymen, and for his indiſcreet deſire of effecting what GOD hath not decreed, namely, the converſion and ſalvation of all men [5].

[d] *The greater part of them know it not*;] Being both ignorant of GOD's almighty power, and of the conſequence of what they ask, which might prove their utter deſtruction.

[e] *A people like unto you*;] Being created and preſerved by the ſame omnipotence and providence as ye are.

[f] *We have not omitted any thing in the book*, &c.] That is, in the *preſerved table*, wherein GOD's decrees are written, and all things which come to paſs in the world, as well the moſt minute as the more momentous, are exactly regiſtred [6].

[g] *Then unto their* LORD *ſhall they return*;] For, according to the *Mohammedan* belief, the irrational animals will alſo be reſtored to life at the reſurrection, that they may be brought to judgment, and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they did one another while in this world [7].

[1] *See* MILTON's *Paradiſe loſt, book* II. *v.* 737, *&c.* [2] *See alſo ch.* 3. *p.* 55. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.* [6] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 103. [7] *See, ib. p.* 86.

ſeth he will put in the right way. Say, What think ye? if the puniſhment of GOD come upon you, or the hour *of the reſurrection* come upon you, will ye call upon any other than GOD, if ye ſpeak truth? yea, him ſhall ye call upon, and he ſhall free *you* from that which ye ſhall ask him *to deliver you from*, if he pleaſeth; and ye ſhall forget that which ye aſſociated *with him* [a]. We have already ſent *meſſengers* unto *ſundry* nations before thee, and we afflicted them with trouble and adverſity that they might humble themſelves: yet when the affliction *which we ſent* came upon them, they did not humble themſelves; but their hearts became hardened, and SATAN prepared for them that which they committed. And when they had forgotten that concerning which they had been admoniſhed, we opened unto them the gates of all things [b]; until, while they were rejoicing for that which had been given them, we ſuddenly laid hold on them, and behold, they *were* ſeized with deſpair; and the utmoſt part of the people which had acted wickedly, was cut off: praiſe be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Say, What think ye? if GOD ſhould take away your hearing and your ſight, and ſhould ſeal up your hearts; What god beſides GOD, will reſtore them unto you? See how variouſly we ſhew forth the ſigns *of* GOD'S *unity* [c]; yet do they turn aſide *from them*. Say *unto them*, What think ye? if the puniſhment of GOD come upon you ſuddenly, or in open view [d]; will *any* periſh, except the ungodly people? We ſend not *our* meſſengers otherwiſe than bearing good tidings and denouncing threats. Whoſo therefore ſhall believe and amend, on them ſhall no fear come, neither ſhall they be grieved: but whoſo ſhall accuſe our ſigns of falſhood, a puniſhment ſhall fall on them, becauſe they have done wickedly. Say, I ſay not unto you, The treaſures of GOD are in my power: neither *do I ſay*, I know the ſecrets *of* GOD: neither do I ſay unto you, Verily I am an angel: I follow only that which is revealed unto me. Say, Shall the blind and the ſeeing be held equal? do ye not therefore conſider? Preach it unto thoſe who fear that they ſhall be aſſembled before their LORD: they ſhall have no patron nor interceſſor, except him; that peradventure they may take heed to themſelves. Drive not away thoſe who call upon their LORD morning and evening, deſiring *to ſee* his face [e];

it

[a] *Ye ſhall forget that which ye aſſociated with him*;] That is, Ye ſhall then forſake your falſe gods, when ye ſhall be effectually convinced that GOD alone is able to deliver you from eternal puniſhment. But others rather think that this forgetting will be the effect of the diſtreſs and terror which they will then be in [1].

[b] *We opened unto them the gates of all things*;] That is, we gave them all manner of plenty; that ſince they took no warning by their afflictions, their proſperity might become a ſnare to them, and they might bring down upon themſelves ſwifter deſtruction.

[c] *How variouſly we ſhew forth the ſigns*, &c.] Laying them before you in different views, and making uſe of arguments and motives drawn from various conſiderations.

[d] *Suddenly or in open view*;] That is, ſays *al Beidâwi*, either without any previous notice, or after ſome warning given.

[e] *Drive not away thoſe who call upon their* LORD, *&c.*] Theſe words were occaſioned when the *Koreiſh* deſired *Mohammed* not to admit the poor or more inferior people, ſuch as *Ammâr*, *Soheib*, *Khobbâb*, and *Salmân*, into his company, pretending that then they would come and diſcourſe with him; but he refuſing to turn away any believers, they inſiſted at leaſt that he ſhould order them to riſe up and withdraw when they came, which he agreed to do. Others ſay, that the chief men of *Mecca* expelled all the poor out of their city, bidding them go to *Mohammed*; which they did, and offered to

embrace

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

it belongeth not unto thee to paſs any judgment on them [a], nor doth it belong unto them to paſs any judgment on thee: therefore *if* thou drive them away, thou wilt become *one* of the unjuſt. Thus have we proved ſome part of them by other part, that they may ſay, Are theſe *the people* among us unto whom GOD hath been gracious [b]? Doth not GOD moſt truly know *thoſe who are* thankful? And when they who believe in our ſigns ſhall come unto thee, ſay, Peace *be* upon you. Your LORD hath preſcribed unto himſelf mercy; ſo that whoever among you worketh evil through ignorance, and afterwards repenteth, and amendeth; *unto him will* he ſurely *be* gracious *and* merciful. Thus have we diſtinctly propounded *our* ſigns, that the path of the wicked might be made known. Say, Verily I am forbidden to worſhip *the falſe deities* which ye invoke, beſides GOD. Say, I will not follow your deſires; for then ſhould I err, neither ſhould I be *one* of *thoſe who are rightly* directed. Say, I *behave* according to the plain declaration *which I have received* from my LORD; but ye have forged lies concerning him. That which ye deſire ſhould be haſtened, is not in my power [c]: judgment *belongeth* only unto GOD; he will determine the truth; and he is the beſt diſcerner. Say, If what ye deſire ſhould be haſtened were in my power, the matter had been determined between me and you [d]: but GOD well knoweth the unjuſt. With him are the keys of the ſecret *things*; none knoweth them beſides himſelf: he knoweth that which is on the dry land and in the ſea; there falleth no leaf, but he knoweth it; neither *is there* a ſingle grain in the dark parts of the earth, neither a green thing, nor a dry thing, but it is *written* in the perſpicuous book [e]. It is he who cauſeth you to ſleep by night, and knoweth what ye merit by day; he alſo awaketh you therein, that the prefixed term *of your lives* may be fulfilled; then unto him ſhall ye return, and he ſhall declare unto you that which ye have wrought. He is ſupreme over his ſervants, and ſendeth the guardian *angels to watch* over you [f], until, when death overtaketh one of you, our meſſengers [g] cauſe him to die; and they will not neglect *our commands*. Afterwards ſhall they return unto GOD, their true LORD: doth not judgment *belong* unto him? he is the moſt quick in taking an

embrace his religion; but he made ſome difficulty to receive them, ſuſpecting their motive to be neceſſity, and not real conviction [1]; whereupon this paſſage was revealed.

[a] *It belongeth not unto thee to paſs any judgment on them*, &c.] i. e. Raſhly to decide whether their intentions be ſincere or not; ſince thou canſt not know their heart, and their faith may poſſibly be more firm than that of thoſe who would perſuade thee to diſcard them.

[b] *Thus have we proved ſome part of them by other part*, &c.] That is to ſay, the noble by thoſe of mean extraction, and the rich by the poor; in that GOD choſe to call the latter to the faith before the former [2].

[c] *That which ye deſire ſhould be haſtened, is not in my power*, &c.] This paſſage is an anſwer to the audacious defiances of the infidels, who bid *Mohammed*, if he were a true prophet, to call for a ſhower of ſtones from heaven, or ſome other ſudden and miraculous puniſhment, to deſtroy them [3].

[d] *The matter had been determined*;] For I ſhould e're now have deſtroyed you, out of zeal for GOD's honour, had it been in my power [4].

[e] *In the perſpicuous book*;] i. e. The preſerved table, or regiſter of GOD's decrees.

[f] See the Prelim. Diſc. Sect. IV. p. 88, 89.

[g] *Our meſſengers*;] That is, the angel of death and his aſſiſtants [5].

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem*. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem*. [5] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 72.

an account[a]. Say, Who delivereth you from the darkneſs[b] of the land and of the ſea, *when* ye call upon him humbly and in private, *ſaying*, Verily if thou deliver us[c] from theſe *dangers*, we will ſurely be thankful? Say, God delivereth you from them, and from every grief of mind; *yet* afterwards ye give *him* companions[d]. Say, He is able to ſend on you a puniſhment from above you[e], or from under your feet[f], or to ingage you in diſſenſion, and to make ſome of you taſte the violence of others. Obſerve how variouſly we ſhew forth *our* ſigns, that peradventure they may underſtand. This people hath accuſed the *revelation which thou haſt brought* of falſhood, although it be the truth. Say, I am not a guardian over you: every prophecy hath its fixed time *of accompliſhment*; and ye will hereafter know *it*. When thou ſeeſt thoſe who are ingaged in *cavilling at, or ridiculing* our ſigns; depart from them, until they be ingaged in ſome other diſcourſe: and if SATAN cauſe thee to forget *this precept*, do not ſit with the ungodly people, after recollection. They who fear GOD are not at all accountable for them, but *their duty is* to remember, that they may take heed to themſelves[g]. Abandon thoſe who make their religion a ſport and a jeſt; and whom the preſent life hath deceived: and admoniſh *them* by *the* KORAN, that a ſoul becometh liable to deſtruction for that which it committeth: it ſhall have no patron nor interceſſor beſides GOD; and if it could pay the utmoſt price of redemption, it would not be accepted from it. They who are delivered over to perdition for that which they have committed, ſhall have boiling water to drink, and ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment, becauſe they have diſbelieved. Say, Shall we call upon that, beſides GOD, which can neither profit us nor hurt us? and ſhall we turn back on our heels, after that GOD hath directed us; like him whom the devils have infatuated, wandring amazedly in the earth, *and yet* having companions who call him to the *true* direction, *ſaying*, Come unto us? Say, The direction of GOD is the *true* direction: we are commanded to reſign ourſelves unto the LORD of all creatures; and *it is alſo commanded us, ſaying*, Obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and fear him; for it is he before whom ye ſhall be aſſembled. It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in truth; and whenever he ſaith *unto a thing*, Be, it is. His word is the truth; and his will be the kingdom on the day whereon the trumpet ſhall be ſounded[h]: he knoweth

what-

[a] See the Prelim. Diſc. Sect. IV. p. 88, 89.

[b] *The darkneſs*;] That is, the dangers and diſtreſſes.

[c] *If thou deliver us*;] The *Cufic* copies read it in the third perſon, *if he deliver us*, &c.

[d] *Yet afterwards ye give him companions*;] Returning to your old idolatry.

[e] *A puniſhment from above you*;] That is, by ſtorms from heaven, as he deſtroyed the unbelieving people of *Noah*, and of *Lot*, and the army of *Abraha*, the lord of the elephant [1].

[f] *Or from under your feet*;] Either by drowning you, as he did *Pharaoh* and his hoſt, or cauſing the earth to open and ſwallow you up, as happened to *Korah*, or (as the *Mohammedans* name him) *Karun* [2].

[g] *Thoſe who fear* GOD *are not accountable for them*, &c.] And therefore need not be troubled at the indecent and impious talk of the infidels; provided they take care not to be infected by them. When the preceding paſſage was revealed, the *Moſlems* told their prophet, that if they were obliged to riſe up whenever the idolaters ſpoke irreverently of the *Korân*, they could never ſit quietly in the temple, nor perform their devotions there; whereupon theſe words were added [3].

[h] See the Prelim. Diſc. Sect. IV. p. 72, and 82, &c.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

whatever is ſecret, and whatever is public; he is the wiſe, the knowing. *Call to mind* when ABRAHAM ſaid unto his father AZER [a], Doſt thou take images for gods [b]? Verily I perceive that thou and thy people *are* in a manifeſt error. And thus did we ſhew unto ABRAHAM the kingdom of heaven and earth, that he might become *one* of thoſe who firmly believe [c]. And when the night overſhadowed him, he ſaw a ſtar, *and* he ſaid, This is my LORD [d]; but when it ſet, he ſaid, I like not *gods* which ſet. And when he ſaw the moon riſing, he ſaid, This is my LORD; but when he ſaw it ſet, he ſaid, Verily if my LORD direct me not, I ſhall become *one* of the people who go aſtray. And when he ſaw the ſun riſing, he ſaid, This is my LORD, this is the greateſt; but when it ſet, he ſaid, O my people, verily I am clear of that which ye aſſociate *with* GOD: I direct my face unto him who hath created the heavens and the earth; *I am* orthodox, and am not *one* of the idolaters. And his people diſputed with him: *and* he ſaid, Will ye diſpute with me concerning GOD? ſince he hath now directed me, and I fear not that which ye aſſociate *with him*, unleſs that my LORD willeth a thing; *for* my LORD comprehendeth all things by his

[a] *Azer.*] This is the name which the *Mohammedans* give to *Abraham*'s father, named in ſcripture *Terah*. However ſome of their writers pretend that *Azer* was the ſon of *Terah* [1], and *D'Herbelot* ſays that the *Arabs* always diſtinguiſh them in their genealogies as different perſons; but that becauſe *Abraham* was the ſon of *Terah* according to *Moſes*, it is therefore ſuppoſed [by *European* writers] that *Terah* is the ſame with the *Azer* of the *Arabs* [2]. How true this obſervation may be in relation to ſome authors, I cannot ſay, but I am ſure it cannot be true of all; for ſeveral *Arab* and *Turkiſh* writers expreſly make *Azer* and *Terah* the ſame Perſon [3]. *Azer*, in ancient times, was the name of the planet *Mars*, and the month of *March* was ſo called by the moſt ancient *Perſians*; for the word originally ſignifying *fire* (as it ſtill does) it was therefore given by them and the *Chaldeans* to that planet [4], which partaking, as was ſuppoſed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the *Chaldeans* and *Aſſyrians* as a god or planetary deity, whom in old times they worſhipped under the form of a pillar: whence *Azer* became a name among the nobility, who eſteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods [5], and is found in the compoſition of ſeveral *Babyloniſh* names. For theſe reaſons a learned author ſuppoſes *Azer* to have been the heathen name of *Terah*, and that the other was given him on his converſion [6]. *Al Beidâwi* confirms this conjecture, ſaying that *Azer* was the name of the idol which he worſhipped. It may be obſerved that *Abraham*'s father is alſo called *Zarah* in the *Talmud*, and *Athar* by *Euſebius*.

[b] *Do ye take images for gods?*] That *Azer* or *Terah* was an idolater, is allowed on all hands; nor can it be denied, ſince he is expreſly ſaid in ſcripture to have ſerved ſtrange gods [7]. The eaſtern authors unanimouſly agree that he was a ſtatuary, or carver of idols; and he is repreſented as the firſt who made images of clay, pictures only having been in uſe before [8], and taught that they were to be adored as gods [9]. However we are told his employment was a very honourable one [10], and that he was a great lord, and in high favour with *Nimrod*, whoſe ſon-in-law he was [11], becauſe he made his idols for him, and was excellent in his art. Some of the *Rabbins* ſay *Terah* was a prieſt, and chief of the order [12].

[c] *And thus we ſhewed* Abraham *the kingdom of heaven and earth*, &c.] That is, we gave him a right apprehenſion of the government of the world and of the heavenly bodies, that he might know them all to be ruled by GOD, by putting him on making the following reflections.

[d] *He ſaw a ſtar, and he ſaid, This is my* LORD, *&c.*] Since *Abraham*'s parents were idolaters, it

[1] *Tarîkh Montakhab, apud* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 12. [2] D'HERBEL. *ibid.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, EBN SHOHNAH, MIRAT KAINAT, *&c. V. etiam Pharhang Jehanghiri, apud* HYDE *de rel. vet. Perſar. p.* 68. [4] HYDE, *ibid. p.* 63. [5] *Idem, ib. p.* 64. [6] *Idem, ibid. p.* 62. [7] *Joſh.* XXIV. 2, 14. [8] EPIPHAN. *adv. Hær. l.* 1. *p.* 7, 8. [9] SUIDAS *in Lexico, voce* Σερέχ. [10] *V.* HYDE, *ubi ſupra, p.* 63. [11] D'HERBEL. *ubi ſup.* [12] *Shalſhel. hakkab. p.* 94.

his knowledge [a]: will ye not therefore conſider? And how ſhould I fear that which ye aſſociate *with* GOD, ſince ye fear not to have aſſociated with GOD that concerning which he hath ſent down unto you no authority? which therefore of the two parties is the more ſafe, if ye underſtand *aright?* They who believe, and clothe not their faith with injuſtice [b], they ſhall enjoy ſecurity, and they *are rightly* directed. And this is our argument wherewith we furniſhed ABRAHAM *that he might make uſe of it* againſt his people: we exalt unto degrees *of wiſdom and knowledge* whom we pleaſe; for thy LORD is wiſe *and* knowing. And we gave unto him ISAAC and JACOB; we directed *them* both: and NOAH had we before directed, and of his poſterity [c] DAVID and SOLOMON; and JOB [d], and JOSEPH, and MOSES, and AARON: thus do we reward the righteous: and ZACHARIAS, and JOHN, and JESUS, and ELIAS [e]; all *of them were* upright men: and ISMAEL, and ELISHA [f], and JONAS [g], and LOT [h]; all *theſe* have we favoured above *the reſt of* the world; and *alſo divers* of their fathers,

 and

it ſeems to be a neceſſary conſequence that himſelf was one alſo in his younger years; the ſcripture not obſcurely intimates as much [1]; and the *Jews* themſelves acknowledge it [2]. At what age he came to the knowledge of the true GOD and left idolatry, opinions are various. Some *Jewiſh* writers tells us, he was then but three years old [3], and the *Mohammedans* likewiſe ſuppoſe him very young, and that he asked his father and mother ſeveral ſhrewd queſtions when a child [4]. Others however allow him to have been a middle-aged man at that time [5]. *Maimonides*, in particular, and *R. Abraham Zacuth* think him to have been forty years old, which age is alſo mentioned in the *Korân*. But the general opinion of the *Mohammedans* is, that he was about fifteen or ſixteen [6]. As the religion wherein *Abraham* was educated, was the *Sabian*, which conſiſted chiefly in the worſhip of the heavenly bodies [7], he is introduced examining their nature and properties, to ſee whether they had a right to the worſhip which was paid them or not; and the firſt which he obſerved was the planet *Venus*, or, as others will have it, *Jupiter* [8]. This method of *Abraham*'s attaining to the knowledge of the ſupreme Creator of all things, is conformable to what *Joſephus* writes, *viz.* That he drew his notions from the changes which he had obſerved in the earth and the ſea, and in the ſun and the moon, and the reſt of the celeſtial bodies; concluding that they were ſubject to the command of a ſuperior power, to whom alone all honour and thanks are due [9]. The ſtory it ſelf is certainly taken from the *Talmud* [10]. Some of the commentators however ſuppoſe this reaſoning of *Abraham* with himſelf was not the firſt means of his converſion, but that he uſed it only by way of argument to convince the idolaters among whom he then lived.

[a] *I fear not what ye aſſociate with him; unleſs that my* LORD *willeth a thing*, &c.] That is, I am not afraid of your falſe gods, which cannot hurt me, except GOD permitteth it, or is pleaſed to afflict me himſelf.

[b] *Injuſtice*;] By injuſtice, in this place, the commentators underſtand idolatry, or open rebellion againſt GOD.

[c] *Of his poſterity*;] Some refer the relative *his*, to *Abraham*, the perſon chiefly ſpoken of in this paſſage; ſome to *Noah*, the next antecedent, becauſe *Jonas* and *Lot* were not (ſay they) of *Abraham*'s ſeed: and others ſuppoſe the perſons named in this and the next verſe are to be underſtood as the deſcendants of *Abraham*, and thoſe in the following verſe, as thoſe of *Noah* [11].

[d] *Job.*] The *Mohammedans* ſay he was of the race of *Eſau*. See chap. 21, and 38.

[e] *Elias.*] See chap. 37.

[f] *Eliſha.*] This prophet was the ſucceſſor of *Elias*, and as the commentators will have it, the ſon of *Okhtûb*; tho' the ſcripture makes him the ſon of *Shaphat*.

[g] *Jonas.*] See chap. 10, 21, and 37.

[h] *Lot.*] See chap. 7, *&c.*

[1] V. *Joſh.* xxiv. 2, 14. *and* HYDE, *ubi ſup. p.* 59. [2] JOSEPH. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 7. MAIMON. *More Nev. part* 3. *c.* 29. *& Yad Hazzak. de Id. c.* 1, *&c.* [3] TANCHUMA, *Talmud, Nedarim*, 32, 1. *& apud* MAIMON. *Yad hazz. ubi ſup.* [4] *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham.* [5] MAIMON. *ubi ſup.* R. ABR. ZACUTH *in Sefer Juchaſin, Shalſhel. hakkab, &c.* [6] *V.* HYDE, *ubi ſup. p.* 60, 61. *&* HOTTING. *Smegma Orient. p.* 290, *&c.* GENEBR. *in Chron.* [7] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 14. [8] *Al* BEIDAWI. [9] JOSEPH. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 7. [10] R. BECHAI, *in Midraſh. V.* BARTOLOCC. *Bibl. Rabb. part.* 1. *p.* 640. [11] *Al* BEID.

and their iſſue, and their brethren; and we choſe them, and directed them into the right way. This is the direction of GOD, he directeth thereby ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth; but if they had been guilty of idolatry, that which they wrought would have become utterly fruitleſs unto them. Thoſe *were the perſons* unto whom we gave the ſcripture, and wiſdom, and prophecy; but if theſe [a] believe not therein, we will commit the care of them to a people who ſhall not diſbelieve the ſame. Thoſe *were the perſons* whom GOD hath directed, therefore follow their direction. Say *unto the inhabitants of MECCA*, I ask of you no recompenſe for *preaching the KORAN*; it is no other than an admonition unto *all* creatures. They make not a due eſtimation of GOD [b], when they ſay, GOD hath not ſent down unto man any thing at all [c]: Say, Who ſent down the book which MOSES brought, a light and a direction unto men; which ye tranſcribe on papers, whereof ye publiſh *ſome part*, and great part *whereof* ye conceal? and ye have been taught *by MOHAMMED* what ye knew not, neither your fathers. Say, GOD *ſent it down*: then leave them to amuſe themſelves with their vain diſcourſe. This book which we have ſent down, *is* bleſſed; confirming that which was *revealed* before it; and *is delivered unto thee* that thou mayeſt preach *it* unto the metropolis *of MECCA* and to thoſe who are round about it. And they who believe in the next life, will believe therein, and they will diligently obſerve their *times of* prayer. Who is more wicked than he who forgeth a lie concerning GOD [d]? or ſaith, *This* was revealed unto me; when nothing hath been revealed unto him [e]? and who ſaith, I will produce a revelation like unto that which GOD hath ſent down [f]? If

[a] *Theſe*;] That is, the *Koreiſh* [1].

[b] *They make not a due eſtimation of* GOD, *&c.*] That is, they know him not truely, nor have juſt notions of his goodneſs and mercy towards man. The perſons here meant, according to ſome commentators, are the *Jews*, and according to others, the idolaters [2].

This verſe and the two next, as *Jallalo'ddin* thinks, were revealed at *Medina*.

[c] GOD *hath not ſent down unto man any thing*, &c.] By theſe words the *Jews* (if they were the perſons meant) chiefly intended to deny the *Korân* to be of divine revelation: tho' they might in ſtrictneſs inſiſt that GOD never revealed, or *ſent down*, as the *Korân* expreſſes it, any real compoſition or material writing from heaven, in the manner that *Mohammed* pretended his revelations were delivered [3], if we except only the decalogue; GOD having left to the inſpired pen men, not only the labour of writing, but the liberty, in a great meaſure at leaſt, of putting the truths into their own words and manner of expreſſion.

[d] *Who is more unjuſt than he who forgeth a lie concerning* GOD, *&c.*] Falſely pretending to have received revelations from him; as did *Moſeilama*, *al Aſwad al Anſi*, and others.

[e] *Or ſaith, This was revealed unto me; when nothing hath been revealed unto him*;] As did *Abda'llah Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Sarah*, who for ſome time was the prophet's amanuenſis, and when theſe words were dictated to him as revealed, *viz. We created man of a purer kind of clay*, &c. [4], cried out, by way of admiration, *Bleſſed be* GOD, *the beſt Creator!* and being ordered by *Mohammed* to write theſe words down alſo, as part of the inſpired paſſage, began to think himſelf as great a prophet as his maſter [5]. Whereupon he took upon himſelf to corrupt and alter the *Korân* according to his own fancy, and at length apoſtatizing, was one of the ten who were proſcribed at the taking of *Mecca* [6], and narrowly eſcaped with life on his recantation, by the interpoſition of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, whoſe foſter-brother he was [7].

[f] *And who ſaith, I will produce a revelation*, &c.] For ſome *Arabs*, it ſeems, had the vanity to

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. III. *p.* 64, *&c.* [4] *Korân, chap.* 23.
[5] *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 55. [7] *V.* ABU'LFED. *Vit. Mob. p.* 109.

If thou didſt ſee when the ungodly *are* in the pangs of death, and the angels[a] reach out their hands, *ſaying*, Caſt forth your ſouls; this day ſhall ye receive an ignominious puniſhment for that which ye have falſely ſpoken concerning GOD; and becauſe ye have proudly rejected his ſigns. And now are ye come unto us alone[b], as we created you at firſt[c], and ye have left that which we had beſtowed on you, behind your backs; neither do we ſee with you your interceſſors[d], whom ye thought to have been partners *with* GOD among you: now is *the relation* between you cut off, and what ye imagined hath deceived you[e]. GOD cauſeth the grain, and the date-ſtone to put forth: he bringeth forth the living from the dead, and he bringeth forth the dead from the living[f]. This *is* GOD. Why therefore are ye turned away *from him?* He cauſeth the morning to appear; and hath ordained the night for reſt, and the ſun and the moon for the computing *of time*. This is the diſpoſition of the mighty, the wiſe *GOD*. It is he who hath ordained the ſtars for you, that ye may be directed thereby in the darkneſs of the land and of the ſea. We have clearly ſhewn forth *our* ſigns, unto people who underſtand. It is he who hath produced you from one ſoul; and *hath provided for you* a ſure receptacle and a repoſitory[g]. We have clearly ſhewn forth *our* ſigns, unto people who are wiſe. It is he who ſendeth down water from heaven, and we have thereby produced the ſpringing buds of all things, and have thereout produced the green thing, from which we produce the grain growing in rows, and palm-trees from whoſe branches proceed cluſters of dates *hanging* cloſe together; and gardens of grapes, and olives, and pomegranates, *both* like and unlike to one another. Look on their fruits, when they bear fruit, and their growing to maturity. Verily herein are ſigns, unto people who believe. *Yet* they have ſet up the genii[h] as partners with GOD, although he created them: and they have falſely attributed unto him ſons and daughters[i], without knowledge. Praiſe be unto him; and far be that from him which they attribute *unto him! He is* the maker of heaven and earth: how ſhould he have iſſue ſince he hath no conſort? he hath created all things, and he is omniſcient. This is GOD your LORD; there is no GOD but he, the creator of all things: therefore ſerve him; for he taketh care of all things. The ſight comprehendeth him not, but he comprehendeth the

to imagine, and gave out, that if they pleaſed, they could write a book nothing inferior to the *Korân*.

[a] See before, p. 104. not. .g

[b] *Alone*;] That is, without your wealth, your children, or your friends, which ye ſo much depended on in your life time.

[c] *As we created you at firſt*;] i. e. Naked and helpleſs.

[d] *Your interceſſors*;] Or falſe gods.

[e] *What ye imagined*, &c.] Concerning the interceſſion of your idols, or the diſbelief of future rewards and puniſhments.

[f] See chap. 3. p. 38.

[g] *A ſure receptacle and a repoſitory*;] Namely, in the loins of your fathers, and the wombs of your mothers [1].

[h] *Genii*;] This word ſignifies properly the *genus* of rational, *inviſible* beings, whether angels, devils, or that intermediate ſpecies uſually called *genii*. Some of the commentators therefore, in this place, underſtand the angels, whom the pagan *Arabs* worſhipped; and others the devils, either becauſe they became their ſervants by adoring idols at their inſtigation, or elſe becauſe, according to the *Magian* ſyſtem, they looked on the devil as a ſort of creator, making him the author and principle of all evil, and GOD the author of good only [2].

[i] See the Prelim. Diſcourſe, p. 17, and 39.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*.

the ſight; he *is* the gracious [a], the wiſe. Now have evident demonſtrations come unto you from your LORD; whoſo ſeeth *them, the advantage thereof will redound* to his own ſoul: and whoſo is *wilfully* blind, *the conſequence will be* to himſelf. I am not a keeper over you. Thus do we variouſly explain *our* ſigns; that they may ſay, Thou haſt ſtudied diligently [b]; and that we may declare them unto people of underſtanding. Follow that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy LORD; there is no GOD but he: retire therefore from the idolaters. If GOD had *ſo* pleaſed, they had not been guilty of idolatry. We have not appointed thee a keeper over them; neither art thou a guardian over them. Revile not the *idols* which they invoke beſides GOD, leſt they maliciouſly revile GOD, without knowledge. Thus have we prepared for every nation their works: hereafter unto GOD ſhall they return, and he ſhall declare unto them that which they have done. They have ſworn by GOD, by the moſt ſolemn oath, that if a ſign came unto them, they would certainly believe therein: Say, Verily ſigns are in the power of GOD alone; and he permitteth you not to underſtand that when they come, they will not believe [c]. And we will turn aſide their hearts and their ſight *from the truth*, as they believed not therein [d] the firſt time; and we will leave them to wander in their error.

VIII. *And though we had ſent down angels unto them, and the dead had ſpoken unto them, and we had gathered together before them all things in one view [e]; they would not have believed, unleſs GOD had ſo pleaſed: but the greater part of them know *it* not. Thus have we appointed unto every prophet an enemy; the devils of men, and of genii: who privately ſuggeſt the one to the other ſpecious diſcourſes to deceive; but if thy LORD pleaſed, they would not have done it. Therefore leave them, and that which they have falſely imagined; and let the hearts of thoſe be inclined thereto, who believe not in the life to come; and let them pleaſe themſelves therein, and let them gain that which they are gaining. Shall I ſeek after any *other* judge beſides GOD *to judge between us?* It is he who hath ſent down unto you the book *of the* KORAN diſtinguiſhing *between good and evil*; and they to whom we gave the ſcripture know that it is ſent down from thy LORD, with truth. Be not therefore *one* of thoſe who doubt *thereof*. The words of thy LORD are perfect

[a] *The gracious*;] Or, as the word may be tranſlated, *the incomprehenſible* [1].

[b] *That they may ſay, Thou haſt ſtudied diligently*;] That is, Thou haſt been inſtructed by the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* in theſe matters, and only retaileſt to us what thou haſt learned of them. For this the infidels objected to *Mohammed*, thinking it impoſſible for him to diſcourſe on ſubjects of ſo high a nature, and in ſo clear and pertinent a manner, without being well verſed in the doctrines and ſacred writings of thoſe people.

[c] In this paſſage *Mohammed* endeavours to excuſe his inability of working a miracle, as had been demanded of him; declaring that GOD did not think fit to comply with their deſires; and that if he had ſo thought fit, yet it had been in vain, becauſe if they were not convinced by the *Korân*, they would not be convinced by the greateſt miracle [2].

[d] *Therein*;] i. e. In the *Korân*.

[e] *And though we had ſent down angels unto them*, &c.] For the *Meccans* required that *Mohammed* ſhould either ſhew them an angel deſcending from heaven in their ſight, or raiſe their dead fathers, that they might diſcourſe with them, or prevail on GOD and his angels to appear to them in a body.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Conſer Luke* xvi. 31.

fect, in truth and juſtice; there is none who can change his words [a]: he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. But if thou obey the greater part of them who are in the earth, they will lead thee aſide from the path of GOD: they follow an *uncertain* opinion only [b], and ſpeak nothing but lies; verily thy LORD well knoweth thoſe who go aſtray from his path, and well knoweth thoſe who are *rightly* directed. Eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated [c], if ye believe in his ſigns: and why do ye not eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated? ſince he hath plainly declared unto you what he hath forbidden you; except that which ye be compelled to ~~by~~ *eat of by* neceſſity: ~~eat of~~: many lead *others* into error, becauſe of their appetites, being void of knowledge; but thy LORD well knoweth *who are* the tranſgreſſors. Leave both the outſide of iniquity, and the inſide thereof [d]: for they who commit iniquity ſhall receive the reward of that which they ſhall have gained. Eat not therefore of that whereon the name of GOD hath not been commemorated; for this is certainly wickedneſs: but the devils will ſuggeſt unto their friends, that they diſpute with you *concerning this precept*; but if ye obey them, ye *are* ſurely idolaters. Shall he who hath been dead, and whom we have reſtored unto life, and unto whom we have ordained a light, whereby he may walk among men, *be* as he whoſe ſimilitude is in darkneſs, from whence he ſhall not come forth [e]? Thus was that which the infidels are doing, prepared for them. And thus have we placed in every city chief leaders of the wicked *men* thereof [f], that they may act deceitfully therein; but they ſhall act deceitfully againſt their own ſouls only; and they know *it* not. And when a ſign [g] cometh unto them, they ſay, We will by no means believe until *a revelation* be brought unto us, like unto that which hath been delivered unto the meſſengers of GOD [h]. GOD beſt knoweth whom he will appoint for his meſſenger [i]. Vileneſs in the ſight of GOD ſhall fall upon thoſe who deal wickedly, and a grievous puniſhment, for that they have dealt deceitfully. And whomſoever

[a] *There is none who can change his words.*] Some interpret this of the immutability of GOD's decree, and the certainty of his threats and promiſes; others, of his particular promiſe to preſerve the *Korân* from any ſuch alterations or corruptions as they imagine to have happened to the *Pentateuch* and the *Goſpel* [1]; and others, of the unalterable duration of the *Mohammedan* law, which they hold is to laſt till the end of the world, there being no other prophet, law, or diſpenſation to be expected after it.

[b] *They follow an uncertain opinion only*;] Imagining that the true religion was that which their idolatrous anceſtors profeſſed.

[c] See chap. 2. p. 20. and chap. 5. p. 82.

[d] *Leave the outſide of iniquity, and the inſide thereof*;] That is, Both open and ſecret ſins.

[e] The perſons primarily intended in this paſſage, were *Hamza*, *Mohammed*'s uncle, and *Abu Jahl*; others inſtead of *Hamza* name *Omar*, or *Ammâr*.

[f] *And thus have we placed in every city, chief leaders of the wicked men thereof*;] In the ſame manner as we have done in *Mecca*.

[g] *A ſign*;] i. e. Any verſe or paſſage of the *Korân*.

[h] *We will not believe until a revelation be brought unto us*, &c.] Theſe were the words of the *Koreiſh*, who thought there were perſons among themſelves more worthy of the honour of being GOD's meſſenger than *Mohammed*.

[i] GOD *beſt knoweth whom he will appoint for his meſſenger*;] Literally, *Where he will place his commiſſion*. GOD, ſays *al Beidâwi*, beſtows not the gift of prophecy on any one on account of his nobility or riches, but for their ſpiritual qualifications; making choice of ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſes, and who he knows will execute their commiſſions faithfully.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p. 75. and Kor. c. 15.*

ſoever GOD ſhall pleaſe to direct, he will open his breaſt to *receive the faith of* ISLAM: but whomſoever he ſhall pleaſe to lead into error, he will render his breaſt ſtrait *and* narrow, as though he were climbing up to heaven [a]. Thus doth GOD inflict a terrible puniſhment on thoſe who believe not. This is the right way of thy LORD. Now have we plainly declared *our* ſigns unto thoſe people who will conſider. They ſhall have a dwelling of peace with their LORD, and he ſhall be their patron, becauſe of that which they have wrought. *Think on* the day *whereon* GOD ſhall gather them all together, *and ſhall ſay*, O company of genii [b], ye have been much concerned with mankind [c]; and their friends from among mankind *ſhall* ſay, O LORD, the one of us hath received advantage from the other [d], and we are arrived at our limited term [e] which thou haſt appointed us. GOD will ſay, *Hell* fire *ſhall be* your habitation, therein ſhall ye remain *for ever*; unleſs as GOD ſhall pleaſe *to mitigate your pains* [f], for thy LORD *is* wiſe *and* knowing. Thus do we ſet ſome of the unjuſt over others of them, becauſe of that which they have deſerved. O company of genii and men, did not meſſengers from among your ſelves come unto you [g], rehearſing my ſigns unto you, and forewarning you of the meeting of this your day? They ſhall anſwer, We bear witneſs againſt our ſelves: the preſent life deceived them: and they ſhall bear witneſs againſt themſelves that they were unbelievers. This *hath been the method of* GOD'S *dealing with his creatures*, becauſe thy LORD would not deſtroy the cities in *their* iniquity, while their inhabitants were careleſs [h]. Every one ſhall *have* degrees *of recompenſe* of that which they ſhall do; for thy LORD is not regardleſs of that which they do, and thy LORD is ſelf-ſufficient *and* indued with mercy. If he pleaſeth he can deſtroy you, and cauſe ſuch as he pleaſeth to ſucceed you, in like manner as he produced you from the poſterity of other people. Verily that which is threatened you, ſhall ſurely come to paſs; neither

[a] *As though he were climbing up to heaven*;] Or had undertaken the moſt impoſſible thing in the world. In like manner ſhall the heart of ſuch a man be incapable of receiving the truth.

[b] *O company of genii*;] That is, of devils [1].

[c] *Ye have been much concerned with mankind*;] In tempting and ſeducing them to ſin.

[d] *The one of us hath received advantage from the other*;] The advantage which men received from the evil ſpirits, was their raiſing and ſatisfying their luſts and appetites; and that which the latter received in return, was the obedience paid them by the former, &c [2].

[e] *Our limited term*, &c.] *viz.* The day of reſurrection, which we believed not in the other world.

[f] *Unleſs as* GOD *ſhall pleaſe to mitigate your pains*;] The commentators tell us that this alleviation of the pains of the damned, will be when they ſhall be taken out of the fire to drink the boiling water [3], or to ſuffer the extreme cold, called *al Zamharîr*, which is to be one part of their puniſhment; but others think the reſpit which GOD will grant to ſome before they are thrown into hell, is here intended [4]. According to the expoſition of *Ebn Abbas*, theſe words may be rendred, *Unleſs him whom* GOD *ſhall pleaſe* to deliver thence [5].

[g] *Did not meſſengers from among your ſelves come unto you*, &c.] It is the *Mohammedan* belief that apoſtles were ſent by GOD for the converſion both of *genii* and of men; being generally of humane race (as *Mohammed*, in particular, who pretended to have a commiſſion to preach to both kinds); according to this paſſage, it ſeems there muſt have been prophets of the race of *genii* alſo, though their miſſion be a ſecret to us.

[h] *While their inhabitants were careleſs*;] Or conſidered not their danger; but GOD firſt ſent ſome prophet to them to warn them of it, and to invite them to repentance.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.
[5] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 92, *&c.*

ther ſhall ye cauſe *it* to fail. Say *unto thoſe of* MECCA, O my people, act according to your power; verily I will act *according to my duty* [a]: and hereafter ſhall ye know whoſe will be the reward of paradiſe. The ungodly ſhall not proſper. *Thoſe of* MECCA ſet apart unto GOD a portion of that which he hath produced of the fruits of the earth, and of cattle; and ſay, This *belongeth* unto GOD, (according to their imagination,) and this unto our companions [b]. And that which is *deſtined* for their companions cometh not unto GOD; yet that which *is ſet apart* unto GOD cometh unto their companions [c]. How ill do they judge! In like manner have their companions induced many of the idolaters to ſlay their children [d], that they might bring them to perdition, and that they might render their religion obſcure and confuſed unto them [e]. But if GOD had pleaſed, they had not done this: therefore leave them, and that which they falſely imagine. They alſo ſay, Theſe cattle and fruits of the earth are ſacred; none ſhall eat thereof but who we pleaſe [f], (according to their imagination;) and *there are* cattle whoſe backs are forbidden *to be rode on, or loaden with burthens* [g]; and *there are* cattle on which they commemorate not the name of GOD *when they ſlay them* [h], deviſing a lie againſt him: GOD ſhall reward them for that which they falſely deviſe. And they ſay, That which is in the bellies of theſe cattle [i], *is* allowed our males *to eat*, and *is* forbidden to our wives: but if it prove abortive, then they are *both* partakers thereof [k]. GOD ſhall give them the reward of their attributing *theſe things to him:* he *is* knowing *and* wiſe. They are utterly loſt who have ſlain their children fooliſhly [l], without knowledge [m]; and have forbidden that which GOD

Q hath

[a] *Act according to your power; and I will act according to my duty;*] That is, Ye may proceed in your rebellion againſt GOD and your malice towards me, and be confirmed in your infidelity; but I will perſeve e to bear your inſults with patience, and to publiſh thoſe revelations which GOD has commanded me [1].

[b] *Our companions;*] i. e. Our idols. In which ſenſe this word is to be taken thro' the whole paſſage.

[c] As to this cuſtom of the pagan *Arabs*, ſee the Prelim. Diſc. §. I. p. 16. To what is there ſaid we may add, that the ſhare ſet apart for GOD was employed chiefly in relieving the poor, and ſtrangers; and the ſhare of the idols, for paying their prieſts, and providing ſacrifices for them [2].

[d] *To ſlay their children;*] Either by that inhuman cuſtom, which prevailed among thoſe of *Kendah* and ſome other tribes, of burying their daughters alive, ſo ſoon as they were born, if they apprehended they could not maintain them [3]; or elſe by offering them to their idols, at the inſtigation of thoſe who had the cuſtody of their temples [4].

[e] *And render their religion obſcure and confuſed,* &c.] By corrupting with horrid ſuperſtitions that religion which *Iſmael* had left to his poſterity [5].

[f] *But who we pleaſe;*] That is, Thoſe who ſerve our idols, and are of the male ſex; for the women were not allowed to eat of them [6].

[g] *And there are cattle whoſe backs are forbidden to be rode on,* &c.] Which they ſuperſtitiouſly exempted from ſuch ſervices, in ſome particular caſes; as they did the *Bahîra*, the *Sâïba*, and the *Hâmi* [7].

[h] See chap. 5. p. 82.

[i] *That which is in the bellies of theſe cattle;*] That is, the *fœtus* or embryo's of the *Bahîra* and the *Sâïba*, which ſhall be brought forth alive.

[k] *But if it prove abortive, they both partake thereof;*] For if thoſe cattle caſt their young, the women might eat thereof as well as the men.

[l] See above, note [d].

[m] *Without knowledge;*] Not having a due ſenſe of GOD's providence.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *See chap.* 81. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.
[5] *Idem.* [6] *Idem.* [7] *See chap.* 5. *p.* 96. *and Prelim. Diſc.* §. V.

hath given them for food, deviſing a lie againſt GOD. They have erred, and were not *rightly* directed. He it is who produceth gardens of *vines*, *both thoſe which are* ſupported on trails *of wood*, and *thoſe which are* not ſupported [a], and palm-trees, and the corn affording various food, and olives, and pomegranates, alike and unlike unto one another. Eat of their fruit, when they bear fruit, and pay the due thereof on the day whereon ye ſhall gather it [b]; but be not profuſe [c], for GOD loveth not thoſe who are too profuſe. And *GOD hath given you* ſome cattle fit for bearing of burthens, and *ſome* fit for ſlaughter only. Eat of what GOD hath given you for food; and follow not the ſteps of SATAN, for he is your declared enemy. Four pair [d] *of cattle hath GOD given you*; of ſheep one pair, and of goats one pair. Say *unto them*, Hath *GOD* forbidden the two males, *of ſheep and of goats*, or the two females; or that which the wombs of the two females contain? Tell me with certainty, if ye ſpeak truth. And of camels *hath GOD given you* one pair, and of oxen one pair. Say, Hath he forbidden the two males *of theſe*, or the two females; or that which the wombs of the two females contain [e]? Were ye preſent when GOD commanded you this? And who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth a lie againſt GOD [f], that he may ſeduce men without underſtanding? Verily GOD directeth not unjuſt people. Say, I find not in that which hath been revealed unto me, any thing forbidden unto the eater, that he eat it not, except it be that which dieth of it ſelf, or blood poured forth [g], or ſwine's fleſh: for this is an abomination: or *that which is* prophane, having been ſlain in the name of ſome other than of GOD. But whoſo ſhall be compelled by neceſſity *to eat of theſe things*, not luſting, nor *wilfully* tranſgreſſing, verily thy LORD *will be* gracious *unto him* and merciful. Unto the Jews did we forbid every *beaſt* having an *undivided* hoof; and of bullocks and ſheep, we forbade them the fat of both; except that which ſhould be on their backs, or their inwards [h], or which ſhould be intermixed with the bone [i]. This have we rewarded them with, becauſe of their iniquity; and we are ſurely ſpeakers of

[a] *Supported on trails of wood, and not ſupported;*] Or, as ſome chuſe to interpret the words, *trees or plants which are planted by the labour of man, and thoſe which grow naturally in the deſarts and on mountains.*

[b] *And pay the due thereof*, &c.] That is, give alms thereof to the poor. And theſe alms, as *al Beidâwi* obſerves, were what they uſed to give before the *Zacât*, or legal alms, was inſtituted; which was done after *Mohammed* had retired from *Mecca*, where this verſe was revealed. Yet ſome are of another opinion, and for this very reaſon will have the verſe to have been revealed at *Medina*.

[c] *Be not profuſe*;] i. e. Give not ſo much thereof in alms, as to leave your own families in want; for charity begins at home.

[d] *Four pair*;] Or, literally, eight males and females paired together; that is, four of each ſex, and two of every diſtinct kind.

[e] In this paſſage *Mohammed* endeavours to convince the *Arabs* of their ſuperſtitious folly, in making it unlawful, one while, to eat the males of theſe four kinds of cattle; another while, the females; and at another time, their young [1].

[f] *Who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth a lie againſt* GOD, *&c.*] The perſon particularly intended here, ſome ſay, was *Amru Ebn Lohai*, king of *Hejâz*, a great introducer of idolatry and ſuperſtition among the *Arabs* [2].

[g] *Blood poured forth*;] That is, fluid blood; in oppoſition to what the *Arabs* ſuppoſe to be alſo blood, but not fluid; as the liver and the ſpleen [3].

[h] *We forbad them the fat*, &c.] See Levit. vii. 23, and iii. 16.

[i] *Or that which is intermixed with the bone*;] *viz.* The fat of the rumps or tails of ſheep, which are very large in the eaſt; a ſmall one weighing ten or twelve pounds, and ſome no leſs than threeſcore.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem. See Prelim. Diſc. p.* 20, *and* POCOCK. *Spec. p.* 80. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

of truth. If they accuſe thee of impoſture, ſay, Your LORD is indued with extenſive mercy; but his ſeverity ſhall not be averted from wicked people. The idolaters will ſay, If GOD had pleaſed, we had not been guilty of idolatry, neither our fathers; and *pretend that* we have not forbidden *them* any thing. Thus did they who were before them accuſe *the prophets* of impoſture, until they taſted our ſevere puniſhment. Say, Is there with you any *certain* knowledge *of what ye alledge*, that ye may produce it unto us? Ye follow only a *falſe* imagination; and ye only utter lies. Say, Therefore unto GOD *belongeth* the moſt evident demonſtration; for if he had pleaſed, he had directed you all. Say, Produce your witneſſes, who can bear teſtimony that GOD hath forbidden this. But if they bear teſtimony *of this*, do not thou bear teſtimony with them, nor do thou follow the deſires of thoſe who accuſe our ſigns of falſhood, and who believe not in the life to come, and equalize *idols* with their LORD. Say, Come [a]; I will rehearſe that which your LORD hath forbidden you; *that is to ſay*, that ye be not guilty of idolatry, and *that ye ſhew* kindneſs to *your* parents, and that ye murder not your children *for fear* leſt ye be reduced to poverty: we will provide for you and them; and draw not near unto hainous crimes [b], neither openly nor in ſecret; and ſlay not the ſoul which GOD hath forbidden *you to ſlay*, unleſs for a juſt cauſe [c]. This hath he injoined you that ye may underſtand. And meddle not with the ſubſtance of the orphan, otherwiſe than for the improving *thereof*, until he attain his age of ſtrength; and uſe a full meaſure, and a juſt balance. We will not impoſe *a task* on *any* ſoul, beyond its ability. And when ye pronounce *judgment* obſerve juſtice, although it be *for or againſt* one who is near of kin, and fulfill the covenant of GOD. This hath GOD commanded you, that ye may be admoniſhed; and *that ye may know* that this is my right way: therefore follow it, and follow not the paths *of others*, leſt ye be ſcattered from the path *of* GOD. This hath he commanded you that ye may take heed. We gave alſo unto MOSES the book *of the Law*; a perfect rule unto him who ſhould do right, and a determination concerning all things *needful*, and a direction, and mercy; that *the children of* ISRAEL might believe the meeting of their LORD. And this book which we have *now* ſent down, is bleſſed; therefore follow it and fear GOD that ye may obtain mercy: leſt ye ſhould ſay, The ſcriptures were only ſent down unto two people [d] before us; and we neglected to peruſe them with attention [e]: or leſt ye ſhould ſay, If a book *of divine revelations* had been ſent down unto us, we would ſurely have been better directed than they [f]. And now hath a manifeſt declaration come unto you from your LORD,

[a] This and the two following verſes *Jallalo'ddin* ſuppoſes to have been revealed at *Medina*.

[b] *Hainous crimes*;] The original word ſignifies peculiarly fornication, and avarice.

[c] *Unleſs for a juſt cauſe*;] As for murder, apoſtaſy, or adultery [1].

[d] *Unto two people*;] That is, the *Jews* and the *Chriſtians*.

[e] *And we neglected to peruſe them*, &c.] Either becauſe we knew nothing of them, or did not underſtand the language wherein they were written.

[f] *We would ſurely have been better directed than they*;] Becauſe of the acuteneſs of our wit, the clearneſs of our underſtanding, and our facility of learning ſciences; as appears from our excelling in hiſtory, poetry, and oratory, notwithſtanding we are an illiterate people [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*.

and a direction and mercy: and who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth lies againſt the ſigns of GOD, and turneth aſide from them? We will reward thoſe who turn aſide from our ſigns with a grievous puniſhment, becauſe they have turned aſide. Do they wait for *any other* than that the angels ſhould come unto them, *to part their ſouls from their bodies*; or that thy LORD ſhould come *to puniſh them*; or that ſome of the ſigns of thy LORD ſhould come to paſs, *ſhewing the day of judgment to be at hand*[a]? On the day whereon ſome of thy LORD's ſigns ſhall come to paſs, its faith ſhall not profit a ſoul which believed not before, or wrought not good in its faith[b]. Say, Wait ye *for this day*; we ſurely do wait *for it*. They who make a diviſion in their religion[c], and become ſectaries, have thou nothing to do with them; their affair *belongeth* only unto GOD. Hereafter ſhall he declare unto them that which they have done. He who ſhall appear with good works, ſhall receive a tenfold recompenſe for the ſame; but he who ſhall appear with evil works, ſhall receive only an equal *puniſhment* for the ſame; and they ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. Say, Verily my LORD hath directed me into a right way, a true religion, the ſect of ABRAHAM the orthodox; and he was no idolater. Say, Verily my prayers, and my worſhip, and my life, and my death *are dedicated* unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures: he hath no companion. This have I been commanded: I am the firſt Moſlem[d]. Say, Shall I deſire any other LORD beſides GOD? ſince he is the LORD of all things; and no ſoul ſhall acquire *any merits or demerits* but for itſelf; and no burthened *ſoul* ſhall bear the burthen of another[e]. Moreover unto your LORD ſhall ye return; and he ſhall declare unto you that concerning which ye *now* diſpute. It is he who hath appointed you to ſucceed *your predeceſſors* in the earth, and hath raiſed ſome of you above others by *various* degrees *of worldly advantages*, that he might prove you by that which he hath beſtowed on you. Thy LORD is ſwift in puniſhing; and he *is alſo* gracious *and* merciful.

CHAP.

* *Al Beidâwi*, from a tradition of *Mohammed*, ſays that ten ſigns will precede the laſt day; *viz.* the ſmoke, the beaſt of the earth, an eclipſe in the eaſt, another in the weſt, and a third in the peninſula of *Arabia*, the appearance of *Antichriſt*, the ſun's riſing in the weſt, the eruption of *Gog* and *Magog*, the deſcent of *Jeſus* on earth, and fire which ſhall break forth from *Aden*[1].

[b] *Its faith ſhall not profit a ſoul which believed not*, &c.] For faith in the next life will be of no advantage to thoſe who have not believed in this; nor yet faith in this life, without good works.

[c] *They who make a diviſion in their religion*;] That is, who believe in part of it, and disbelieve other part of it; or who form ſchiſms therein. *Mohammed* is reported to have declared, that the *Jews* were divided into ſeventy one ſects, and the *Chriſtians* into ſeventy two: and that his own followers would be ſplit into ſeventy three ſects; and that all of them would be damned, except only one of each[2].

[d] See before, p. 100.

[e] *No burthened ſoul ſhall bear the burthen of another*;] This was revealed in anſwer to the preſſing inſtances of the idolaters, who offered to take the crime upon themſelves, if *Mohammed* would conform to their worſhip[3].

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 79, &c. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*

CHAP. VII.

Intitled, Al ARAF[a]; *revealed at* MECCA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A L. M. S.[c] A book hath been ſent down unto thee: and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breaſt concerning it; that thou mayeſt preach the ſame, and *that it may be* an admonition unto the faithful. Follow that which hath been ſent down unto you from your LORD; and follow no guides beſides him: how little will ye be warned! How many cities have we deſtroyed; which our vengeance overtook by night[d], or while they were repoſing themſelves at noon-day[e]! And their ſupplication, when our puniſhment came upon them, was no other than that they ſaid, Verily we have been unjuſt. We will ſurely call thoſe to an account, unto whom *a prophet* hath been ſent; and we will *alſo* call thoſe to account who have been ſent *unto them.* And we will declare *their actions* unto them with knowledge; for we are not abſent *from them.* The weighing *of mens actions* on that day *ſhall be* juſt[f]; and they whoſe balances *laden with their good works* ſhall be heavy, are thoſe who *ſhall be* happy; but they whoſe balances ſhall be light, are thoſe who have loſt their ſouls, becauſe they injured our ſigns. And now have we placed you on the earth, and have provided you food therein: *but* how little are ye thankful! We created you, and afterwards formed you; and then ſaid unto the angels, Worſhip ADAM; and they *all* worſhipped *him*, except EBLIS, *who* was not one of thoſe who worſhipped[g]. *GOD* ſaid *unto him*, What hindred thee from worſhipping *ADAM*, ſince I had commanded thee? He anſwered, I am more excellent than he: thou haſt created me of fire, and haſt created him of clay. *God* ſaid, Get thee down therefore from *paradiſe*; for it is not *fit* that thou behave thy ſelf proudly therein: get thee *hence*; thou ſhalt *be* one of the contemptible. He anſwered, Give me reſpite until the day of reſurrection. *GOD* ſaid, Verily thou ſhalt be *one* of thoſe *who are* reſpited[h]. *The devil* ſaid, Becauſe thou haſt depraved me, I will lay wait for

[a] *Al Arâf* ſignifies the partition between paradiſe and hell, which is mentioned in this chapter [1].

[b] Some however except five or eight verſes, begin at theſe words, *And ask them concerning the city*, &c.

[c] The ſignification of thoſe letters the more ſober *Mohammedans* confeſs GOD alone knows. Some however imagine they ſtand for, *Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed, on whom be peace.*

[d] *Which our puniſhment overtook by night*;] As it did the inhabitants of *Sodom and Gomorrah*, to whom *Lot* was ſent.

[e] *Or while they were repoſing themſelves at noon*;] As happened to the *Midianites*, to whom *Shoaib* preached.

[f] See the Prelim. Diſc. Sect. IV. p. 89.

[g] See chap. 2. p. 4. &c.

[h] *Verily thou ſhalt be one of thoſe who are reſpited*;] As the time till which the devil is reprieved, is not particularly expreſſed, the commentators ſuppoſe his requeſt was not wholly granted; but agree that he ſhall dye, as well as other creatures, at the ſecond ſound of the trumpet [2].

[1] *See the Prel. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 94. D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Eblis.*

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 83. *and*

for *men* in thy ſtrait way; then will I come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hands, and from their left [a]; and thou ſhalt not find the greater part of them thankful. GOD ſaid *unto him*, Get thee hence, deſpiſed, and driven *far away*: verily whoever of them ſhall follow thee, I will ſurely fill hell with you all: but *as for thee*, O ADAM, dwell thou and thy wife in paradiſe; and eat *of the fruit thereof* where-ever ye will; but approach not this tree, leſt ye become *of the number* of the unjuſt. And SATAN ſuggeſted to them both, that he would diſcover unto them their nakedneſs, which was hidden from them; and he ſaid, Your LORD hath not forbidden you this tree, *for any other reaſon* but leſt ye ſhould become angels, or leſt ye become immortal. And he ſware unto them, *ſaying*, Verily I am *one* of thoſe who counſel you aright. And he cauſed them to fall through deceit [b]. And when they had taſted of the tree, their nakedneſs appeared unto them [c]; and they began to join together the leaves of paradiſe [d], to cover themſelves. And their LORD called to them, *ſaying*, Did I not forbid you this tree; and *did I not* ſay unto you, Verily SATAN is your declared enemy? They anſwered, O LORD, we have dealt unjuſtly with our own ſouls; and if thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we ſhall *ſurely* be of thoſe who periſh. GOD ſaid, Get ye down, the one of you an enemy unto the other; and ye ſhall have a dwelling place upon earth, and a proviſion for a ſeaſon. He ſaid, Therein ſhall ye live, and therein ſhall ye die, and from thence ſhall ye be taken forth *at the reſurrection*. O children of ADAM, we have ſent down unto you apparel [e], to conceal your nakedneſs, and fair garments; but the cloathing of piety is better. This *is one* of the ſigns of GOD; that peradventure ye may conſider. O children of ADAM, let not SATAN ſeduce you, as he expelled your parents out of paradiſe, by ſtripping them of their cloathing, that he might ſhew them their nakedneſs: verily he ſeeth you, *both* he and his companions, whereas ye ſee not them [f]. We have appointed the devils *to be* the patrons

[a] *I will come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hands, and from their left*, &c.] i. e. I will attack them on every ſide that I ſhall be able. The other two ways, *viz.* from above, and from under their feet, are omitted, ſay the commentators, to ſhew that the devil's power is limited [1].

[b] The *Mohammedan* goſpel of *Barnabas* tells us, that the ſentence which GOD pronounced on the ſerpent for introducing the devil into paradiſe [2], was, that he ſhould not only be turned out of paradiſe, but that he ſhould have his legs cut off by the angel *Michael*, with the ſword of GOD; and that the devil himſelf, ſince he had rendered our firſt parents unclean, was condemned to eat the excrements of them and all their poſterity; which two laſt circumſtances I do not remember to have read elſewhere. The words of the manuſcript are theſe: *Y llamó* [*Dios*] *a la ſerpiente, y a* Michael, *aquel que tiene la eſpada de Dios, y le dixo; Aqueſta ſierpe es acelerada, echala la primera del parayſo, y cortale las piernas, y ſi quiſiere caminar, arraſtrara la vida por tierra. Y llamó à* Satanas, *el qual vino riendo, y dixole; Porque tu reprobo has engañado a aqueſtos, y los has hecho immundos? Yo quiero que toda immundicia ſuya, y de todos ſus hijos, en ſaliendo de ſus cuerpos entre por tu boca, porque en verdad ellos haran penitencia, y tu quedaras harto de immundicia.*

[c] *Their nakedneſs appeared unto them*,] Which they had not perceived before; being cloathed, as ſome ſay, with light, or garments of paradiſe, which fell from them on their diſobedience. *Yahya* imagines their nakedneſs was hidden by their hair.

[d] *The leaves of paradiſe*;] Which it is ſaid were fig-leaves [3].

[e] *We have ſent down unto you apparel*;] Not only proper materials, but alſo ingenuity of mind and dexterity of hand to make uſe of them [4].

[f] *Whereas ye ſee not them*;] Becauſe of the ſubtilty of their bodies, and their being void of all colour [5].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See the notes to chap.* II. *p.* 5. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.* [5] JALALO'DDIN.

patrons of thoſe who believe not: and when they commit a filthy action, they ſay, We found our fathers *practiſing* the ſame; and GOD hath commanded us *to do* it. Say, Verily GOD commandeth not filthy actions. Do ye ſpeak concerning GOD that which ye know not? Say, My LORD hath commanded me *to obſerve* juſtice; therefore ſet your faces *to pray* at every place of worſhip, and call upon him, approving unto him the ſincerity of *your* religion. As he produced you at firſt, *ſo unto him* ſhall ye return. A part *of mankind* hath he directed; and a part hath been juſtly led into error, becauſe they have taken the devils for *their* patrons beſides GOD, and imagine that they are *rightly* directed. O children of ADAM, take your decent apparel at every place of worſhip [a], and eat and drink [b], but be not guilty of exceſs; for he loveth not thoſe who are guilty of exceſs. Say, Who hath forbidden the decent apparel of GOD, which he hath produced for his ſervants, and the good things *which he hath provided* for food? Say, Theſe things *are* for thoſe who believe, in this preſent life, *but* peculiarly on the day of reſurrection [c]. Thus do we diſtinctly explain *our* ſigns unto people who underſtand. Say, Verily my LORD hath forbidden filthy actions, both that which is diſcovered thereof, and that which is concealed, and alſo iniquity, and unjuſt violence; and *hath forbidden you* to aſſociate with GOD that concerning which he hath ſent you down no authority, or to ſpeak of GOD that which ye know not. Unto every nation *there is* a prefixed term; therefore when their term is expired, they ſhall not have reſpite for an hour, neither ſhall they be anticipated. O children of ADAM, verily apoſtles from among you ſhall come unto you, who ſhall expound my ſigns unto you: whoſoever therefore ſhall fear *GOD* and amend, there ſhall come no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. But they who ſhall accuſe our ſigns of falſhood, and ſhall proudly reject them, they ſhall be the companions of *hell* fire; they ſhall remain therein for ever. And who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth a lie concerning GOD, or accuſeth his ſigns of impoſture? Unto theſe ſhall be given their portion *of worldly happineſs*, according to *what is written in* the book *of GOD's decrees*, until our meſſengers [d] come unto them, *and* ſhall cauſe them to die; ſaying, Where *are the idols* which ye called upon, beſides GOD? They ſhall anſwer, They have diſappeared from us. And they ſhall bear witneſs

[a] *Take your decent apparel at every place of worſhip*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed to reprove an immodeſt cuſtom of the pagan *Arabs*, who uſed to encompaſs the *Caaba* naked, becauſe cloaths, they ſaid, were the ſigns of their diſobedience to GOD [1]. The *Sonna* orders that when a man goes to prayers, he ſhould put on his better apparel, out of reſpect to the divine majeſty before whom he is to appear. But as the *Mohammedans* think it indecent, on the one hand, to come into GOD's preſence in a ſlovenly manner; ſo they imagine, on the other, that they ought not to appear before him in habits too rich or ſumptuous, and particularly in cloaths adorned with gold or ſilver, leſt they ſhould ſeem proud.

[b] *And eat and drink*;] The ſons of *Amer*, it is ſaid, when they performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, uſed to eat no more than was abſolutely neceſſary, and that not of the more delicious ſort of food neither; which abſtinence they looked upon as a peice of merit, but they are here told the contrary [2].

[c] *But peculiarly on the day of reſurrection*;] Becauſe then the wicked, who alſo partook of the bleſſings of this life, will have no ſhare in the injoyments of the next.

[d] *Our Meſſengers*;] *viz.* The angel of death and his aſſiſtants.

[1] *Idem. Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

neſs againſt themſelves, that they were unbelievers. GOD ſhall ſay *unto them at the reſurrection*, Enter ye with the nations which have preceded you, of genii and of men, into *hell* fire: ſo often as one nation ſhall enter, it ſhall curſe its ſiſter [a], until they ſhall all have ſucceſſively entred therein. The latter of them ſhall ſay of the former of them, O LORD, theſe have ſeduced us; therefore inflict on them a double puniſhment of the fire *of hell*. GOD ſhall anſwer, *It ſhall be* doubled unto all [b]; but ye know *it* not. And the former of them ſhall ſay unto the latter of them, Ye have not therefore any favour above us; taſte the puniſhment for that which ye have gained. Verily they who ſhall charge our ſigns with falſhood, and ſhall proudly reject them, the gates of heaven ſhall not be opened unto them [c], neither ſhall they enter into paradiſe, until a camel paſs through the eye of a needle [d]; and thus will we reward the wicked doers. Their couch ſhall be in hell, and over them ſhall be coverings *of fire*; and thus will we reward the unjuſt. But they who believe, and do that which is right, (we will not load any ſoul but according to its ability,) they ſhall be the companions of paradiſe; they ſhall remain therein for ever. And we will remove all grudges from their minds [e]; rivers ſhall run at their feet, and they ſhall ſay, Praiſed be GOD, who hath directed us unto this *felicity!* for we ſhould not have been *rightly* directed, if GOD had not directed us: now *are we convinced by demonſtration that* the apoſtles of our LORD came *unto us* with truth. And it ſhall be proclaimed unto them, This is paradiſe, whereof ye are made heirs, *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. And the inhabitants [f] of paradiſe ſhall call out to the inhabitants of *hell* fire, *ſaying*, Now have we found that which our LORD promiſed us, *to be* true: have ye *alſo* found that which your LORD promiſed you, *to be* true? They ſhall anſwer, Yea. And a cryer [g] ſhall proclaim between them, The curſe of GOD *ſhall be* on the wicked; who turn *men* aſide from the way of GOD, and ſeek *to render* it crooked, and who deny the life to come. And between the *bleſſed and the damned* there ſhall be a vail; and men *ſhall ſtand* on Al ARAF [h], who ſhall know every one *of them* by their marks [i]; and ſhall call

[a] *It ſhall curſe its ſiſter*;] That is, the nation whoſe example betrayed them into their idolatry and other wickedneſs.

[b] *It is doubled unto you all*;] Unto thoſe who ſet the example, becauſe they not only tranſgreſſed themſelves, but were alſo the occaſion of the others tranſgreſſion; and unto thoſe who followed them, becauſe of their own infidelity, and their imitating an ill example [1].

[c] *The gates of heaven ſhall not be opened unto them*;] That is, when their ſouls ſhall, after death, aſcend to heaven, they ſhall not be admitted, but ſhall be thrown down into the dungeon under the ſeventh earth [2].

[d] This expreſſion was probably taken from our Saviour's words in the goſpel [3]; tho' it be proverbial in the eaſt.

[e] *And we will remove all grudges from their minds*;] So that whatever differences or animoſities there had been between them in their lifetime, they ſhall now be forgotten, and give place to ſincere love and amity. This *Ali* is ſaid to have hoped would prove true to himſelf and his inveterate enemies, *Othmân*, *Telha*, and *al Zobeir* [4].

[f] *The inhabitants*;] Literally *the companions*.

[g] This cryer, ſome ſay, will be the angel *Iſrafil*.

[h] *And men ſhall ſtand on* al Arâf;] *Al Arâf* is the name of the wall or partition which, as *Mohammed* taught, will ſeparate paradiſe from hell [5]. But as to the perſons who are to be placed thereon, the commentators differ, as has been elſewhere obſerved [6].

[i] *Who ſhall know every one of them by their marks*;]

[1] *Idem.* [2] JALLALO'DDIN. *See the Prelim. Diſc. ubi ſup. p.* 78. [3] *Matth.* xix. 24. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 94. [6] *See ibid.*

call unto the inhabitants of paradiſe, *ſaying*, Peace be upon you: *yet* they ſhall not enter therein, although they earneſtly deſire *it* [a]. And when they ſhall turn their eyes towards the companions of *hell* fire, they ſhall ſay, O LORD, place us not with the ungodly people! And thoſe who ſtand on AL ARAF ſhall call unto *certain* men [b], whom they ſhall know by their marks, *and* ſhall ſay, What hath your gathering *of riches* availed you, and that ye were puffed up with pride? Are theſe the men on whom ye ſware that GOD would not beſtow mercy [c]? Enter ye into paradiſe; *there ſhall come* no fear on you, neither ſhall ye be grieved [d]. And the inhabitants of *hell* fire ſhall call unto the inhabitants of paradiſe, *ſaying*, Pour upon us ſome water, or of thoſe *refreſhments* which GOD hath beſtowed on you [e]. They ſhall anſwer, Verily GOD hath forbidden them unto the unbelievers; who made a laughing-ſtock and a ſport of their religion, and whom the life of the world hath deceived: therefore this day will we forget them, as they did forget the meeting of this day, and for that they denied our ſigns *to be from GOD*. And now have we brought unto thoſe *of MECCA* a book *of divine revelations*: we have explained it with knowledge; a direction and mercy unto people who ſhall believe. Do they wait *for any other* than the interpretation thereof [f]? On the day whereon the interpretation thereof ſhall come, they who had forgotten the ſame before, ſhall ſay, Now *are we convinced by demonſtration that* the meſſengers of our LORD came *unto us* with truth: ſhall we therefore have any interceſſors, who will intercede for us? or ſhall we be ſent back *into the world*, that we may do other *works* than what we did *in our life-time? But* now have they loſt their ſouls; and that which they impiouſly imagined, hath fled from them [g]. Verily your LORD is GOD, who created the heavens and the earth in ſix days; and then aſcended *his* throne: he cauſeth the night to cover the day; it ſucceedeth the ſame ſwiftly: *he* alſo *created* the ſun and the moon, and the ſtars, *which are* abſolutely ſubject unto his command. Is not the whole creation, and the empire *thereof*, his? Bleſſed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Call upon your

marks;] i. e. Who ſhall diſtinguiſh the bleſſed from the damned by their proper characteriſtics; ſuch as the whiteneſs and ſplendor of the faces of the former, and the blackneſs of thoſe of the latter [1].

[a] *Yet they ſhall not enter therein, although they earneſtly deſire it*;] From this circumſtance it ſeems that their opinion is the moſt probable, who make this intermediate partition a ſort of purgatory for thoſe, who tho' they deſerve not to be ſent to hell, yet have not merits ſufficient to gain them immediate admittance into paradiſe, and will be tantalized here for a certain time with a bare view of the felicity of that place.

[b] *Certain men*;] That is, the chiefs and ring-leaders of the infidels [2].

[c] *On whom ye ſware that* GOD *would not beſtow mercy*;] Theſe were the inferior and poorer among the believers, whom they deſpiſed in their life-times as unworthy of GOD's favour.

[d] *Enter ye into paradiſe*, &c.] Theſe words are directed, by an apoſtrophe, to the poor and deſpiſed believers above mentioned. Some commentators however imagine theſe and the next preceding words are to be underſtood of thoſe who will be confined in *al Arâf*; and that the damned will, in return for their reproachful ſpeech, ſwear that they ſhall never enter paradiſe themſelves; whereupon GOD of his mercy ſhall order them to be admitted by theſe words [3].

[e] *Or of that which* GOD *hath beſtowed on you*;] i. e. Of the other liquors or fruits of paradiſe. Compare this paſſage with the parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*.

[f] *The interpretation thereof*;] That is, the event of the promiſes and menaces therein.

[g] See Chap. 6. p. 101. not. c.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*. [3] *Idem*.

LORD humbly and in ſecret ; for he loveth not thoſe who tranſgreſs [a]. And act not corruptly in the earth, after its reformation [b] ; and call upon him with fear and deſire : for the mercy of GOD is near unto the righteous. It is he who ſendeth the winds, ſpread abroad [c] before his mercy [d], until they bring a cloud heavy *with rain*, which we drive unto a dead country [e] ; and we cauſe water to deſcend thereon, by which we cauſe all *ſorts of* fruits to ſpring forth. Thus will we bring forth the dead *from their graves* [f] ; that peradventure ye may conſider. From a good country ſhall its fruit ſpring forth *abundantly*, by the permiſſion of its LORD ; but from the *land* which is bad, it ſhall not ſpring forth otherwiſe than ſcarcely. Thus do we explain the ſigns *of divine providence* unto people who are thankful. We formerly ſent NOAH [g] unto his people : and he ſaid, O my people, worſhip GOD : ye have no other GOD than him [h]. Verily I fear for you the puniſhment of the great day . The chiefs of his people anſwered *him*, We ſurely perceive thee *to be* in a manifeſt error. He replied, O my people, there is no error in me ; but I am a meſſenger from the LORD of all creatures. I bring unto you the meſſages of my LORD ; and I counſel you aright : for I know from GOD, that which ye know not. Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD by a man [k] from among you, to warn you, that ye may take heed to yourſelves, and

[a] *Who tranſgreſs* ;] Behaving themſelves arrogantly while they pray ; or praying with an obſtreperous voice, or a multitude of words and vain repetitions [1].

[b] *After its reformation*;] i. e. After that GOD hath ſent his prophets, and revealed his laws, for the reformation and amendment of mankind.

[c] *Spread abroad* ;] Or ranging over a large extent of land. Some copies inſtead of *noſhran*, which is the reading I have here followed, have *boſhran*, which ſignifies *good tidings* ; the riſing of the wind in ſuch a manner being the forerunner of rain.

[d] *Before his mercy* ;] That is, rain. For the eaſt-wind, ſays *al Beidawi*, raiſes the clouds, the north-wind drives them together, the ſouth-wind agitates them, ſo as to make the rain fall, and the ſouth-wind diſperſes them again [2].

[e] *A dead country* ;] Or a dry and parched land.

[f] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 79, 83, &c.

[g] *Noah* the ſon of *Lamech*, according to the *Mohammedan* writers, was one of the ſix principal prophets [3], tho' he had no written revelations delivered to him [4], and the firſt who appeared after his great grand-father *Edrîs* or *Enoch*. They alſo ſay he was by trade a carpenter, which they infer from his building the ark, and that the year of his miſſion was the fiftieth, or, as others ſay, the fortieth of his age [5].

That *Noah* was a preacher of righteouſneſs unto the wicked antediluvians, is teſtified by ſcripture [6]. The eaſtern *Chriſtians* ſay, that when GOD ordered *Noah* to build the ark, he alſo directed him to make an inſtrument of wood, ſuch as they make uſe of, at this day, in the eaſt, inſtead of bells, to call the people to church, and named in *Arabic Nâkûs*, and in modern *Greek*, *Semandra*; on which he was to ſtrike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admoniſhing his people of the impending danger of the deluge, which would certainly deſtroy them if they did not repent [7].

Some *Mohammedan* authors pretend *Noah* was ſent to convert *Zohâk*, one of the *Perſian* kings of the firſt race, who refuſed to hearken to him ; and that he afterwards preached GOD's unity publickly [8].

[h] *Serve* GOD, *ye have no other* GOD *but him*;] From theſe words, and other paſſages of the *Korân* where *Noah*'s preaching is mentioned, it appears that, according to *Mohammed*'s opinion, a principal crime of the antediluvians was idolatry [9].

[i] *The great day* ;] viz. Either the day of reſurrection, or that whereon the flood was to begin.

[k] *By a man* ;] For, ſaid they, if GOD had pleaſed, he would have ſent an angel, and not a man ; ſince we never heard of ſuch an inſtance in the times of our fathers [10].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 75. [4] V. RELAND. *de relig. Mah. p.* 34 [5] *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI. [6] 2 *Pet.* ii. 5. [7] EUTYCH. *Annal. p.* 37. [8] V. D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 675. [9] *See chap.* 71. *and the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 19. [10] *Al* BEIDAWI.

and that peradventure ye may obtain mercy? And they accuſed him of impoſture: but we delivered him and thoſe who *were* with him in the ark [a], and we drowned thoſe who charged our ſigns with falſhood; for they were a blind people. And unto *the tribe of* AD [b] *we ſent* their brother HUD [c]. He ſaid, O my people worſhip GOD: ye have no other GOD than him; will ye not fear *him?* The chiefs of thoſe among his people who believed not [d], anſwered, Verily we perceive that thou *art guided* by folly; and we certainly eſteem thee *to be one* of the liars. He replied, O my people, *I am* not *guided by* folly; but I am a meſſenger unto you from the LORD of all creatures: I bring unto you the meſſages of my LORD; and I am a faithful counſellor unto you. Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD, by a man from among you, that he may warn you? Call to mind how he hath appointed you ſucceſſors unto the people of NOAH [e], and hath added unto you in ſtature largely [f]. Remember the benefits of GOD, that ye may proſper. They ſaid, Art thou come unto us, that we ſhould worſhip GOD alone, and leave *the deities* which our fathers worſhipped? Now bring down that *judgment* upon us, with which thou threateneſt us, if thou ſpeakeſt truth. *HUD* anſwered, Now ſhall there ſuddenly fall upon you from your LORD vengeance and indignation. Will ye diſpute with me concerning the names which ye have named [g], and your fathers; as to which GOD hath not revealed unto you any authority? Do ye wait therefore, and I will be *one* of thoſe who wait with you. And we delivered him, and them who *believed* with him, by our mercy; and we cut off the uttermoſt part of thoſe who charged our ſigns with falſhood, and were

[a] *And thoſe that were with him in the ark;*] That is, thoſe who believed on him, and entered into that veſſel with him. Tho' there be a tradition among the *Mohammedans*, ſaid to have been received from the prophet himſelf, and conformable to the ſcripture, that eight perſons and no more were ſaved in the ark, yet ſome of them report the number variouſly. One ſays they were but ſix, another ten, another twelve, another ſeventy eight, and another fourſcore, half men and half women [1]; and that one of them was the elder *Jorham* [2], the preſerver, as ſome pretend, of the *Arabian* language [3].

[b] *Ad* was an ancient and potent tribe of *Arabs* [4], and zealous idolaters [5]. They chiefly worſhipped four deities, *Sâkia*, *Hâfedha*, *Râzeka*, and *Sâlema*; the firſt, as they imagined, ſupplying them with rain, the ſecond preſerving them from all dangers abroad, the third providing food for their ſuſtenance, and the fourth reſtoring them to health when afflicted with ſickneſs [6]; according to the ſignification of the ſeveral names.

[c] *Hûd,*] Generally ſuppoſed to be the ſame perſon with *Heber* [7]; but others ſay he was the ſon of *Abda'llah*, the ſon of *Ribâh*, the ſon of *Kholûd*, the ſon of *Ad*, the ſon of *Aws* or *Uz*, the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Sem* [8].

[d] *Who believed not;*] Theſe words were added becauſe ſome of the principal men among them believed on *Hûd*, one of whom was *Morthed Ebn Saad* [9].

[e] *The ſucceſſors of the people of* Noah;] Dwelling in the habitations of the antediluvians, who preceded them not many centuries; or having the chief ſway in the earth after them. For the kingdom of *Shedâd* the ſon of *Ad* is ſaid to have extended from the ſands of *Alaj*, to the trees of *Omân* [10].

[f] See the Prelim. Diſc. p. 7.

[g] *Concerning the names which ye have named,* &c.] That is, concerning the idols and imaginary objects of your worſhip, to which ye wickedly give the names, attributes, and honour due to the only true GOD.

[1] *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, JALLALO'DDIN, EBN SHOHNAH. [2] *Idem. See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 8. [3] *V.* POCOCK. *Orat. præfix. Carm. Tograi.* [4] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 6, 7. [5] ABULFEDA. [6] *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd.* [7] *See the Prel. Diſc. p.* 6. [8] *Al* BEIDAWI. [9] *Idem.* [10] *Idem.*

not believers [a]. And unto *the tribe of* THAMUD [b] *we ſent* their brother SALEH [c]. He ſaid, O my people, worſhip GOD: ye have no GOD beſides him. Now hath a manifeſt proof come unto you from your LORD. This ſhe-camel of GOD *is* a ſign unto you [d]: therefore diſmiſs her freely, that ſhe may feed in GOD's earth; and do her no hurt, leſt a painful puniſhment ſeize you. And call to mind how he hath appointed you ſucceſſors unto *the tribe of* AD, and hath given you a habitation on earth; ye build *yourſelves* caſtles on the plains thereof, and cut out the mountains into houſes. Remember therefore the benefits of GOD, and commit not violence in the earth, acting corruptly. The chiefs among his people who were puffed up with pride, ſaid unto thoſe

[a] The dreadful deſtruction of the *Adites* we have mentioned in another place [1], and ſhall only add here ſome further circumſtances of that calamity, and which differ a little from what is there ſaid; for the *Arab* writers acknowledge many inconſiſtencies in the hiſtories of theſe ancient tribes [2].

The tribe of *Ad* having been for their incredulity previouſly chaſtiſed with a three years drought, ſent *Kail Ebn Ithar* and *Morthed Ebn Saad* with ſeventy other principal men to the temple of *Mecca* to obtain rain. *Mecca* was then in the hands of the tribe of *Amalek*, whoſe prince was *Moâwiyah Ebn Becr*; and he being without the city when the embaſſadors arrived, entertained them there for a month in ſo hoſpitable a manner that they had forgotten the buſineſs they came about, had not the king reminded them of it, not as from himſelf, leſt they ſhould think he wanted to be rid of them, but by ſome verſes which he put into the mouth of a ſinging-woman. At which being rouſed from their lethargy, *Morthed* told them the only way they had to obtain what they wanted, would be to repent and obey their prophet: but this diſpleaſing the reſt, they deſired *Moawiyah* to impriſon him, leſt he ſhould go with them; which being done, *Kail* with the reſt entring *Mecca*, begged of GOD that he would ſend rain to the people of *Ad*. Whereupon three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one; and a voice from heaven ordered *Kail* to chuſe which he would. *Kail* failed not to make choice of the laſt, thinking it to be loaden with the moſt rain; but when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempeſt broke forth from it which deſtroyed them all [3].

[b] *Thamûd* was another tribe of the ancient *Arabs* who fell into idolatry. See the Prelim. Diſc. §. I. p. 7.

[c] *Sâleh.*] *Al Beidâwi* deduces his genealogy thus. *Sâleh*, the ſon of *Obeid*, the ſon of *Aſaf*, the ſon of *Maſckh*, the ſon of *Obeid*, the ſon of *Hâdher*, the ſon of *Thamûd* [3].

[d] *This ſhe-camel of* GOD *is a ſign unto you.*] The *Thamudites* inſiſting on a miracle, propoſed to *Sâleh* that he ſhould go with them to their feſtival, and that they ſhould call on their gods, and he on his, promiſing to follow that deity which ſhould anſwer. But after they had called on their idols a long time to no purpoſe, *Jonda Ebn Amru*, their prince, pointed to a rock ſtanding by itſelf, and bid *Saleh* cauſe a ſhe-camel big with young to come forth from it, ſolemnly engaging that if he did, he would believe; and his people promiſed the ſame. Whereupon *Saleh* asked it of GOD, and preſently the rock, after ſeveral throws as if in labour, was delivered of a ſhe-camel anſwering the deſcription of *Jonda*, which immediately brought forth a young one ready weaned, and, as ſome ſay, as big as herſelf. *Jonda*, ſeeing this miracle, believed on the prophet, and ſome few with him; but the greater part of the *Thamudites* remained notwithſtanding incredulous. Of this camel the commentators tell ſeveral very abſurd ſtories; as that when ſhe went to drink ſhe never raiſed her head from the well or river till ſhe had drank up all the water in it, and then ſhe offered herſelf to be milked, the people drawing from her as much milk as they pleaſed; and ſome ſay that ſhe went about the town crying aloud, *If any wants milk let him come forth* [4].

[e] The tribe of *Thamûd* dwelt firſt in the country of the *Adites*, but their numbers increaſing, they removed to the territory of *Hejr* for the ſake of the mountains, where they cut themſelves habitations in the rocks, to be ſeen at this day.

[1] *Prelim. Diſc. p.* 6. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd.* [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 7. [4] ABULFEDA, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Saleh.* [5] *See the Prel. Diſc. p.* 7.

thoſe who were eſteemed weak, *namely*, unto thoſe who believed among them, Do ye know that SALEH hath been ſent from his LORD? They anſwered, We do ſurely believe in that wherewith he hath been ſent. Thoſe who were elated with pride replied, Verily we believe not in that wherein ye believe. And they cut off the feet of the camel [a], and inſolently tranſgreſſed the command of their LORD [b], and ſaid, O SALEH, cauſe that to come upon us, with which thou haſt threatened us, if thou art *one* of thoſe who have been ſent *by* GOD. Whereupon a terrible noiſe from heaven [c] aſſailed them; and in the morning they were found in their dwellings proſtrate on their breaſts *and dead* [d]. And *SALEH* departed from them, and ſaid [e], O my people, now have I delivered unto you the meſſage of my LORD; and I adviſed you well, but ye love not thoſe who adviſe *you* well. And *remember* LOT [f], when he ſaid unto

[a] *And they cut off the feet of the camel.*] This extraordinary camel frighting the other cattle from their paſture, a certain rich woman named *Onciza Omm Ganem*, having four daughters, dreſt them out and offered one *Kedâr* his choice of them, if he would kill the camel. Whereupon he choſe one, and with the aſſiſtance of eight other men, hamſtrung and killed the dam, and purſuing the young one, which fled to the mountain, killed that alſo, and divided his fleſh among them [1]. Others tell the ſtory ſomewhat differently, adding *Sadaka Bint al Mokhtâr* as a joint conſpiratreſs with *Onciza*, and pretending that the young one was not killed; for they ſay that having fled to a certain mountain named *Kâra*, he there cryed three times, and *Saleh* bid them catch him if they could, for then there might be hopes of their avoiding the divine vengeance; but this they were not able to do, the rock opening after he had cried, and receiving him within it [2].

[b] *And inſolently tranſgreſſed the command of their* LORD, &c.] Defying the vengeance with which they were threatened; becauſe they truſted in their ſtrong dwellings hewn in the rocks, ſaying that the tribe of *Ad* periſhed only becauſe their houſes were not built with ſufficient ſtrength [3].

[c] *A terrible noiſe from heaven*;] Like violent and repeated claps of thunder; which ſome ſay was no other than the voice of the angel *Gabriel* [4], and which rent their hearts [5]. It is ſaid that after they had killed the camel, *Saleh* told them that on the morrow their faces ſhould become yellow, the next day red, and the third day black, and that on the fourth GOD's vengeance ſhould light on them; and that the firſt three ſigns happening accordingly, they ſought to put him to death, but GOD delivered him, by ſending him into *Paleſtine* [6].

[d] *Mohammed* in the expedition of *Tabûc*, which he undertook againſt the *Greeks* in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, paſſing by *Hejr*, where this ancient tribe had dwelt, forbad his army, tho' much diſtreſſed with heat and thirſt, to draw any water there, but ordered them if they had drank of that water to bring it up again, or if they had kneaded any meal with it, to give it their camels [7]; and wrapping up his face in his garment, he ſet ſpurs to his mule, crying out, *Enter not the houſes of thoſe wicked men, but rather weep; leſt that happen unto you, which befel them*. and having ſo ſaid, he continued galloping full ſpeed with his face muffled up, till he had paſſed the valley [8].

[e] Whether this ſpeech was made by *Saleh* to them at parting, as ſeems moſt probable, or after the judgment had fallen on them, the commentators are not agreed.

[f] *Lot.*] The commentators ſay, conformably to the ſcripture, that *Lot* was the ſon of *Haran*, the ſon of *Azer* or *Terah*, and conſequently *Abraham*'s nephew, who brought him with him from *Chaldea* into *Paleſtine*, where, they ſay, he was ſent by GOD to reclaim the inhabitants of *Sodom* and the other neighbouring cities which were overthrown with it, from the unnatural vice to which they were addicted [9]. And this *Mohammedan* tradition ſeems to be countenanced by the words of the apoſtle, that this *righteous man dwelling among them, in ſeeing and hearing vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day with their unlawful deeds* [10]; whence it is probable that he omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation. The ſtory of *Lot* is told with further circumſtances in the eleventh chapter.

[1] ABULFEDA. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi ſupra.* [3] *Al* KESSAI. [4] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 7. [5] ABULFEDA, *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. [7] ABULFEDA. *Vit. Mah. p.* 124. [8] *Al* BOKHARI. [9] *V.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Loth.* [10] *Chap.* ii. 8.

unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedneſs, wherein no creature hath ſet you an example? Do ye approach luſtfully unto men, leaving the women? Certainly ye are people who tranſgreſs *all modeſty*. But the anſwer of his people was no other than that they ſaid *the one to the other*, Expel them [a] your city; for they are men who preſerve themſelves pure *from the crimes which ye commit*. Therefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife; ſhe was *one* of thoſe who ſtaid *behind* [b]: and we rained a ſhower *of ſtones* upon them [c]. Behold therefore what was the end of the wicked. And unto MADIAN [d] *we ſent* their brother SHOAIB [e]. He ſaid *unto them*, O my people, worſhip GOD; ye have no GOD beſides him. Now hath an evident demonſtration [f] come unto you from your LORD. Therefore give full meaſure and juſt weight, and diminiſh not unto men *ought of* their matters [g]; neither act corruptly in the earth, after its reformation [h]. This will be better for you, if ye believe. And beſet not every way, threatening *the paſſenger* [i]; and turning aſide from the path of GOD him who believeth in him, and ſeeking to make it crooked. And remember, when ye were few, and GOD multiplied you: and behold, what hath been the end of thoſe who acted corruptly. And if part of you believe in that wherewith I am ſent, and part believe not, wait patiently until GOD judge

[a] *Expel them*, &c.] viz. *Lot*, and thoſe who believe on him.

[b] See chap. 11.

[c] See ibid.

[d] *Madian*,] or *Midian*, was a city of *Hejâz*, and the habitation of a tribe of the ſame name, the deſcendants of *Midian*, the ſon of *Abraham* by *Keturah* [1], who afterwards coaleſced with the *Iſmaelites*, as it ſeems; *Moſes* naming the ſame merchants who ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar*, in one place *Iſmaelites* [2], and in another *Midianites* [3].

This city was ſituated on the red ſea, ſouth-eaſt of mount *Sinai*, and is doubtleſs the ſame with the *Modiana* of *Ptolemy*; what was remaining of it in *Mohammed*'s time, was ſoon after demoliſhed in the ſucceeding wars [4], and it remains deſolate to this day. The people of the country pretend to ſhew the well whence *Moſes* watered *Jethro*'s flocks [5].

[e] *Shoaib*.] Some *Mohammedan* writers make him the ſon of *Mikaïl*, the ſon of *Yaſhjar*, the ſon of *Madian* [6]; and they generally ſuppoſe him to be the ſame perſon with the father-in-law of *Moſes*, who is named in ſcripture *Reuel* or *Raguel*, and *Jethro* [7]. But *Ahmed Ebn Abd'alhalim* charges thoſe who entertain this opinion with ignorance. *Al Keſſâi* ſays that his father's name was *Sanûn*, and that he was firſt called *Boyûn*, and afterwards *Shoaib*; and adds that he was a comely perſon, but ſpare and lean, very thoughtful and of few words. Doctor *Prideaux* writes this name, after the *French* tranſlation, *Chaib* [8].

[f] *An evident demonſtration*;] This demonſtration the commentators ſuppoſe to have been a power of working miracles, tho' the *Korân* mentions none in particular. However they ſay (after the *Jews*) that he gave his ſon-in-law that wonder-working rod [9], with which he performed all thoſe miracles in *Egypt* and the deſart, and alſo excellent advice and inſtructions [10]; whence he had the ſurname of *Khatîb al anbiyâ*, or the *preacher to the prophets* [11].

[g] *Give full meaſure and juſt weight*, &c.] For one of the great crimes which the *Midianites* were guilty of, was the uſing of diverſe meaſures and weights, a great and a ſmall, buying by one and ſelling by another [12].

[h] See before, p. 122. not. b.

[i] *Beſet not every way, threatening the paſſenger*;] Robbing on the high way, it ſeems, was another crying ſin, frequent among theſe people. But ſome of the commentators interpret this paſſage figuratively, of their beſetting the way of truth, and threatening thoſe who gave ear to the remonſtrances of *Shoaib* [13].

[1] *Gen.* xxv. 2. [2] *Gen.* xxxix. 1. [3] *Gen.* xxxvii. 36. [4] *V.* GOLII *not. in Alfrag. p.* 143. [5] ABULFEDA *Deſcr. Arab. p.* 42. GEOGR. NUB. *p.* 109. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI, TARIKH MONTAKHAB. [7] *Exod.* ii. 18, iii. 1. [8] *Life of Mah. p.* 24. [9] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V. Shalſhel. hakkab. p.* 12. [10] *Exod.* xviii. 13, *&c.* [11] *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Schoaib.* [12] *V. ib. Al* BEIDAWI. *See Deut.* xxv. 13, 14. [13] *Idem.*

judge between us ; for he is the beſt judge. * The chiefs of his people, who IX.
were elated with pride, anſwered, We will ſurely caſt thee, O SHOAIB, and thoſe who believe with thee, out of our city ; or elſe thou ſhalt certainly return unto our religion. He ſaid, What, though we be averſe *thereto ?* We ſhall ſurely imagine a lie againſt GOD, if we return unto your religion, after that GOD hath delivered us from the ſame : and we have no *reaſon* to return unto it, unleſs GOD our LORD ſhall pleaſe *to abandon us.* Our LORD comprehendeth every thing by *his* knowledge. In GOD do we put our truſt. O LORD, do thou judge between us and our nation with truth ; for thou art the beſt judge. And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, ſaid, If ye follow SHOAIB, ye ſhall ſurely periſh. Therefore a ſtorm from heaven [a] aſſailed them, and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and* proſtrate. They who accuſed SHOAIB of impoſture *became* as though they had never dwelt therein ; they who accuſed SHOAIB of impoſture periſhed themſelves. And he departed from them, and ſaid, O my people, now have I performed unto you the meſſages of my LORD ; and I adviſed you aright : but why ſhould I be grieved for an unbelieving people ? We have never ſent any prophet unto a city, but we afflicted the inhabitants thereof with calamity and adverſity, that they might humble themſelves. Then we gave *them* in exchange good in lieu of evil, until they abounded, and ſaid, Adverſity and proſperity formerly happened unto our fathers, *as unto us.* Therefore we took vengeance on them ſuddenly, and they perceived it not *before-hand.* But if the inhabitants of *thoſe* cities had believed and feared GOD, we would ſurely have opened to them bleſſings both from heaven and earth. But they charged *our apoſtles* with falſhood ; wherefore we took vengeance on them, for that which they had been guilty of. Were the inhabitants therefore of *thoſe* cities ſecure, that our puniſhment ſhould not fall on them by night, while they ſlept ? Or were the inhabitants of *thoſe* cities ſecure that our puniſhment ſhould not fall on them by day, while they ſported ? Were they therefore ſecure from the ſtratagem of GOD [b] ? But none will think himſelf ſecure from the ſtratagem of GOD, except the people who periſh. And hath it not manifeſtly appeared unto thoſe who have inherited the earth after the *former* inhabitants thereof, that, if we pleaſe, we can afflict them for their ſins ? But we will ſeal up their hearts ; and they ſhall not hearken. We will relate unto thee ſome ſtories of theſe cities. Their apoſtles had come unto them with evident miracles, but they were not *diſpoſed* to believe in that which they had before gainſaid. Thus will GOD ſeal up the hearts of the unbelievers. And we found not in the greater part of them any *obſervance* of *their* covenant ; but we found the greater part of them

[a] *A ſtorm from heaven ;*] Like that which deſtroyed the *Thamudites*. Some ſuppoſe it to have been an earthquake, for the original word ſignifies either, or both ; and both theſe dreadful calamities may well be ſuppoſed to have jointly executed the divine vengeance.

[b] *The ſtratagem of* GOD :] Hereby is figuratively expreſſed the manner of GOD's dealing with proud and ungrateful men, by ſuffering them to fill up the meaſure of their iniquity, without vouchſafing to bring them to a ſenſe of their condition by chaſtiſements and afflictions till they find themſelves utterly loſt, when they leaſt expect it [1].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

them wicked doers. Then we ſent, after the *abovenamed apoſtles*, MOSES with our ſigns unto PHARAOH [a] and his princes; who treated them unjuſtly[b]: but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers. And MOSES ſaid, O PHARAOH, verily I am an apoſtle *ſent* from the LORD of all creatures. It is juſt that I ſhould not ſpeak of GOD other than the truth. Now am I come unto you with an *evident* ſign from your LORD: ſend therefore the children of ISRAEL away with me. *PHARAOH* anſwered, If thou comeſt with a ſign, produce it, if thou ſpeakeſt truth. Wherefore he caſt down his rod; and behold, it *became* a viſible ſerpent [c]. And he drew forth his hand *out of his boſom*; and behold it *appeared* white unto the ſpectators [d]. The chiefs of the people of PHARAOH ſaid, This *man* is certainly an expert magician: he ſeeketh to diſpoſſeſs you of your land; what therefore do ye direct? They anſwered, Put off him and his brother *by fair promiſes for ſome time*, and *in the mean while* ſend unto the cities, and aſſemble *the inhabitants*, that they may bring unto thee every expert magician. So the magicians [e] came unto PHARAOH; *and* they

[a] *Pharaoh.*] This was the common title or name of the kings of *Egypt*, (ſignifying *king* in the *Coptic* tongue,) as *Ptolemy* was in after times; and as *Cæſar* was that of the *Roman* emperors, and *Khoſrû* that of the kings of *Perſia*. But which of the kings of *Egypt*, this *Pharaoh* of *Moſes* was, is uncertain. Not to mention the opinions of the *European* writers, thoſe of the eaſt generally ſuppoſe him to have been *al Walîd*, who, according to ſome, was an *Arab* of the tribe of *Ad*, or, according to others, the ſon of *Maſâb*, the ſon of *Riyân*, the ſon of *Walid* [1] the *Amalekite* [2]. There are hiſtorians however who ſuppoſe *Kabûs* the brother and predeceſſor of *al Walîd* was the prince we are ſpeaking of; and pretend he lived ſix hundred and twenty years, and reigned four hundred. Which is more reaſonable, at leaſt, than the opinion of thoſe who imagine it was his father *Maſâb*, or grandfather *Riyân* [3]. *Abulfeda* ſays, that *Maſâb* being one hundred and ſeventy years old, and having no child, while he kept the herds ſaw a cow calve, and heard her ſay, at the ſame time, O Maſâb, *be not grieved, for thou ſhalt have a wicked ſon, who will be at length caſt into hell.* And he accordingly had this *Walid*, who afterwards coming to be king of *Egypt*, proved an impious tyrant.

[b] *Who treated them unjuſtly*;] By not believing therein.

[c] *A viſible ſerpent*;] the *Arab* writers tell enormous fables of this ſerpent or dragon. For they ſay that he was hairy, and of ſo prodigious a ſize, that when the opened his mouth, his jaws were fourſcore cubits aſunder, and when he laid his lower jaw on the ground, his upper reached to the top of the palace; that *Pharaoh* ſeeing this monſter make towards him, fled from it, and was ſo terribly frightened, that he befouled himſelf; and that the whole aſſembly alſo betaking themſelves to their heels, no leſs than twenty five thouſand of them loſt their lives in the preſs. They add that *Pharaoh* upon this adjured *Moſes* by GOD who had ſent him, to take away the ſerpent, and promiſed he would believe on him, and let the *Iſraelites* go; but when *Moſes* had done what he requeſted, he relapſed, and grew as hardened as before [4].

[d] *He drew forth his hand and it became white*;] There is a tradition that *Moſes* was a very ſwarthy man; and that when he put his hand into his boſom, and drew it out again, it became extremely white and ſplendid, ſurpaſſing the brightneſs of the ſun [5]. *Marracci* [6] ſays we do not read in ſcripture that *Moſes* ſhewed this ſign before *Pharaoh*. It is true, the ſcripture does not expreſsly ſay ſo, but it ſeems to be no more than a neceſſary inference from that paſſage, where GOD tells *Moſes* that if they will not hearken to the firſt ſign, they will believe the latter ſign, and if they will not believe theſe two ſigns, then directs him to turn the water into blood [7].

[e] *The magicians*;] The *Arabian* writers name ſeveral of theſe magicians, beſides their chief prieſt *Simeon*, viz. *Sadûr*, and *Ghadûr*, *Jazîr*, and *Moſfa*, *Warân* and *Zamân*, each of whom came attended with their diſciples, amounting in all to ſeveral thouſands [8].

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 8. [2] ABULFEDA, *&c.* [3] *Kitâb tafſîr lebâb, & al Tebrîſ.* [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Idem.* [6] *In Alc. p* 284. [7] *Exod.* iv. 8, 9. [8] *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. art. Mouſa, p.* 643, *&c. Al* KESSAI.

they ſaid, Shall we ſurely receive a reward, if we do overcome? He anſwered, Yea; and ye ſhall certainly be of thoſe who approach near *unto my throne*. They ſaid, O MOSES, either do thou caſt down *thy rod firſt*, or we will caſt down *ours*. *MOSES* anſwered, Do ye caſt down *your rods firſt*. And when they had caſt *them* down, they inchanted the eyes of the men *who were preſent*, and terrified them; and they performed a great inchantment [a]. And we ſpake by revelation unto MOSES, *ſaying*, Throw down thy rod. And behold, it ſwallowed up *the rods* which they had *cauſed falſely to appear* changed *into ſerpents* [b]. Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought, vaniſhed. And *PHARAOH and his magicians* were overcome there, and were rendred contemptible. And the magicians proſtrated themſelves, worſhipping; *and* they ſaid, We believe in the LORD of all creatures, the LORD of MOSES and AARON [c]. PHARAOH ſaid, Have ye believed on him, before I have given you permiſſion? Verily this is a plot which ye have contrived in the city, that ye might caſt forth from thence the inhabitants thereof [d]. But ye ſhall ſurely know *that I am your maſter*; *for* I will cauſe your hands and your feet to be cut off on the oppoſite ſides [e], then will I cauſe you all to be crucified [f]. The *magicians* anſwered, We ſhall certainly return unto our LORD, *in the next life*; for thou takeſt vengeance on us only becauſe we have believed in the ſigns of our LORD, when they have come unto us. O LORD, pour on us patience; and cauſe us to die Moſlems [g]. And

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[a] *And they performed a great inchantment.*] They provided themſelves with a great number of thick ropes and long pieces of wood which they contrived, by ſome means, to move, and make them twiſt themſelves one over the other; and ſo impoſed on the beholders, who at a diſtance took them to be true ſerpents [1].

[b] *Behold, it ſwallowed up the rods*, &c.] The expoſitors add, that when this ſerpent had ſwallowed up all the rods and cords, he made directly towards the aſſembly, and put them into ſo great a terror, that they fled, and a conſiderable number were killed in the croud: then *Moſes* took it up, and it became a rod in his hand as before. Whereupon the magicians declared that it could be no enchantment, becauſe in ſuch caſe their rods and cords would not have diſappeared [2].

[c] *And the magicians proſtrated themſelves worſhipping*, &c.] It ſeems probable that all the magicians were not converted by this miracle, for ſome writers introduce *Sadûr* and *Ghadûr* only, acknowledging *Moſes*'s miracle to be wrought by the power of GOD. Theſe two, they ſay, were brothers, and the ſons of a famous magician, then dead; but on their being ſent for to court on this occaſion, their mother perſuaded them to go to their father's tomb, to ask his advice. Being come to the tomb, the father anſwered their call, and when they had acquainted him with the affair, he told them, that they ſhould inform themſelves whether the rod of which they ſpoke became a ſerpent while its maſters ſlept, or only when they were awake; for, ſaid he, inchantments have no effect while the enchanter is aſleep, and therefore if it be otherwiſe in this caſe, you may be aſſured that they act by a divine power. Theſe two magicians then, arriving at the capital of *Egypt*, on enquiry found, to their great aſtoniſhment, that when *Moſes* and *Aaron* went to reſt, their rod became a ſerpent, and guarded them while they ſlept [3]. And this was the firſt ſtep towards their converſion.

[d] *This is a plot which ye have contrived*, &c.] i. e. This is a confederacy between you and *Moſes*, entered into before ye left the city to go to the place of appointment, to turn out the *Copts*, or native *Egyptians*, and eſtabliſh the *Iſraelites* in their ſtead [4].

[e] *On the oppoſite ſide*;] That is, your right hands, and your left feet.

[f] *And I will cauſe you all to be crucified.*] Some ſay *Pharaoh* was the firſt inventer of this ignominious and painful puniſhment.

[g] Some think theſe converted magicians were executed accordingly: but others deny it, and ſay that the king was not able to put them to death; inſiſting on theſe words of the *Korân* [5], *You two, and they who follow you, ſhall overcome.*

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* D'HERBELOT, *ubi ſup. and Koran*, c. 20. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi ſup.* [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Chap.* 28.

the chiefs of PHARAOH's people ſaid, Wilt thou let MOSES and his people go, that they may act corruptly in the earth, and leave thee and thy gods [a]? *PHARAOH* anſwered, We will cauſe their male children to be ſlain, and we will ſuffer their females to live [b]; and *by that means* we ſhall prevail over them. MOSES ſaid unto his people, Aſk aſſiſtance of GOD, and ſuffer patiently: for the earth is GOD's, he giveth it for an inheritance unto ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth; and the *proſperous* end *ſhall be* unto thoſe who fear *him*. They anſwered, We have been afflicted *by having our male children ſlain*, before thou cameſt unto us, and alſo ſince thou haſt come unto us. *MOSES* ſaid, Peradventure it may happen that your LORD will deſtroy your enemy, and will cauſe you to ſucceed *him* in the earth, that he may ſee how ye will act *therein*. And we formerly puniſhed the people of PHARAOH with dearth and ſcarcity of fruits, that they might be warned. Yet when good happened unto them, they ſaid, This *is owing* unto us: but if evil befel them, they attributed *the ſame* to the ill luck of MOSES, and thoſe who *were* with him [c]. Was not their ill luck with GOD [d]? but moſt of them knew *it* not. And they ſaid *unto MOSES*, Whatever ſign thou ſhew unto us, to inchant us therewith, we will not believe on thee. Wherefore we ſent upon them a flood [e], and locuſts, and lice [f], and frogs, and blood; diſtinct miracles: but they behaved proudly, and became a wicked people. And when the plague [g] fell on them, they ſaid, O MOSES, intreat thy LORD for us, according to that which he hath covenanted with thee: verily if thou take the plague from off us, we will ſurely believe thee, and we will let the children of ISRAEL go with thee. But when we had taken the plague from off them, until the term *which GOD had granted them* was expired, behold, they broke their promiſe. Wherefore we

[a] *Thy gods*;] Which were the ſtars, or other idols. But ſome of the commentators, from certain impious expreſſions of this prince, recorded in the *Korân* [1], whereby he ſets up himſelf as the only god of his ſubjects, ſuppoſe that he was the object of their worſhip, and therefore inſtead of *alihataca, thy gods*, read *ilahataca, thy worſhip* [2].

[b] *We will cauſe their male children to be ſlain*, &c.] That is, We will continue to make uſe of the ſame cruel policy to keep the *Iſraelites* in ſubjection, as we have hitherto done. The commentators ſay that *Pharaoh* came to this reſolution becauſe he had either been admoniſhed in a dream, or by the aſtrologers or diviners, that one of that nation ſhould ſubvert his kingdom [3].

[c] *To the ill luck of* Moſes, &c.] Looking on him and his followers as the occaſion of thoſe calamities. The original word properly ſignifies to *take an ominous and ſiniſter preſage* of any future event, from the flight of birds, or the like.

[d] *Was not their ill luck with* GOD?] By whoſe will and decree they were ſo afflicted, as a puniſhment for their wickedneſs.

[e] *A flood*;] This inundation, they ſay, was occaſioned by unuſual rains which continued eight days together, and the overflowing of the *Nile*; and not only covered their lands, but came into their houſes, and roſe as high as their backs and necks; but the children of *Iſrael* had no rain in their quarters [4]. As there is no mention of any ſuch miraculous inundation in the *Moſaic* writings, ſome have imagined this plague to have been either a peſtilence, or the ſmall pox, or ſome other epidemical diſtemper [5]. For the word *tufân*, which is uſed in this place, and is generally rendered a *deluge*, may alſo ſignify any other univerſal deſtruction or mortality.

[f] *Lice*;] Some will have theſe inſects to have been a larger ſort of tick; others, the young locuſts before they have wings [6].

[g] *The plague*;] *viz.* Any of the calamities already mentioned, or the peſtilence which GOD ſent upon them afterwards.

[1] *Ibid. and chap.* 26, &c. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Idem*, ABULFED. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] *Idem.*

we took vengeance on them, and drowned them in the *red* sea [a]; because they charged our signs with falshood, and neglected them. And we caused the people who had been rendred weak, to inherit the eastern parts of the earth and the western parts thereof [b], which we blessed *with fertility*; and the gracious word of thy LORD was fulfilled on the children of ISRAEL, for that they had endured with patience: and we destroyed the *structures* which PHARAOH and his people had made, and that which they had erected [c]. And we caused the children of ISRAEL to pass through the sea, and they came unto a people who gave themselves up to *the worship of* their idols [d], *and* they said, O MOSES, make us a god, in like manner as these *people* have gods. *MOSES* answered, Verily ye are an ignorant people: for *the religion* which these follow *will be* destroyed, and that which they do is vain. He said, Shall I seek for you any other god than GOD; since he hath preferred you to the *rest of the* world? And *remember* when we delivered you from the people of PHARAOH, who grievously oppressed you; they slew your male children, and let your females live: therein was a great trial from your LORD. And we appointed unto MOSES *a fast of* thirty nights *before we gave him the law* [e], and we completed them by *adding of* ten *more*; and the stated time of his LORD was fulfilled in forty nights. And MOSES said unto his brother AARON, Be thou my deputy among my people *during my absence*; and behave uprightly, and follow not the way of the corrupt doers. And when MOSES came at our appointed time, and his LORD spake unto him [f], he said, O LORD, Shew me *thy glory*, that I may behold thee. GOD answered, Thou shalt in no wise behold me; but look towards the mountain [g], and if it stand firm in its place, then shalt thou see me. But when his LORD appeared with glory in the mount [h], he reduced it

[a] See this wonderful event more particularly described in the tenth and twentieth chapters.

[b] *The eastern parts of the earth and the western parts thereof*;] That is, the land of *Syria*, of which the eastern geographers reckon *Palestine* a part, and wherein the commentators say the children of *Israel* succeeded the kings of *Egypt* and the *Amalekites* [1].

[c] *And we destroyed the structures which* Pharaoh *and his people had made*, &c.] Particularly the lofty tower which *Pharaoh* caused to be built, that he might attack the GOD of *Moses* [2].

[d] *And they came unto a people who worshipped idols.*] These people some will have to be of the tribe of *Amalek*, whom *Moses* was commanded to destroy, and others of the tribe of *Lakhm*. Their idols, it is said, were images of oxen, which gave the first hint to the making of the golden calf [3].

[e] *We appointed unto* Moses *a fast of thirty nights, and we completed them by adding of ten more*, &c.] The commentators say that GOD, having promised *Moses* to give him the law, directed him to prepare himself for the high favour of speaking with GOD in person, by a fast of thirty days: and that *Moses* accordingly fasted the whole month of *Dhu'lkaada*, but not liking the savour of his breath, he rubbed his teeth with a dentifrice, upon which the angels told him, that his breath before had the odour of musk [4], but that his rubbing his teeth had taken it away. Wherefore GOD ordered him to fast ten days more, which he did; and these were the first ten days of the succeeding month *Dhu'lhajja*. Others however suppose that *Moses* was commanded to fast and pray thirty days only, and that during the other ten GOD discoursed with him [5].

[f] *And his* LORD *spake unto him*;] Without the mediation of any other, and face to face, as he speaks unto the angels [6].

[g] *The mountain*;] This mountain the *Mohammedans* name *al Zabir*.

[h] *When his* LORD *appeared with glory in the mount*;] Or, as it is literally, *unto the mount*. For some of the expositors pretend that GOD endued the mountain with life and the sense of seeing.

[1] *Idem*. [2] *V. Kor. ch.* 28, *and* 40. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. IV. *p.* 109. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 650.

to duſt. And MOSES fell down in a ſwoon. And when he came to himſelf, he ſaid, Praiſe be unto thee! I turn unto thee with repentance, and I *am* the firſt of true believers[a]. GOD ſaid *unto him*, O MOSES, I have choſen thee above *all* men, *by honouring thee* with my commiſſions, and by my ſpeaking *unto thee*: receive therefore that which I have brought thee, and be *one* of thoſe who give thanks[b]. And we wrote for him on the tables[c] an admonition concerning every matter, and a deciſion in every caſe[d], *and ſaid*, Receive this with reverence; and command thy people that they live according to the moſt excellent *precepts* thereof. I will ſhew you the dwelling of the wicked[e]. I will turn aſide from my ſigns thoſe who behave themſelves proudly in the earth, without juſtice: and although they ſee every ſign, yet they ſhall not believe therein; and although they ſee the way of righteouſneſs yet they ſhall not take that way; but if they ſee the way of error they ſhall take that way. This *ſhall come to paſs* becauſe they accuſe our ſigns, of impoſture, and neglect the ſame. But as for them who deny the truth of our ſigns and the meeting of the life to come, their works ſhall be vain: ſhall they be rewarded otherwiſe than *according to* what they ſhall have wrought? And the people of MOSES after his *departure*, took a corporeal calf[f], *made* of their ornaments[g], which lowed[h]. Did they not ſee that it ſpake not unto them, neither directed them in the way? *yet* they took it *for their god*, and acted wickedly. But when they repented with ſorrow[i], and ſaw that they had gone aſtray, they ſaid, Verily if our LORD have not mercy upon us, and forgive us not, we ſhall certainly become *of the number* of thoſe who periſh. And when MOSES returned unto his people, full of wrath and indignation, he ſaid, An evil thing is it that ye have committed after my *departure*; have ye haſtened the command of

[a] *I am the firſt of true believers.*] This is not to be taken ſtrictly. See the like expreſſion in chap. 6. p. 100.

[b] The *Mohammedans* have a tradition, that *Moſes* asked to ſee GOD on the day of *Arafat*, and that he received the law on the day they ſlay the victims at the pilgrimage of *Mecca*, which days are the ninth and tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*.

[c] *The tables*;] Theſe tables, according to ſome, were ſeven in number, and according to others ten. Nor are the commentators agreed whether they were cut out of a kind of lote-tree in paradiſe called *al Sedra*, or whether they were chryſolites, emeralds, rubies, or common ſtone[1]. But they ſay that they were each ten or twelve cubits long; for they ſuppoſe that not only the ten commandments but the whole law was written thereon: and ſome add that the letters were cut quite through the tables ſo that they might be read on both ſides[2]; which is a fable of the *Jews*.

[d] *An admonition concerning every matter, and a deciſion in every caſe*;] That is, a perfect law, comprehending all neceſſary inſtructions as well in regard to religious and moral duties, as the adminiſtration of juſtice.

[e] *I will ſhew you the dwelling of the wicked*;] *Viz.* the deſolate habitations of the *Egyptians*, or thoſe of the impious tribes of *Ad* and *Thamûd*, or perhaps hell, the dwelling of the ungodly in the other world.

[f] *A corporeal calf*;] That is, as ſome underſtand it, conſiſting of fleſh and blood; or, as others, being a mere body or maſs of metal, without a ſoul[3].

[g] *Of their ornaments*;] Such as their rings and bracelets of gold and ſilver[4].

[h] *Which lowed*;] See chap. 20. and the notes to chap. 2. p. 6, 7.

[i] Father *Marracci* ſeems not to have underſtood the meaning of this phraſe, having literally tranſlated the *Arabic* words, *wa lamma ſokita fi eidihim*, without any manner of ſenſe, *Et cum cadere factus fuiſſet in manibus eorum.*

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi ſupra.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See chap.* 20, *and the notes to chap.* 2. *p.* 6, 7. [4] *V. ibid.*

of your LORD[a] ? And he threw down the tables [b], and took his brother by the *hair of the* head, and dragged him unto him. *And* AARON ſaid unto him, Son of my mother, Verily the people prevailed againſt me [c], and it wanted little but they had ſlain me : make not *my* enemies therefore to rejoice over me, neither place me with the wicked people. *MOSES* ſaid, O LORD, forgive me and my brother, and receive us into thy mercy ; for thou art the moſt merciful of thoſe who exerciſe mercy. Verily as for them who took the calf *for their god*, indignation ſhall overtake them from their LORD [d], and ignominy in this life : thus will we reward thoſe who imagine falſhood. But unto them who do evil, and afterwards repent, and believe *in* GOD, verily thy LORD *will* thereafter *be* clement *and* merciful. And when the anger of MOSES was appeaſed, he took the tables [e] ; and in what was written thereon was a direction and mercy, unto thoſe who feared their LORD. And MOSES choſe out of his people ſeventy men, *to go up with him to the mountain* at the time appointed by us : and when a ſtorm of thunder and lightening had taken them away [f], he ſaid, O LORD, if thou hadſt pleaſed, thou hadſt deſtroyed them before, and me *alſo* ; wilt thou deſtroy us for that which the fooliſh *men* among us have committed ? This is only thy trial ; thou wilt thereby lead into error whom thou pleaſeſt, and thou wilt direct whom thou pleaſeſt. Thou art our protector, therefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us ; for thou art the beſt of thoſe who forgive. And write down for us good in this world, and in the life to come ; for unto thee are we directed. GOD anſwered, I will inflict my puniſhment on whom I pleaſe ; and my mercy extendeth over all things : and I will write down *good* unto thoſe who ſhall fear *me*, and give alms, and who ſhall believe in our ſigns ; who ſhall follow the apoſtle, the illiterate prophet [g], whom they ſhall find written down [h] with them in the law and the goſpel : he will command them that which is juſt, and will forbid them that which is evil ; and will allow unto them as lawful the good things *which were before forbidden* [i], and will prohibit thoſe which are bad [k] ; and he will eaſe them of their heavy burthen, and of the yokes which were upon them [l]. And thoſe who believe on him, and honour him, and aſſiſt him, and follow the light, which hath been ſent down with him, *ſhall be* happy. Say, O men, Verily I am the meſſenger of GOD unto you all [m] : unto him *belongeth* the kingdom

[a] *Have ye haſtened the command of your* LORD ?] By neglecting his precepts, and bringing down his ſwiſt vengeance on you.

[b] *And he threw down the tables* ;] Which were all broken and taken up to heaven, except one only ; and this, they ſay, contained the threats and judicial ordinances, and was afterwards put into the ark [1].

[c] *Prevailed againſt me* ;] Literally, *rendred me weak*.

[d] See chap. 2. p. 7.

[e] *The tables* ;] Or the fragments of that which was left.

[f] See chap. 2. p. 7. and chap. 4. p. 79.

[g] *The illiterate prophet* ;] That is *Mohammed*. See the Prelim. Diſc. §. II. p. 42.

[h] *Written down* ;] i. e. Both foretold by name and certain deſcription.

[i] See chap. 3. p. 42.

[k] *And will prohibit thoſe which are bad* ;] As the eating of blood and ſwines fleſh, and the taking of uſury, *&c.*

[l] See chap. 2. p. 34.

[m] *Unto you all* ;] That is, to all mankind in general, and not to one particular nation, as the former prophets were ſent.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi ſup. p.* 649.

dom of heaven and earth; there is no GOD but he; he giveth life, and he cauſeth to die. Believe therefore in GOD and his apoſtle, the illiterate prophet, who believeth in GOD and his word; and follow him, that ye may be *rightly* directed. Of the people of MOSES *there is* a party [a] who direct *others* with truth, and act juſtly according to the ſame. And we divided them into twelves tribes, *as into ſo many* nations. And we ſpake by revelation unto MOSES, when his people asked drink of him, *and we ſaid*, Strike the rock with thy rod; and there guſhed thereout twelve fountains [b], and men knew their *reſpective* drinking place. And we cauſed clouds to overſhadow them, and manna and quails [c] to deſcend upon them, *ſaying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food: and they injured not us, but they injured their own ſouls. And *call to mind* when it was ſaid unto them, Dwell in this city [d], and eat *of the proviſions* thereof where-ever ye will, and ſay, Forgiveneſs! and enter the gate worſhipping: we will pardon you your ſins, *and* will give encreaſe unto the well-doers. But they who were ungodly among them changed the expreſſion into another [e], which had not been ſpoken unto them. Wherefore we ſent down upon them indignation from heaven, becauſe they had tranſgreſſed. And aſk them concerning the city [f], which was ſituate on the ſea, when they tranſgreſſed on the ſabbath day: when their fiſh came unto them on their ſabbath day, *appearing* openly *on the water*; but on the day whereon they celebrated no ſabbath, they came not unto them. Thus did we prove them, becauſe they were wicked doers. And when a party of them [g] ſaid *unto the others*, Why do ye warn a people whom GOD will deſtroy, or will puniſh with a grievous puniſhment? They anſwered, *This is* an excuſe *for us* unto your LORD [h]; and peradventure they will beware. But when they had

[a] *Of the people of* Moſes *there is a party who direct others with truth*, &c.] Viz. thoſe *Jews* who ſeemed better diſpoſed than the reſt of their brethren to receive *Mohammed*'s law; or perhaps ſuch of them as had actually received it. Some imagine they were a *Jewiſh* nation dwelling ſomewhere beyond *China*, which *Mohammed* ſaw the night he made his journey to heaven, and who believed on him [1].

[b] *And there guſhed thereout twelve fountains*, &c.] See chap. 2. p. 8.

To what is ſaid in the notes there we may add, that, according to a certain tradition, the ſtone, on which this miracle was wrought, was thrown down from paradiſe by *Adam*, and came into the poſſeſſion of *Shoaib*, who gave it with the rod to *Moſes*; and that, according to another, the water iſſued thence by three orifices on each of the four ſides of the ſtone, making twelve in all, and that it ran, in ſo many rivulets, to the quarter of each tribe in the camp [2].

[c] See chap. 2. p. 7.

[d] See this paſſage explained, ibid.

[e] *Changed the expreſſion into another*, &c.] Profeſſor *Sike* ſays, that being prone to leave ſpiritual for worldly matters, inſtead of *Hittaton* they ſaid *Hintaton*, which ſignifies *wheat* [3], and comes much nearer the true word than the expreſſion I have in the place laſt quoted, ſet down from *Jallalo'ddin*. Whether he took this from the ſame commentator or not, does not certainly appear, tho' he mentions him juſt before; but if he did, his copy muſt differ from that which I have followed.

[f] *And ask them concerning the city*, &c.] This city was *Ailah* or *Elath*, on the red ſea; tho' ſome pretend it was *Midian*, and others *Tiberias*. The whole ſtory is already given in the notes to chap. 2. p. 9. Some ſuppoſe the following five or eight verſes to have been revealed at *Medina*.

[g] *A party of them*;] *viz.* The religious perſons among them, who ſtrictly obſerved the ſabbath, and endeavoured to reclaim the others, till they deſpaired of ſucceſs. But ſome think theſe words were ſpoken by the offenders, in anſwer to the admonitions of the others.

[h] *An excuſe for us*, &c.] That we have done our duty in diſſuading them from their wickedneſs.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] SIKE, *in not. ad Evang. Infant. p.* 71.

had forgotten the admonitions which had been given them, we delivered thoſe who forbade *them* to do evil; and we inflicted on thoſe who had tranſgreſſed, a ſevere puniſhment, becauſe they had acted wickedly. And when they proudly refuſed *to deſiſt* from what had been forbidden them, we ſaid unto them, Be ye *transformed into* apes, driven away *from the ſociety* of men. And *remember* when thy LORD declared that he would ſurely ſend againſt *the Jews*, until the day of reſurrection, *ſome nation* who ſhould afflict them with a grievous oppreſſion [a]: for thy LORD is ſwift in puniſhing, and he *is* alſo ready to forgive *and* merciful: and we diſperſed them among the nations in the earth. *Some* of them are upright perſons, and *ſome* of them are otherwiſe. And we proved them with proſperity and with adverſity, that they might return *from their diſobedience*; and a ſucceſſion *of their poſterity* hath ſucceeded after them, who have inherited the book *of the law*, who receive the temporal *goods* of this world [b], and ſay, It will ſurely be forgiven us: and if a temporal *advantage* like the former be offered them, they accept it *alſo*. Is not the covenant of the book *of the law* eſtabliſhed with them, that they ſhould not ſpeak of GOD *ought* but the truth [c]? Yet they diligently read that which is therein. But the injoyment of the next life *will be* better for thoſe who fear *GOD than the wicked gains of theſe people*; (Do ye not therefore underſtand?) and for thoſe who hold faſt the book *of the law*, and are conſtant at prayer: for we will by no means ſuffer the reward of the righteous to periſh. And when we ſhook the mountain *of SINAI* over them [d], as though it had been a covering, and they imagined that it was falling upon them; *and we ſaid*, Receive the *law* which we have brought you, with reverence; and remember that which is *contained* therein, that ye may take heed. And when thy LORD drew forth their poſterity from the loins of the ſons of ADAM [e], and took them to witneſs againſt themſelves, *ſaying*, Am not I your LORD? They anſwered, Yea: we do bear witneſs. *This was done* leſt ye ſhould ſay, at the day of reſurrection, Verily we were negligent as to this *matter*, *becauſe we were not apprized thereof*: or leſt ye ſhould ſay, Verily our fathers were formerly guilty of idolatry, and we are *their* poſterity who have ſucceeded them; wilt thou therefore deſtroy us for that which vain men have committed? Thus do we explain

[a] See chap. 5. p. 91. not. h.

[b] *And received the temporal goods of this world*;] By accepting of bribes for wreſting judgment, and for corrupting the copies of the *Pentateuch*; and by extorting of uſury, *&c* [1].

[c] *That they ſhould not ſpeak of* GOD *ought but the truth*;] Particularly by giving out that GOD will forgive their corruption without ſincere repentance and amendment.

[d] See chap. 2. p. 9. not. a.

[e] *And when thy* LORD *drew forth their poſterity from the loins of the ſons of* Adam, *&c.*] This was done in the plain of *Dahia* in *India*, or, as others imagine, in a valley near *Mecca*. The commentators tell us that GOD ſtroked *Adam*'s back, and extracted from his loins his whole poſterity, which ſhould come into the world until the reſurrection, one generation after another; that theſe men were actually aſſembled all together in the ſhape of ſmall ants, which were endued with underſtanding; and that after they had, in the preſence of the angels, confeſſed their dependance on GOD, they were again cauſed to return into the loins of their great anceſtor [2]. From this fiction it appears that the doctrine of pre-exiſtence is not unknown to the *Mohammedans*; and there is ſome little conformity between it and the modern theory of generation *ex animalculis in ſemine marium*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA. *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. p.* 54

plain *our* ſigns, that they may return *from their vanities.* And relate unto *the Jews* the hiſtory of him unto whom we brought our ſigns [a], and he departed from them; wherefore SATAN followed him, and he became *one* of thoſe who were ſeduced. And if we had pleaſed, we had ſurely raiſed him thereby *unto wiſdom*; but he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own deſire [b]. Wherefore his likeneſs is as the likeneſs of a dog, which, if thou drive him away, putteth forth his tongue, or, if thou let him alone, putteth forth his tongue *alſo*. This is the likeneſs of the people, who accuſe our ſigns of falſehood. Rehearſe therefore *this* hiſtory *unto them*, that they may conſider. Evil is the ſimilitude of thoſe people who accuſe our ſigns of falſehood and injure their own ſouls. Whomſoever GOD ſhall direct, he *will be rightly* directed; and whomſoever he ſhall lead aſtray, they ſhall periſh. Moreover we have created for hell many of the genii and of men; they have hearts by which they underſtand not, and they have eyes by which they ſee not, and they have ears by which they hear not. Theſe are like the brute beaſts; yea they go more aſtray: theſe are the negligent. GOD hath moſt excellent names [c]: therefore call on him by the ſame; and withdraw from thoſe who uſe his names perverſely [d]: they ſhall be rewarded for that which they ſhall have wrought. And of thoſe whom we have created there are a people who direct *others* with truth, and act juſtly according thereto [e]. But thoſe who deviſe lies againſt our ſigns, we will ſuffer them to fall gradually into ruin, by *a method* which they know not [f]: and I will grant them to enjoy a long and proſperous life; for my ſtratagem is effectual. Do they not conſider that there is no devil in their companion [g]? He is no other than a public preacher. Or do

[a] *And relate unto the* Jews *the hiſtory of him unto whom we brought our ſigns*, &c.] Some ſuppoſe the perſon here intended to be a *Jewiſh rabbi*, or one *Ommeya Ebn Abi'lſalt*, who read the ſcriptures and found thereby that GOD would ſend a prophet about that time, and was in hopes that he might be the man; but when *Mohammed* declared his miſſion, believed not on him thro' envy. But according to the more general opinion, it was *Balaam* the ſon of *Beor*, of the *Canaanitiſh* race, well acquainted with part, at leaſt, of the ſcripture, having even been favoured with ſome revelations from GOD; who being requeſted by his nation to curſe *Moſes* and the children of *Iſrael*, refuſed it at firſt, ſaying, *How can I curſe thoſe who are protected by the angels?* But afterwards he was prevailed on by gifts; and he had no ſooner done it, than he began to put out his tongue like a dog, and it hung down upon his breaſt [1].

[b] *But he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own deſire*;] Loving the wages of unrighteouſneſs, and running greedily after error for reward [2].

[c] GOD *hath moſt excellent names*;] Expreſſing his glorious attributes. Of theſe the *Mohammedan Arabs* have no leſs than ninety nine, which are reckoned up by *Marracci* [3].

[d] *Who uſe his name perverſely*;] As did *Walid Ebn al Mogheira*; who hearing *Mohammed* give GOD the title of *al Rahmân*, or *the merciful*, laughed aloud, ſaying that he knew none of that name, except a certain man who dwelt in *Yamama* [4]: or as the idolatrous *Meccans* did, who deduced the names of their idols from thoſe of the true GOD; deriving, for example, *Allât* from *Allah*; *al Uzza* from *al Azîz, the mighty*, and *Manât* from *al Mannân, the bountiful* [5].

[e] *Of thoſe whom we have created there are a people who direct others with truth*, &c.] As it is ſaid a little above, that GOD hath created many to eternal miſery, ſo here he is ſaid to have created others to eternal happineſs [6].

[f] *We will ſuffer them to fall gradually into ruin*, &c.] By flattering them with proſperity in this life, and permitting them to ſin in an uninterupted ſecurity; till they find themſelves unexpectedly ruined [7].

[g] *Do they not conſider that there is no devil in their companion?*] Viz. in *Mohammed*; whom they

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Balaam.* [2] 2 *Pet.* ii. v. *Jude* 11. [3] *In Alc. p.* 414. [4] MARRAC. *vit. Mah. p.* 19. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLADO'DDIN. *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 18. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. [7] *Idem.*

do they not contemplate the kingdom of heaven and earth, and the things which GOD hath created; and *conſider* that peradventure it may be that their end draweth nigh? And in what new declaration will they believe, after this [a]? He whom GOD ſhall cauſe to err, ſhall have no director; and he ſhall leave them in their impiety, wandring in confuſion. They will aſk thee concerning the *laſt* hour; at what time its coming is fixed? Anſwer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with my LORD; none ſhall declare the fixed time thereof, except he. *The expectation thereof* is grievous in heaven and on earth [b]: it ſhall come upon you no otherwiſe than ſuddenly. They will aſk thee, as though thou waſt well acquainted therewith. Anſwer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with GOD alone: but the greater part of men know it not. Say, I am able neither to procure advantage unto my ſelf, nor to avert miſchief *from me*, but as GOD pleaſeth. If I knew the ſecrets *of GOD*, I ſhould ſurely enjoy abundance of good, neither ſhould evil befal me. Verily I am no other than a denouncer of threats, and a meſſenger of good tidings unto people who believe. It is he who hath created you from one perſon, and out of him produced his wife, that he might dwell with her; and when he had known her, ſhe carried a light burthen *for a time*, wherefore ſhe walked *eaſily* therewith. But when it became more heavy [c], they called upon GOD their LORD, *ſaying*, If thou give us *a child* rightly ſhaped, we will ſurely be thankful. Yet when he had given them *a child* rightly ſhaped, they attributed companions unto him, for that which he had given them [d]. But far be that from GOD, which

T they

they gave out to be poſſeſſed when he went up to mount *Safâ*, and from thence called to the ſeveral families of each reſpective tribe in order, to warn them of GOD's vengeance if they continued in their idolatry [1].

[a] *After this*;] i. e. After they have rejected the *Korân*. For what more evident revelation can they hereafter expect [2]?

[b] *The expectation thereof is grievous, in heaven and on earth*;] Not only to men and genii, but to the angels alſo.

[c] *But when it became more heavy*, &c.] That is, when the child grew bigger in her womb.

[d] *They attributed companions unto him*, &c.] For the explaining of this whole paſſage the commentators tell the following ſtory.

They ſay that when *Eve* was big with her firſt child, the devil came to her and asked her whether ſhe knew what ſhe carried within her, and which way ſhe ſhould be delivered of it; ſuggeſting that poſſibly it might be a beaſt. She, being unable to give an anſwer to this queſtion, went in a fright to *Adam*, and acquainted him with the matter, who not knowing what to think of it, grew ſad and penſive. Whereupon the devil appeared to her again, (or, as others ſay, to *Adam*,) and pretended that he by his prayers would obtain of GOD that ſhe might be ſafely delivered of a ſon in *Adam*'s likeneſs, provided they would promiſe to name him *Abdo'lhareth*, or the *ſervant of al Hareth*, (which was the devil's name among the angels) inſtead of *Abd'allah*, or *the ſervant of* GOD, as *Adam* had deſigned. This propoſal was agreed to, and accordingly, when the child was born, they gave it that name; upon which it immediately died [3]. And with this *Adam* and *Eve* are here taxed, as an act of idolatry. The ſtory looks like a *rabbinical* fiction, and ſeems to have no other foundation than *Cain*'s being called by *Moſes Obed adâmah*, that is, *a tiller of the ground*, which might be tranſlated into *Arabic* by *Abd'alhareth*.

But *al Beidawi*, thinking it unlikely that a prophet, (as *Adam* is by the *Mohammedans* ſuppoſed to have been,) ſhould be guilty of ſuch an action, imagines the *Korân* in this place means *Koſai*, one of *Mohammed*'s anceſtors, and his wife, who begged iſſue of GOD, and having four ſons granted them, called their names *Abd Menâf*, *Abd Shams*, *Abd'al Uzza*, and *Abd'al Dâr*, after the names of four principal idols of the *Koreiſh*. And the following words alſo he ſuppoſes to relate to their idolatrous poſterity.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem*, YAHYA. *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. p.* 438. & SELDEN. *de jure nat. ſec. Hebr. lib.* 5. *c.* 8.

they aſſociated *with him!* Will they aſſociate *with him falſe gods* which create nothing, but are themſelves created; and can neither give them aſſiſtance, nor help themſelves? And if ye invite them to the *true* direction, they will not follow you: it will be equal unto you, whether ye invite them, or whether ye hold your peace. Verily the *falſe deities* whom ye invoke beſides GOD, are ſervants like unto you[a]. Call therefore upon them, and let them give you an anſwer, if ye ſpeak truth. Have they feet, to walk with? Or have they hands, to lay hold with? Or have they eyes, to ſee with? Or have they ears, to hear with? Say, Call upon your companions, and then lay a ſnare for me, and defer *it* not; for GOD *is* my protector, who ſent down the book *of the* KORAN; and he protecteth the righteous. But they whom ye invoke beſides him, cannot aſſiſt you, neither do they help themſelves; and if ye call on them to direct you, they will not hear. Thou ſeeſt them look towards thee, but they ſee not. Uſe indulgence[b], and command that which is juſt, and withdraw far from the ignorant. And if an evil ſuggeſtion from SATAN be ſuggeſted unto thee, *to divert thee from thy duty*, have recourſe unto GOD; for he heareth *and* knoweth. Verily they who fear *GOD*, when a temptation from SATAN aſſaileth them, remember *the divine commands*, and behold, they clearly ſee *the danger of ſin, and the wiles of the devil.* But as for the brethren *of the devils*, they ſhall continue them in error; and afterwards they ſhall not preſerve themſelves *therefrom.* And when thou bringeſt not a verſe *of the* KORAN unto them they ſay, Haſt thou not put it together[c]? Anſwer, I follow that only which is revealed unto me from my LORD. This *book containeth* evident proofs from your LORD, and *is* a direction and mercy unto people who believe. And when the KORAN is read, attend thereto, and keep ſilence; that ye may obtain mercy. And meditate on thy LORD in thine own mind, with humility and fear, and without loud ſpeaking, evening and morning; and be not *one* of the negligent. Moreover *the angels* who are with my LORD, do not proudly diſdain his ſervice, but they celebrate his praiſe and worſhip him.

CHAP.

[a] *Are ſervants like unto you*;] Being ſubject to the abſolute command of GOD. For the chief idols of the *Arabs* were the ſun, moon, and ſtars [1].

[b] *Uſe indulgence.*] Or, as the words may alſo be tranſlated, *Take the ſuperabundant overplus*; meaning that *Mohammed* ſhould accept ſuch voluntary alms from the people as they could ſpare. But the paſſage, if taken in this ſenſe, was abrogated by the precept of legal alms, which was given at *Medina*.

[c] *Haſt thou not put it together?*] i. e. Haſt thou not yet contrived what to ſay; or canſt thou obtain no revelation from GOD?

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 15, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

Intitled, The Spoils[a]; *revealed at* MEDINA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THey will aſk thee concerning the ſpoils: Anſwer, The *diviſion of the* ſpoils *belongeth* unto GOD and the apoſtle[c]. Therefore fear GOD, and compoſe the matter amicably among you; and obey GOD and his apoſtle, if ye are true believers. Verily the true believers *are thoſe* whoſe hearts fear when GOD is mentioned, and whoſe faith encreaſeth when his ſigns are rehearſed unto them, and *who* truſt in their LORD; who obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and give alms out of that which we have beſtowed on them. Theſe are really believers: they ſhall have *ſuperior* degrees *of felicity* with their LORD, and forgiveneſs, and an honourable proviſion. As thy LORD brought thee forth from thy houſe[d], with truth; and part of the believers were averſe *to thy directions*[e]: they diſputed with thee concerning the truth, after it had

 been

[a] This chapter was occaſioned by the high diſputes which happened about the diviſion of the ſpoils taken at the battle of *Bedr*[1], between the young men, who had fought, and the old men who had ſtaid under the enſigns; the former inſiſting they ought to have the whole, and the latter, that they deſerved a ſhare[2]. To end the contention, *Mohammed* pretended to have received orders from heaven to divide the booty among them equally, having firſt taken thereout a fifth part for the purpoſes which will be mentioned hereafter.

[b] Except ſeven verſes, beginning at theſe words, *And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted againſt thee,* &c. Which ſome think were revealed at *Mecca.*

[c] *The diviſion of the ſpoils belongeth unto* GOD *and the apoſtle*;] It is related that *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs,* one of the companions, whoſe brother *Omair* was ſlain in this battle, having killed *Saîd Ebn al As,* took his ſword, and carrying it to *Mohammed,* deſired that he might be permitted to keep it; but the prophet told him, that it was not his to give away, and ordered him to lay it with the other ſpoils. At this repulſe, and the loſs of his brother, *Saad* was greatly diſturbed; but in a very little while this chapter was revealed, and thereupon *Mohammed* gave him the ſword, ſaying, You asked this ſword of me when I had no power to diſpoſe of it, but now I have received authority from GOD to diſtribute the ſpoils, you may take it[3].

[d] *As thy* LORD *brought thee forth from thy houſe*;] i. e. From *Medina.* The particle *as* having nothing in the following words to anſwer it, *Al Beidawi* ſuppoſes the connexion to be, that the diviſion of the ſpoils belonged to the prophet, notwithſtanding his followers were averſe to it, as they had been averſe to the expedition itſelf.

[e] *And part of the believers were averſe to thy directions*;] For the better underſtanding of this paſſage, it will be neceſſary to mention ſome farther particulars relating to the expedition of *Bedr.*

Mohammed having received private information (for which he pretended he was obliged to the angel *Gabriel*) of the approach of a caravan belonging to the *Koreiſh,* which was on its return from *Syria* with a large quantity of valuable merchandize, and was guarded by no more than thirty, or, as others ſay, forty men, ſet out with a party to intercept it. *Abu Soſiân,* who commanded the little convoy, having notice of *Mohammed*'s motions, ſent to *Mecca* for ſuccours; upon which *Abu Jahl,* and all the principal men of the city, except only *Abu Laheb,* marched to his aſſiſtance, with a body of nine hundred and

[1] *See chap.* 3. *p.* 36. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

been made known unto them[a]; no otherwiſe than as if they had been led forth to death, and had ſeen *it with their eyes*[b]. And *call to mind* when GOD promiſed you one of the two parties, that it ſhould be *delivered* unto you[c]; and ye deſired that the *party* which was not furniſhed with arms[d] ſhould be *delivered* unto you: but GOD purpoſed to make known the truth in his words, and to cut off the uttermoſt part of the unbelievers[e]; that he might verify the truth, and deſtroy falſhood, although the wicked were averſe *thereto*. When ye aſked aſſiſtance of your LORD[f], and he anſwered you, Verily I will aſſiſt you with a thouſand[g] angels, following one another *in order*. And this GOD deſigned only as good tidings[h] for you, and that your hearts might thereby reſt ſecure: for victory *is* from GOD alone; and GOD is mighty *and* wiſe. When

and fifty men. *Mohammed* had no ſooner received advice of this, than *Gabriel* deſcended with a promiſe that he ſhould either take the caravan, or beat the ſuccours; whereupon he conſulted with his companions which of the two he ſhould attack. Some of them were for ſetting upon the caravan, ſaying, that they were not prepared to fight ſuch a body of troops as were coming with *Abu Jahl:* but this propoſal *Mohammed* rejected, telling them that the caravan was at a conſiderable diſtance by the ſea-ſide, whereas *Abu Jahl* was juſt upon them. The others however inſiſted ſo obſtinately on purſuing the firſt deſign of falling on the caravan, that the prophet grew angry, but by the interpoſition of *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, *Saad Ebn Obadah*, and *Mokdâd Ebn Amru*, they at length acquieſced to his opinion. *Mokdad* in particular, aſſured him they were all ready to obey his orders, and would not ſay to him, as the children of *Iſrael* did to *Moſes*, *Go thou and thy* LORD *to fight, for we will ſit here*[1]; but, *Go thou and thy* LORD *to fight, and we will fight with you.* At this *Mohammed* ſmiled, and again ſat down to conſult with them, applying himſelf chiefly to the *Anſârs* or *helpers*; becauſe they were the greater part of his forces, and he had ſome apprehenſion leſt they ſhould not think themſelves obliged by the oath they had taken to him at *al Akaba*[2], to aſſiſt him againſt any other than ſuch as ſhould attack him in *Medina*. But *Saad Ebn Moâdh*, in the name of the reſt, told him that they had received him as the apoſtle of GOD, and had promiſed him obedience, and were therefore all to a man ready to follow him where he pleaſed, though it were into the ſea. Upon which the prophet ordered them in GOD's name to attack the ſuccours, aſſuring them of the victory[3].

[a] *They diſputed with thee concerning the truth,* &c.] That is, concerning their ſucceſs againſt *Abu Jahl* and the *Koreiſh*; notwithſtanding they had GOD's promiſe to encourage them.

[b] *As if they had been led forth to death,* &c.] The reaſon of this great backwardneſs was the ſmallneſs of their number, in compariſon of the enemy, and their being unprepared; for they were all foot, having but two horſes among them, whereas the *Koreiſh* had no leſs than a hundred horſe[4].

[c] *When* GOD *promiſed you one of the two parties;*] That is, either the caravan, or the ſuccours from *Mecca*. Father *Marracci* miſtaking *al îr* and *al nafir*, which are appellatives and ſignify *the caravan* and *the troop* or body of ſuccours, for proper names, has thence coined two families of the *Koreiſh* never heard of before, which he calls *Airenſes* and *Naphirenſes*[5].

[d] *The party which was not furniſhed with arms;*] viz. The caravan, which was guarded by no more than forty horſe; whereas the other party was ſtrong and well appointed.

[e] *But* GOD *would make known the truth,* &c.] As if he had ſaid, Your view was only to gain the ſpoils of the caravan, and to avoid danger; but GOD deſigned to exalt his true religion by extirpating its adverſaries[6].

[f] *When ye asked aſſiſtance of your* LORD, &c.] When *Mohammed*'s men ſaw they could not avoid fighting, they recommended themſelves to GOD's protection; and their prophet prayed with great earneſtneſs, crying out, O GOD, *fulfil that which thou haſt promiſed me: O* GOD, *if this party be cut off, thou wilt be no more worſhiped on earth.* And he continued to repeat theſe words till his cloak fell from off his back[7].

[g] *A thouſand angels;*] Which were afterwards reinforced with three thouſand more[8]. Wherefore ſome copies inſtead of a *thouſand*, read *thouſands* in the plural.

[h] See chap. 3. p. 51.

[1] *Korân, chap.* 5. *p.* 85. *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Mob. p.* 56. *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Mob. p.* 58.
[2] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 48.
[3] *Al* BEIDAWI.
[4] *Idem.*
[5] MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 297.
[6] *Al* BEIDAWI.
[7] *Idem.*
[8] *See chap.* 3. *p.* 36, *and* 51.

When a ſleep fell on you as a ſecurity from him, and he ſent down upon you water from heaven, that he might thereby purify you, and take from you the abomination of SATAN [a], and that he might confirm your hearts, and eſtabliſh *your* feet thereby. *Alſo* when thy LORD ſpake unto the angels, *ſaying*, Verily I am with you; wherefore confirm thoſe who believe. I will caſt a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore ſtrike off *their* heads, and ſtrike off all the ends of their *fingers* [b]. This *ſhall they ſuffer*, becauſe they have reſiſted GOD and his apoſtle: and whoſoever ſhall oppoſe GOD and his apoſtle, verily GOD *will be* ſevere in puniſhing *him*. This *ſhall be your puniſhment*; taſte it therefore: and the infidels ſhall *alſo* ſuffer the torment of *hell* fire. O true believers, when ye meet the unbelievers marching *in great numbers againſt you*, turn not *your* backs unto them: for whoſo ſhall turn his back unto them on that day, unleſs he turneth aſide to fight, or retreateth to *another* party *of the faithful* [c], ſhall draw on himſelf the indignation of GOD, and his abode ſhall be hell; an ill journey *ſhall it be thither!* And ye ſlew not thoſe *who were ſlain at BEDR your ſelves*, but GOD ſlew them [d]. Neither didſt thou, O *Mohammed*, caſt *the gravel into their eyes*, when thou didſt *ſeem to* caſt *it*; but GOD caſt *it* [e], that he might prove the true believers by a gracious trial from himſelf; for GOD heareth *and* knoweth. This *was done* that GOD might alſo weaken the crafty devices of the unbelievers. If ye deſire a deciſion *of the matter between us*, now hath a deciſion come unto you [f]: and if ye deſiſt *from oppoſing the apoſtle*, it *will be* better for you. But if ye return *to attack him*, we will alſo return *to his aſſiſtance*; and your forces ſhall not be of advantage unto you at all, although they be numerous; for GOD is with the faithful. O true believers, obey GOD and his apoſtle, and turn not back from him, ſince ye hear *the admonitions of the KORAN*. And be not as thoſe who ſay, We hear, when they do not hear. Verily the worſt *ſort of* beaſts in the ſight of GOD, are the deaf *and* the dumb, who underſtand not. If GOD had known any good in them, he would certainly have cauſed them

[a] *When a ſleep fell on you*, &c.] It is related, that the ſpot where *Mohammed*'s little army lay, was a dry and deep ſand, into which their feet ſunk as they walked, the enemy having the command of the water; and that having fallen aſleep, the greater part of them were diſturbed with dreams, wherein the devil ſuggeſted to them, that they could never expect GOD's aſſiſtance in the battle, ſince they were cut off from the water, and beſides ſuffering the inconveniency of thirſt, muſt be obliged to pray without waſhing, tho' they imagined themſelves to be the favourites of GOD, and that they had his apoſtle among them. But in the night rain fell ſo plentifully, that it formed a little brook, and not only ſupplyed them with water for all their uſes, but made the ſand between them and the infidel army firm enough to bear them; whereupon the diabolical ſuggeſtions ceaſed [1].

[b] *Therefore ſtrike off their heads*, &c.] This is the puniſhment expreſsly aſſigned the enemies of the *Mohammedan* religion; tho' the *Moſlems* did not inflict it on the priſoners they took at *Bedr*, for which they are reprehended in this chapter.

[c] *Unleſs he turneth aſide to fight, or retreateth to another party*, &c.] That is, if it be not downright running away, but done either with deſign to rally and attack the enemy again, or by way of feint or ſtratagem, or to ſuccour a party which is hard preſſed, *&c* [2].

[d] See chap. 3. p. 36. not. a.

[e] See ibid.

[f] *If ye deſire a deciſion*, &c.] Theſe words are directed to the people of *Mecca*; whom *Mohammed* derides, becauſe the *Koreiſh*, when they were ready to ſet out from *Mecca*, took hold of the curtains

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

them to hear [a]: and if he had cauſed them to hear, they would ſurely have turned back, and have retired afar off. O true believers, anſwer GOD and *his* apoſtle, when he inviteth you unto that which giveth you life; and know that GOD goeth between a man and his heart [b], and that before him ye ſhall be aſſembled. Beware of ſedition [c]; it will not affect thoſe who are ungodly among you, particularly, *but all of you in general*; and know that GOD is ſevere in puniſhing. And remember when ye were few, *and* reputed weak in the land [d]; ye feared leſt men ſhould ſnatch you away; but GOD provided you a place of refuge, and he ſtrengthened you with his aſſiſtance, and beſtowed on you good things, that ye might give thanks. O true believers, deceive not GOD and *his* apoſtle [e]; neither violate your faith, againſt your own knowledge. And know that your wealth, and your children *are* a temptation *unto you* [f]; and that with GOD is a great reward. O true believers, if ye fear GOD, he will grant you a diſtinction [g], and will expiate your ſins from you, and will forgive you; for GOD is indued with great liberality. And *call to mind* when the unbelievers plotted againſt thee, that they might either detain thee *in bonds*, or put thee to death, or expel thee *the city* [h]; and they plotted *againſt*

tains of the *Caaba*, ſaying, *O* GOD *grant the victory to the ſuperior army, the party that is moſt rightly directed, and the moſt honourable* [1].

[a] *To hear*;] That is, to hearken to the remonſtrances of the *Korân*. Some ſay that the infidels demanded of *Mohammed* that he ſhould raiſe *Koſai*, one of his anceſtors, to life, to bear witneſs to the truth of his miſſion, ſaying, he was a man of honour and veracity, and they would believe his teſtimony: but they are here told that it would have been in vain [2].

[b] GOD *goeth between a man and his heart*;] Not only knowing the innermoſt ſecrets of his heart, but over-ruling a man's deſigns, and diſpoſing him either to belief or infidelity.

[c] *Sedition*;] The original word ſignifies any epidemical crime, which involves a number of people in its guilt; and the commentators are divided as to its particular meaning in this place.

[d] *In the land*;] Viz. at *Mecca*. The perſons here ſpoken to are the *Mohâjerîn*, or *refugees* who fled from thence to *Medina*.

[e] *Deceive not* GOD *and his apoſtle*, &c.] *Al Beidawi* mentions an inſtance of ſuch treacherous dealing in *Abu Lobâba*, who was ſent by *Mohammed* to the tribe of *Koreidha*, then beſieged by that prophet for having broken their league with him and perfidiouſly gone over to the enemies at the war of the ditch [3], to perſuade them to ſurrender at the diſcretion of *Saad Ebn Moadh* prince of the tribe of *Aws*, their confederates, which propoſal they had refuſed. But *Abu Lobâba*'s family and effects being in the hands of thoſe of *Koreidha*, he acted directly contrary to his commiſſion, and inſtead of perſuading them to accept *Saad* as their judge, when they asked his advice about it, drew his hand croſs his throat, ſignifying that he would put them all to death. However he had no ſooner done this than he was ſenſible of his crime, and going into a moſque tied himſelf to a pillar, and remained there ſeven days without meat or drink, till *Mohammed* forgave him.

[f] *Your wealth and your children are a temptation unto you*;] As they were to *Abu Lobâba*.

[g] *Diſtinction*;] i. e. A direction that you may diſtinguiſh between truth and falſehood; or ſucceſs in battle to diſtinguiſh the believers from the infidels; or the like.

[h] *And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted againſt thee*, &c.] When the *Meccans* heard of the league entered into by *Mohammed* with thoſe of *Medina*, being apprehenſive of the conſequence, they held a council, whereat they ſay the devil aſſiſted in the likeneſs of an old man of *Najd*. The point under conſideration being what they ſhould do with *Mohammed*, *Abu'lbakhtari* was of opinion that he ſhould be impriſoned, and the room walled up, except a little hole, thro' which he ſhould have neceſſaries given him, till he died. This the devil oppoſed, ſaying that he might probably be releaſed by ſome of his own party. *Heſhâm Ebn Amru* was for baniſhing him: but his advice alſo the devil rejected, inſiſting that *Mohammed* might engage ſome other tribes in his intereſt, and make war on them. At length *Abu Jahl* gave his opinion for putting him to death; and pro-

[1] *Idem* [2] *Idem. See chap.* 6. *p.* 110. *vit. Moh.* p. 76. *and the notes to chap.* 33.

[3] *See* PRID. *life of Mah. p.* 85. ABULF.

againſt thee: but GOD laid a plot *againſt them*[a]; and GOD is the beſt layer of plots. And when our ſigns are repeated unto them, they ſay, We have heard; if we pleaſed we could certainly pronounce *a compoſition* like unto this: this is nothing but fables of the ancients[b]. And when they ſaid, O GOD, if this be the truth from thee, rain down ſtones upon us from heaven, or inflict on us ſome *other* grievous puniſhment[c]. But GOD was not *diſpoſed* to puniſh them, while thou waſt with them; nor was GOD *diſpoſed* to puniſh them when they aſked pardon[d]. But they have nothing *to offer in excuſe* why GOD ſhould not puniſh them, ſince they hindred *the believers* from *viſiting* the holy temple[e], although they are not the guardians thereof[f]. The guardians thereof are thoſe only who fear *GOD*; but the greater part of them know it not. And their prayer at the houſe *of GOD* is no other than whiſtling and clapping of the hands[g]. Taſte therefore the puniſhment, for that ye have been unbelievers. They who believe not, expend their wealth to obſtruct the way of GOD[h]: they ſhall expend it, but afterwards it ſhall become *matter of* ſighing *and regret* unto them, and at length they ſhall be overcome; and the unbelievers ſhall be gathered together into hell; that GOD may diſtinguiſh the wicked from the good, and may throw the wicked one upon the other, and may gather them all in a heap, and caſt them into hell. Theſe are they who ſhall periſh. Say unto the unbelievers, that if they deſiſt *from oppoſing thee*, what is already paſt ſhall be forgiven them; but if they return *to attack thee*, the exemplary puniſhment of the former *oppoſers of the prophets* is already paſt, *and the like ſhall be inflicted on them.* Therefore fight againſt them until

propoſed the manner; which was unanimouſly approved [1].

[a] *But* GOD *laid a plot againſt them*;] Revealing their conſpiracy to *Mohammed*, and miraculouſly aſſiſting him to deceive them and make his eſcape [2]; and afterwards drawing them to the battle of *Bedr*.

[b] See chap. 6. p. 101.

[c] This was the ſpeech of *Al Nodar Ebn al Hareth* [3].

[d] *When they asked pardon*;] Saying, GOD *forgive us!* Some of the commentators however ſuppoſe the perſons who asked pardon were certain believers, who ſtayed among the infidels; and others think the meaning to be, that GOD would not puniſh them, *provided they asked pardon.*

[e] *Since they hindered the believers from viſiting the holy temple*;] Obliging them to fly from *Mecca*, and not permitting them ſo much as to approach the temple, in the expedition of *al Hodeibiya* [4].

[f] *Although they were not the guardians thereof*;] Becauſe of their idolatry, and indecent deportment there. For otherwiſe the *Koreiſh* had a right to the guardianſhip of the *Caaba*, and it was continued in their tribe and in the ſame family even after the taking of *Mecca* [5].

[g] *Their prayer at the houſe of* GOD *is no other than whiſtling and clapping of the hands.*] It is ſaid that they uſed to go round the *Caaba* naked [6], both men and women, whiſtling at the ſame time through their fingers, and clapping their hands. Or, as others ſay, they made this noiſe on purpoſe to diſturb *Mohammed* when at his prayers, pretending to be at prayers alſo themſelves [7].

[h] *They who believe not, expend their wealth to obſtruct the way of* GOD, &c.] The perſons particularly meant in this paſſage were twelve of the *Koreiſh*, who gave each of them ten camels every day to be killed for proviſions for their army in the expedition of *Bedr*; or, according to others, the owners of the effects brought by the caravan, who gave great part of them to the ſupport of the ſuccours from *Mecca*. It is alſo ſaid that *Abu Sofiân*, in the expedition of *Ohod*, hired two thouſand *Arabs* who coſt him a conſiderable ſum, beſides the auxiliaries which he had obtained *gratis* [8].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 50. [2] *See ibid.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 52. [5] *See chap.* 4. *p.* 68. *not.* f. [6] *See chap.* 7. *p.* 119. [7] *Al* BEIDAWI. [8] *Idem.*

til there be no oppoſition *in favour of idolatry*, and the religion be wholly GOD's. If they deſiſt, verily GOD ſeeth that which they do: but if they turn back, know that GOD is your patron; *he is* the beſt patron, and the beſt
X. helper. * And know that whenever ye gain any *ſpoils*, a fifth part thereof belongeth unto GOD, and to the apoſtle, and *his* kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller [a]; if ye believe in GOD, and that which we have ſent down unto our ſervant on the day of diſtinction [b], on the day whereon the two armies met: and GOD is almighty. When ye were *incamped* on the hithermoſt ſide of the valley [c], and they were *incamped* on the further ſide, and the caravan *was* below you [d]; and if ye had mutually appointed *to come to a battle*, ye would certainly have declined the appointment [e]; but *ye were brought to an engagement without any previous appointment*, that GOD might accompliſh the thing which was *decreed to be* done [f], that he who periſheth *hereafter* may periſh after demonſtrative evidence, and that he who liveth may live by *the ſame* evidence GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. When thy LORD cauſed *the enemy* to appear unto thee in thy ſleep, few *in number* [g]; and if he had cauſed them to appear numerous unto thee, ye would have been diſheartened and would have diſputed concerning the matter [h]: but GOD preſerved *you from this*; for he knoweth the intermoſt parts of the breaſts *of men*. And when he cauſed them to appear unto you, when ye met, *to be* few in your eyes [i]; and diminiſhed your *numbers* in their eyes [k]; that GOD might accompliſh the thing which

[a] *A fifth part of the ſpoils belongeth unto* GOD, *and his apoſtle*, &c.] According to this law, a fifth part of the ſpoils is appropriated to the particular uſes here mentioned, and the other four fifths are to be equally divided among thoſe who were preſent at the action: but in what manner or to whom the firſt fifth is to be diſtributed, the *Mohammedan* doctors differ, as we have elſewhere obſerved [1]. Tho' it be the general opinion that this verſe was revealed at *Bedr*, yet there are ſome who ſuppoſe it was revealed in the expedition againſt the *Jewiſh* tribe of *Kainokâ*, which happened a little above a month after [2].

[b] *The day of diſtinction*;] i. e. Of the battle of *Bedr*; which is ſo called becauſe it *diſtinguiſhed* the true believers from the infidels.

[c] *On the hithermoſt ſide*;] Which was much more inconvenient than the other, becauſe of the deep ſand and want of water.

[d] *And the caravan was below you*;] *viz.* By the ſea ſide, making the beſt of their way to *Mecca*.

[e] *Ye would have declined the appointment*;] Becauſe of the great ſuperiority of the enemy, and the diſadvantages ye lay under.

[f] *That* GOD *might fulfil the thing that was decreed*, &c.] By granting a miraculous victory to the faithful, and overthrowing their enemies; for the conviction of the latter, and the confirmation of the former [3].

[g] With which viſion *Mohammed* acquainted his companions for their encouragement.

[h] *And would have diſputed*,] Whether ye ſhould attack the enemy or fly.

[i] *And when he cauſed them to appear few in your eyes*;] It is ſaid that *Ebn Maſûd* asked the man who was next him, whether he did not ſee them to be about ſeventy; to which he replyed that he took them to be an hundred [4].

[k] *And diminiſhed your numbers in their eyes*;] This ſeeming contradictory to a paſſage in the third chapter [5], where it is ſaid that the *Moſlems* appeared to the infidels to be twice their own number, the commentators reconcile the matter, by telling us that juſt before the battle began, the prophet's party ſeemed fewer than they really were, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but that ſo ſoon as the armies were fully engaged, they appeared ſuperior, to terrify and diſmay their adverſaries. It is related that *Abu Jahl* at firſt thought them ſo inconſiderable a handful, that he ſaid one camel would be as much as they could all eat [6].

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. VI. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.* [5] *Pag.* 30.
[6] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA.

which *was decreed to be* done: and unto GOD ſhall *all* things return. O true believers, when ye meet a party *of the infidels*, ſtand firm, and remember GOD frequently, that ye may proſper: and obey GOD and his apoſtle, and be not refractory, leſt ye be diſcouraged, and your ſucceſs depart from you; but perſevere with patience, for GOD *is* with thoſe who perſevere. And be not as thoſe who went out of their houſes in an inſolent manner, and to appear with oſtentation unto men [a], and turned aſide from the way of GOD; for GOD comprehendeth that which they do. And *remember* when SATAN prepared their works for them [b], and ſaid, No man ſhall prevail againſt you to day; and I will ſurely be near *to aſſiſt* you. But when the two armies appeared in ſight of each other, he turned back on his heels, and ſaid, Verily I am clear of you: I certainly ſee that which ye ſee not; I fear GOD, for GOD is ſevere in puniſhing [c]. When the hypocrites, and thoſe in whoſe hearts *there was* an infirmity, ſaid, Their religion hath deceived theſe *men* [d]: but whoſoever confideth in GOD *cannot be deceived*; for GOD *is* mighty *and* wiſe. And if thou didſt behold when the angels cauſe the unbelievers to die: they ſtrike their faces and their backs [e], and *ſay unto them*, Taſte ye the pain of burning: this *ſhall ye ſuffer* for that which your hands have ſent before you [f]; and be-

U cauſe

[a] *Who went out of their houſes with inſolence and oſtentation*, &c.] Theſe were the *Meccans*, who marching to the aſſiſtance of the caravan, and being come as far as *Johfa*, were there met by a meſſenger from *Abu Sofiân*, to acquaint them that he thought himſelf out of danger, and therefore they might return home; upon which *Abu Jahl*, to give the greater opinion of the courage of himſelf and his comerades, and of their readineſs to aſſiſt their friends, ſwore that they would not return till they had been at *Bedr*, and had there drank wine, and entertained thoſe who ſhould be preſent, and diverted themſelves with ſinging-women [1]. The event of which bravado was very fatal, ſeveral of the principal *Koreiſh*, and *Abu Jahl* in particular, loſing their lives in the expedition.

[b] *When* Satan *prepared their works for them*;] By inciting them to oppoſe the prophet.

[c] Some underſtand this paſſage figuratively, of the private inſtigation of the devil, and of the defeating of his deſigns and the hopes with which he had inſpired the idolaters. But others take the whole literally, and tell us that when the *Koreiſh*, on their march, bethought themſelves of the enmity between them and the tribe of *Kenâna*, who were maſters of the country about *Bedr*, that conſideration would have prevailed on them to return, had not the devil appeared in the likeneſs of *Sorâka Ebn Malec*, a principal perſon of that tribe, and promiſed them that they ſhould not be moleſted, and that himſelf would go with them. But when they came to join battle, and the devil ſaw the angels deſcending to the aſſiſtance of the *Moſlems*, he retired; and *al Hareth Ebn Heſham*, who had him then by the hand, asking him whither he was going, and if he intended to betray them at ſuch a juncture, he anſwered, in the words of this paſſage, *I am clear of you, for I ſee that which ye ſee not*; meaning the celeſtial ſuccours. They ſay further, that when the *Koreiſh*, on their return, laid the blame of their overthrow on *Sorâka*, he ſwore that he did not ſo much as know of their march till he heard they were routed: and afterwards, when they embraced *Mohammediſm*, they were ſatisfied it was the devil [2].

[d] *Their religion hath deceived theſe men*;] In tempting them to ſo great a piece of folly, as to attack ſo large a body of men with ſuch a handful.

[e] *When the angels cauſed the unbelievers to die*, &c.] This paſſage is generally underſtood of the angels who ſlew the infidels at *Bedr*, and who fought (as the commentators pretend) with iron maces, which ſhot forth flames of fire at every ſtroke [3]. Some however imagine that the words hint, at leaſt, at the examination of the ſepulchre, which the *Mohammedans* believe every man muſt undergo after death, and will be very terrible to the unbelievers [4].

[f] See chap. 2. p. 12. not. h.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *Idem*. [4] *See the Prelim Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 76, &c.

cauſe GOD is not unjuſt towards *his* ſervants. *Theſe have acted* according to the wont of the people of PHARAOH, and of thoſe before them, who diſbelieved in the ſigns of GOD: therefore GOD took them away in their iniquity; for GOD *is* mighty, *and* ſevere in puniſhing. This *hath come to paſs* becauſe GOD changeth not *his* grace, wherewith he hath favoured any people, until they change that which is in their ſouls; and for that GOD *both* heareth *and* ſeeth. According to the wont of the people of PHARAOH, and of thoſe before them, who charged the ſigns of their LORD with impoſture, *have they acted:* wherefore we deſtroyed them in their ſins, and we drowned the people of PHARAOH; for they were all unjuſt perſons. Verily the worſt cattle in the ſight of GOD are thoſe who are *obſtinate* infidels, and will not believe. As to thoſe who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league at every *convenient* opportunity[a], and fear not *GOD*; if thou take them in war, diſperſe, by *making* them *an example*, thoſe *who ſhall come* after them, that they may be warned; or if thou apprehend treachery from any people, throw back *their league* unto them, with like treatment; for GOD loveth not the treacherous. And think not[b] that the unbelievers have eſcaped *GOD*'s *vengeance*[c], for they ſhall not weaken *the power of GOD*. Therefore prepare againſt them what force ye are able, and troops of horſe, whereby ye may ſtrike a terror into the enemy of GOD, and your enemy, and into other *infidels* beſides them, whom ye know not, *but* GOD knoweth them. And whatſoever ye ſhall expend in the defence of the religion of GOD, it ſhall be repaid unto you, and ye ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. And if they incline unto peace, do thou *alſo* incline thereto; and put thy confidence in GOD, for it is he who heareth *and* knoweth. But if they ſeek to deceive thee, verily GOD *will be* thy ſupport. It is he who hath ſtrengthened thee with his help, and with *that of* the faithful; and hath united their hearts. If thou hadſt expended whatever *riches are* in the earth, thou couldeſt not have united their hearts[d], but GOD united them; for he *is* mighty *and* wiſe. O prophet, GOD is thy ſupport, and ſuch of the true believers who followeth thee[e]. O prophet, ſtir up the faithful to war: if twenty of you perſevere *with conſtancy*, they ſhall overcome two hundred, and if there be one hundred of you, they ſhall overcome a thouſand of thoſe who believe not; becauſe they are a people which do not underſtand. Now hath GOD eaſed you, for he knew that ye were weak. If there be an hundred of you who perſevere *with conſtancy*, they ſhall overcome two hundred; and if there be a thouſand of you, they ſhall overcome two thouſand

[a] *Who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league,* &c.] As did the tribe of *Koreidha*[1].

[b] *Think not,* &c.] Some copies read it in the third perſon, *Let not the unbelievers think,* &c.

[c] *That the unbelievers have eſcaped* GOD's *vengeance*;] *viz.* Thoſe who made their eſcape from *Bedr*.

[d] *Thou couldeſt not have united their hearts*;] Becauſe of the inveterate enmity which reigned among many of the *Arab* tribes; and therefore this reconciliation is reckoned by the commentators as no inconſiderable miracle, and a ſtrong proof of their prophet's miſſion.

[e] This paſſage, as ſome ſay, was revealed in a plain called *al Beidâ*, between *Mecca* and *Medina*, during the expedition of *Bedr*; and, as others, in the ſixth year of the the prophet's miſſion, on the occaſion of *Omar*'s embracing *Mohammediſm*.

[1] *See before p.* 142. *and chap.* 33.

thouſand [a], by the permiſſion of GOD; for GOD is with thoſe who perſevere. It hath not been *granted* unto any prophet, that he ſhould poſſeſs captives, until he had made a great ſlaughter *of the infidels* in the earth [b]. Ye ſeek the accidental *goods* of this world, but GOD regardeth the life to come; and GOD *is* mighty *and* wiſe. Unleſs a revelation had been previouſly delivered from GOD, verily a ſevere puniſhment had been inflicted on you, for *the ranſom* which ye took *from the captives at* BEDR [c]. Eat therefore of what ye have acquired [d], *that which is* lawful, *and* good; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. O prophet, ſay unto the captives who are in your hands, If GOD ſhall know any good *to be* in your hearts, he will give you better than what hath been taken from you [e]; and he will forgive you, for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. But

[a] See Levit. xxvi. 8. Joſh. xxiii. 10.

[b] *Until he had made a great ſlaughter of infidels,* &c.] Becauſe ſeverity ought to be uſed where circumſtances require it, tho' clemency be more preferable where it may be exerciſed with ſafety. While the *Mohammedans* therefore were weak, and their religion in its infancy, GOD's pleaſure was that the oppoſers of it ſhould be cut off, as is particularly directed in this chapter. For which reaſon they are here upbraided with their preferring the lucre of the ranſom to their duty.

[c] *Unleſs a revelation had previouſly been delivered, a great puniſhment had been inflicted on you for the ranſom which ye took,* &c.] That is, had not the ranſom been, in ſtrictneſs, lawful for you to accept, by GOD's having in general terms allowed you the ſpoil and the captives, ye had been ſeverely puniſhed.

Among the ſeventy priſoners which the *Moſlems* took in this battle, were *Al Abbâs*, one of *Mohammed*'s uncles, and *Okail* the ſon of *Abu Tâleb* and brother of *Ali*: when they were brought before *Mohammed*, he asking the advice of his companions what ſhould be done with them, *Abu Becr* was for releaſing them on their paying ranſom, ſaying, that they were near relations to the prophet, and GOD might poſſibly forgive them on their repentance; but *Omar* was for ſtriking off their heads, as profeſſed patrons of infidelity. *Mohammed* did not approve of the latter advice, but obſerved that *Abu Becr* reſembled *Abraham*, who interceded for offenders, and that *Omar* was like *Noah*, who prayed for the utter extirpation of the wicked antediluvians; and thereupon it was agreed to accept a ranſom from them and their fellow captives. Soon after which, *Omar*, going into the prophet's tent, found him and *Abu Becr* weeping, and asking them the reaſon of their tears, *Mohammed* acquainted him that this verſe had been revealed, condemning their ill-timed lenity towards their priſoners, and that they had narrowly eſcaped the divine vengeance for it, adding, that if GOD had not paſſed the matter over, they had certainly been deſtroyed to a man, excepting only *Omar*, and *Saad Ebn Moadh*, a perſon of as great ſeverity, and who was alſo for putting the priſoners to death [1]. Yet did not this crime go abſolutely unpuniſhed neither: for in the battle of *Ohod* the *Moſlems* loſt ſeventy men, equal to the number of priſoners taken at *Bedr* [2]; which was ſo ordered by GOD, as a retaliation or attonement for the ſame.

[d] *Of what ye have acquired;*] i. e. Of the ranſom which ye have received of your priſoners. For, it ſeems, on this rebuke, they had ſome ſcruple of conſcience whether they might convert it to their own uſe or not [3].

[e] *If* GOD *ſhall know any good to be in your hearts, he will give you better than what hath been taken from you;*] That is, If ye repent and believe, GOD will make you abundant retribution for the ranſom ye have now paid. It is ſaid that this paſſage was revealed on the particular account of *al Abbâs*, who being obliged by *Mohammed*, tho' his uncle, to ranſom both himſelf and his two nephews, *Okail*, and *Nawfal Ebn al Hareth*, complained that he ſhould be reduced to beg alms of the *Koreiſh* as long as he lived. Whereupon *Mohammed* asked him what was become of the gold which he delivered to *Omm al Fadl* when he left *Mecca*, telling her that he knew not what might befal him in the expedition, and therefore if he loſt his life, ſhe might keep it herſelf for the uſe of her and her children? *Al Abbâs* demanded who told him this; to which *Mohammed* replied, that GOD had revealed it to him. And upon this *al Abbâs* immediately profeſſed *Iſlamiſm*, declaring that none could know of that affair except

[1] *Idem.* [2] *See chap.* 3. *p.* 52. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

if they ſeek to deceive thee[a], verily they have deceived GOD before; wherefore he hath given *thee* power over them: and GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. Moreover they who have believed, and have fled their country, and employed their ſubſtance and their perſons in fighting for the religion of GOD, and they who have given *the prophet* a refuge *among them*, and have aſſiſted *him*, theſe *ſhall be deemed* the one neareſt of kin to the other[b]. But they who have believed, but have not fled their country, ſhall have no *right of* kindred at all with you, until they *alſo* fly. Yet if they aſk aſſiſtance of you on account of religion, *it belongeth* unto you *to give them* aſſiſtance; except againſt a people between whom and yourſelves *there ſhall be* a league *ſubſiſting:* and GOD ſeeth that which ye do. And as to the infidels, let them be *deemed* of kin the one to the other. Unleſs ye do this, there will be a ſedition in the earth, and grievous corruption. But as for them who have believed, and left their country, and have fought for GOD's true religion, and who have allowed *the prophet* a retreat *among* them, and have aſſiſted *him*, theſe are really believers; they ſhall receive mercy, and an honourable proviſion. And they who have believed ſince, and have fled their country, and have fought with you, theſe *alſo* are of you. And thoſe who are related by conſanguinity *ſhall be deemed* the neareſt of kin to each other, *preferably to ſtrangers*, according to the book of GOD; GOD knoweth all things.

cept GOD, becauſe he gave her the money at midnight. Some years after, *al Abbâs* reflecting on this paſſage, confeſſed it to be fulfilled; for he was then not only poſſeſſed of a large ſubſtance, but had the cuſtody of the well *Zemzem*, which, he ſaid, he preferred to all the riches of *Mecca*[1].

[a] *To deceive thee*;] By not paying the ranſom agreed on.

[b] *They ſhall be deemed the neareſt of kin to each other*;] And ſhall conſequently inherit one another's ſubſtance, preferably to their relations by blood. And this, they ſay, was practiſed for ſome time, the *Mohâjerûn* and *Anſârs* being judged heirs to one another, excluſive of the deceaſed's other kindred, till this paſſage was abrogated by the following; *Thoſe who are related by blood ſhall be deemed the neareſt of kin to each other.*

[1] *Idem. V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abbas.*

CHAP. IX.

Intitled, The Declaration of immunity[a]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

A Declaration of immunity from GOD and his apoſtle, unto the idolaters with

[a] The reaſon why the chapter had this title appears from the firſt verſe. Some, however, give it other titles, and particularly that of *Repentance*, which is mentioned immediately after.

It is obſervable that this chapter alone has not the auſpicatory form, *In the name of the moſt merciful* GOD, prefixed to it; the reaſon of which omiſſion, as ſome think, was, becauſe theſe words imply a conceſſion of ſecurity, which is utterly taken away by this chapter, after a fixed time; wherefore ſome have called it the chapter of *Puniſhment:* others ſay that *Mohammed* (who died ſoon after he had received this chapter) having given no direction where it ſhould be placed, nor for the prefixing the *Biſmillah* to it, as had been done to the other chapters; and the argument of this chapter bearing a near reſemblance to that of the preceding, his companions differed about it; ſome ſaying that both chapters were but one, and together made the ſeventh

of

with whom ye have entred into league [a]. Go to and fro in the earth *ſecurely* four months [b]; and know that ye ſhall not weaken GOD, and that GOD will diſgrace the unbelievers. And a declaration from GOD and his apoſtle unto the people, on the day of the greater pilgrimage [c], that GOD is clear of the idolaters, and his apoſtle *alſo*. Wherefore if ye repent, this will be better for you; but if ye turn back, know that ye ſhall not weaken GOD: and denounce unto thoſe who believe not, a painful puniſhment. Except ſuch of the idolaters with whom ye ſhall have entred into a league, and who afterwards ſhall not fail you in any inſtance, nor aſſiſt any *other* againſt you [d]. Wherefore perform the covenant *which ye ſhall have made* with them, until their time *ſhall be elapſed*; for GOD loveth thoſe who fear *him*. And when the months *wherein ye are* not allowed *to attack them* ſhall be paſt, kill the idolaters whereſoever ye ſhall find them [e], and take them *priſoners*, and beſiege them,

of the ſeven long ones, and others that they were two diſtinct chapters; whereupon to accommodate the diſpute, they left a ſpace between them, but did not interpoſe the diſtinction of the *Biſmillah* [1].

It is agreed that this chapter was the laſt which was revealed; and the only one, as *Mohammed* declared, which was revealed entire and at once, except the hundred and tenth.

Some will have the two laſt verſes to have been revealed at *Mecca*.

[a] *A declaration of immunity from* GOD *and his apoſtle*, &c.] Some underſtand this ſentence of the *immunity* or *ſecurity* therein granted to the infidels, for the ſpace of four months; but others think that the words properly ſignify, that *Mohammed* is here declared by GOD, to be abſolutely *free* and *diſcharged* from all truce or league with them, after the expiration of that time [2]: and this laſt ſeems to be the trueſt interpretation.

Mohammed's thus renouncing all league with thoſe who would not receive him as the apoſtle of GOD, or ſubmit to become tributary, was the conſequence of the great power to which he was now arrived. But the pretext he made uſe of, was the treachery he had met with among the *Jewiſh* and idolatrous *Arabs*; ſcarce any keeping faith with him, except *Banu Damra*, *Banu Kenâna*, and a few others [3].

[b] *Go to and fro in the earth ſecurely four months*;] Theſe months were *Shawâl*, *Dhu'lkaada*, *Dhu'lhajja*, and *Moharram*; the chapter being revealed in *Shawâl*. Yet others compute them from the tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*, when the chapter was publiſhed at *Mecca*, and conſequently make them expire on the tenth of the former *Rabî* [4].

[c] *On the day of the greater pilgrimage*;] viz. The tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*, when they ſlay the victims at *Mina*; which day is their great feaſt, and completes the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. Some ſuppoſe the adjective *greater* is added here to diſtinguiſh the pilgrimage made at the appointed time, from *leſſer pilgrimages*, as they may be called, or *viſitations* of the *Caaba*, which may be performed at any time of the year; or elſe becauſe the concourſe at the pilgrimage this year was greater than ordinary, both *Moſlems* and *Idolaters* being preſent at it.

The promulgation of this chapter was committed by *Mohammed* to *Ali*, who rode for that purpoſe on the prophet's ſlit-eared camel from *Medina* to *Mecca*, and on the day abovementioned, ſtanding up before the whole aſſembly at *al Akaba*, told them, that he was the meſſenger of the apoſtle of GOD unto them; whereupon they asking him what was his errand, he read twenty or thirty verſes of the chapter to them, and then ſaid, *I am commanded to acquaint you with four things*, 1. *That no idolater is to come near the temple of* Mecca *after this year*; 2. *That no man preſume to compaſs the* Caaba *naked for the future* [5]; 3. *That none but true believers ſhall enter paradiſe*; *and*, 4. *That public faith is to be kept* [6].

[d] *Except ſuch of the idolaters who ſhall not fail you*, &c.] So that notwithſtanding *Mohammed* renounces all league with thoſe who had deceived him, he declares himſelf ready to perform his engagements to ſuch as had been true to him.

[e] *Wherever ye find them*;] Either within or without the ſacred territory.

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, *&c.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem*. [4] *Idem*, *Al* ZAMAKSH. JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *See before*, *chap.* 7. *p.* 119. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Moh. p.* 127, *&c.*

them, and lay wait for them in every convenient place. But if they ſhall repent, and obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and pay the legal alms, diſmiſs them freely; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. And if any of the idolaters ſhall demand protection of thee, grant him protection, that he may hear the word of GOD; and afterwards let him reach the place of his ſecurity[a]. This *ſhalt thou do*, becauſe they are people which know not *the excellency of the religion thou preacheſt*. How ſhall the idolaters be admitted into a league with GOD and with his apoſtle; except thoſe with whom ye entred into a league at the holy temple[b]? So long as they behave with fidelity towards you, do ye *alſo* behave with fidelity towards them; for GOD loveth thoſe who fear *him*. How *can they be admitted into a league with you*, ſince, if they prevail againſt you, they will not regard in you *either* conſanguinity or faith? They will pleaſe you with their mouths, but their hearts will be averſe *from you*; for the greater part of them are wicked doers. They ſell the ſigns of GOD for a ſmall price, and obſtruct his way; it is certainly evil which they do. They regard not in a believer *either* conſanguinity or faith; and theſe are the tranſgreſſors. Yet if they repent, and obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, *they ſhall be deemed* your brethren in religion. We diſtinctly propound *our* ſigns unto people who underſtand. But if they violate their oaths, after their league, and revile your religion, oppoſe the leaders of infidelity, (for there is no truſt in them,) that they may deſiſt *from their treachery*. Will ye not fight againſt people who have violated their oaths, and conſpired to expel the apoſtle *of GOD*; and who of their own accord aſſaulted you the firſt time[c]? Will ye fear them? But it is more juſt that ye ſhould fear GOD, if ye are true believers. Attack them *therefore*; GOD ſhall puniſh them by your hands, and will cover them with ſhame, and will give you the victory over them; and he will heal the breaſts of the people who believe[d], and will take away the indignation of their hearts: for GOD will be turned unto whom he pleaſeth; and GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. Did ye imagine that ye ſhould be abandoned, whereas GOD did not yet know thoſe among you who fought *for his religion*, and took not *any* beſides GOD, and his apoſtle, and the faithful *for their* friends? GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. It is not *fitting* that the idolaters ſhould viſit the temples of GOD, being witneſſes againſt their own ſouls of *their* infidelity. The works of theſe *men* are vain; and they ſhall remain in

[a] *And afterwards let him reach the place of his ſecurity*;] That is, you ſhall give him a ſafe conduct, that he may return home again ſecurely, in caſe he ſhall not think fit to embrace *Mohammediſm*.

[b] *Except thoſe with whom ye entred into a league*, &c.] Theſe are the perſons before excepted.

[c] *Will ye not fight againſt people who have violated their oaths*, &c.] As did the *Koreiſh* in aſſiſting the tribe of *Becr* againſt thoſe of *Khozâah* [1], and laying a deſign to ruin *Mohammed*, without any juſt provocation; and as ſeveral of the *Jewiſh* tribes did, by aiding the enemy, and endeavouring to oblige the prophet to leave *Medina*, as he had been obliged to leave *Mecca* [2].

[d] *And he will heal the breaſts of the people who believe*, &c.] viz. Thoſe of *Khozâah*; or, as others ſay, certain families of *Yaman* and *Saba*, who went to *Mecca*, and there profeſſed *Mohammediſm*, but were very injuriouſly treated by the inhabitants; whereupon they complained to *Mohammed*, who bid them take comfort, for that joy was approaching [3].

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 54. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*

in *hell* fire for ever. But he only ſhall viſit the temples of GOD, who believeth in GOD and the laſt day, and is conſtant at prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and feareth GOD alone. Theſe perhaps may become of *the number of* thoſe who are rightly directed [a]. Do ye reckon the giving drink to the pilgrims, and the viſiting of the holy temple *to be actions as meritorious* as *thoſe performed by* him who believeth in GOD and the laſt day, and fighteth for the religion of GOD [b]? They ſhall not be held equal with GOD: for GOD directeth not the unrighteous people. They who have believed, and fled their country, and employed their ſubſtance and their perſons in the defence of GOD's true religion, ſhall be in the higheſt degree *of honour* with GOD; and theſe are they who ſhall be happy. Their LORD ſendeth them good tidings of mercy from him, and good will, and of gardens wherein they ſhall enjoy laſting pleaſure; they ſhall continue therein for ever: for with GOD is a great reward. O true believers, take not your fathers or your brethren for friends, if they love infidelity above faith; and whoſoever among you ſhall take them for *his* friends, they will be unjuſt doers. Say, If your fathers, and your ſons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and *your* ſubſtance which ye have acquired, and *your* merchandize which ye apprehend may not be ſold off, and *your* dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than GOD, and his apoſtle, and the advancement of his religion; wait, until GOD ſhall ſend his command [c]: for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Now hath GOD aſſiſted you in many engagements, and *particularly* at the battle of HONEIN [d]; when ye pleaſed your ſelves in your multitude, but it was no manner of advantage

[a] *Theſe perhaps may become of the number of thoſe who are rightly directed.*] Theſe words are to warn the believers from having too great a confidence in their own merits, and likewiſe to deter the unbelievers; for if the faithful will but *perhaps* be ſaved, what can the others hope for [1]?

[b] *Do ye reckon the giving drink to the pilgrims,* &c.] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of ſome words of *al Abbâs*, *Mohammed*'s uncle; who, when he was taken priſoner, being bitterly reproached by the *Moſlems*, and particularly by his nephew *Ali*, anſwered, *You rip up our ill actions, but take no notice of our good ones; we viſit the temple of* Mecca, *and adorn the* Caaba *with hangings, and give drink to the pilgrims* (of *Zemzem* water, I ſuppoſe,) *and free captives* [2].

[c] *Till* GOD *ſhall ſend his command;*] Or ſhall puniſh you. Some ſuppoſe the taking of *Mecca* to be here intended [3].

[d] *The battle of* Honein.] This battle was fought in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, in the valley of *Honein*, which lies about three miles from *Mecca* towards *Tâyef*, between *Mohammed* who had an army of twelve thouſand men, and the tribes of *Hawâzen* and *Thakîf*, whoſe forces did not exceed four thouſand. The *Mohammedans* ſeeing themſelves ſo greatly ſuperior to their enemies, made ſure of the victory; a certain perſon, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been the prophet himſelf, crying out, *Theſe can never be overcome by ſo few.* But GOD was ſo highly diſpleaſed with this confidence, that in the firſt encounter the *Moſlems* were put to flight [4], ſome of them running away quite to *Mecca*, ſo that none ſtood their ground except *Mohammed* himſelf, and ſome few of his family; and they ſay the prophet's courage was ſo great, that his uncle *al Abbâs*, and his couſin *Abu Sofiân Ebn al Hareth*, had much ado to prevent his ſpurring his mule into the midſt of the enemy, by laying hold of the bridle and ſtirrup. Then he ordered *al Abbâs*, who had the voice of a *Stentor*, to recal his flying troops; upon which they rallied, and the prophet throwing a handful of duſt againſt the enemy, they attacked them a ſecond time, and by the divine aſſiſtance gained the victory [5].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *See* PRID. *life of Mah. p.* 96. *&c.* HOTTING. *Hiſt. Orient. p.* 271. *&c.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 601. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALALO'DDIN, ABULFEDA, *vit. Mob. p.* 112, *&c.*

tage unto you, and the earth became too ſtrait for you [a], notwithſtanding it was ſpacious; then did ye retreat and turn your backs. Afterwards GOD ſent down his ſecurity [b] upon his apoſtle and upon the faithful, and ſent down troops *of angels* [c] which ye ſaw not; and he puniſhed thoſe who diſbelieved: and this was the reward of the unbelievers. Nevertheleſs GOD will hereafter be turned unto whom he pleaſeth [d]; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. O true believers, verily the idolaters are unclean; let them not therefore come near unto the holy temple after this year [e]. And if ye fear want, *by the cutting off trade and communication with them*, GOD will enrich you of his abundance [f], if he pleaſeth; for GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. Fight againſt them who believe not in GOD, nor in the laſt day [g], and forbid not that which GOD and his apoſtle have forbidden, and profeſs not the true religion, of thoſe unto whom the ſcriptures have been delivered, until they pay tribute by right of ſubjection [h], and they be reduced low. The Jews ſay, EZRA is the ſon of

[a] *And the earth became too ſtrait for you*;] For the valley being very deep, and encompaſſed by craggy mountains, the enemy placed themſelves in ambuſh on every ſide, attacking them in the ſtraits and narrow paſſages, and from behind the rocks, with great advantage [1].

[b] *His ſecurity*.] The original word is *Sakînat*, which the commentators interpret in this ſenſe; but it ſeems rather to ſignify the *divine preſence* or *Shechinah*, appearing to aid the *Moſlems* [2].

[c] *Troops of angels*;] As to the number of theſe celeſtial auxiliaries, the commentators differ: ſome ſay they were five thouſand; ſome, eight thouſand; and others, ſixteen thouſand [3].

[d] *Nevertheleſs* GOD *will hereafter turn unto whom he pleaſes*;] Beſides a great number of proſelytes, who were gained by this battle, *Mohammed*, on their requeſt, was ſo generous as to reſtore the captives (which were no leſs than ſix thouſand) to their friends, and offered to make amends himſelf to any of his men who ſhould not be willing to part with his priſoners; but they all conſented to it [4].

[e] *After this year*;] Which was the ninth year of the *Hejra*. In conſequence of this prohibition, neither *Jews*, nor *Chriſtians*, nor thoſe of any other religion, are ſuffered to come near *Mecca* to this day.

[f] GOD *will enrich you of his abundance*;] This promiſe, ſays *al Beidâwi*, was fulfilled by GOD's ſending plenty of rain, and diſpoſing the inhabitants of *Tebâla* and *Jorash*, two towns in *Yaman*, to embrace *Iſlâm*, who thereupon brought ſufficient proviſions to *Mohammed*'s men; and alſo by the ſubſequent coming in of the *Arabs*, from all quarters, to him.

[g] *Who believe not in* GOD, *nor in the laſt day*;] That is, who have not a juſt and true faith in theſe matters; but either believe a plurality of gods, or deny the eternity of hell torments [5], or the delights of paradiſe as deſcribed in the *Korân*. For, as it appears by the following words, the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are the perſons here chiefly meant.

[h] *By right of ſubjection*;] This I think the true meaning of the words *an yadin*, which literally ſignify *by* or *out of hand*, and are variouſly interpreted; ſome ſuppoſing they mean that the tribute is to be paid *readily*, or by their *own hands* and not by another; or that tribute is to be exacted of the *rich* only, or thoſe who are able to pay it, and not of the poor; or elſe that it is to be taken as a *favour* that the *Mohammedans* are ſatisfied with ſo ſmall an impoſition, *&c* [6].

That the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are, according to this law, to be admitted to protection, on payment of tribute, there is no doubt; tho' the *Mohammedan* doctors differ as to thoſe of other religions. It is ſaid that *Omar* at firſt refuſed to accept tribute from a *Magian*, till *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Auf* aſſured him that *Mohammed* himſelf had granted protection to a *Magian*, and ordered that the profeſſors of that religion ſhould be included among *the people of the book*, or thoſe who found their religion on ſome book which they ſuppoſe to be of divine original. And it is the more received opinion that theſe three religions only ought to be tolerated on the condition of paying tribute: others, however, admit the *Sabians* alſo. *Abu Hâniſa* ſuppoſed people of any religion might be ſuffered, except the idolatrous *Arabs*; and *Malec* excepted only apoſtates from *Mohammediſm*.

The

[1] EBN ISHAK. [2] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 29. *not. d.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.* [5] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 11. *and chap.* 3. *p.* 37. [6] *V. Al* BEIDAWI.

of GOD [a]: and the Chriſtians ſay, CHRIST is the ſon of GOD. This is their ſaying in their mouths: they imitate the ſaying of thoſe who were unbelievers in former times. May GOD reſiſt them. How are they infatuated? They take their prieſts and their monks for *their* lords, beſides GOD [b], and CHRIST the ſon of MARY; although they are commanded to worſhip one GOD only: there is no GOD but he; far be that from him, which they aſſociate *with him!* They ſeek to extinguiſh the light of GOD with their mouths; but GOD willeth no other than to perfect his light, although the infidels be averſe *thereto.* It is he who hath ſent his apoſtle with the direction, and true religion: that he may cauſe it to appear ſuperior to every *other* religion; although the idolaters be averſe *thereto.* O true believers, verily many of the prieſts and monks devour the ſubſtance of men in vanity [c], and obſtruct the way of GOD. But unto thoſe who treaſure up gold and ſilver, and employ it not for the advancement of GOD's true religion, denounce a grievous puniſhment. On the day *of judgment their treaſures* ſhall be

X

The leaſt tribute that can be taken from every ſuch perſon, is generally agreed to be a *dinâr*, or about ten ſhillings, a year; nor can he be obliged to pay more, unleſs he conſent to it: and this, they ſay, ought to be laid as well on the poor as on the rich [1]. But *Abu Hanîfa* decided that the rich ſhould pay forty eight *dirhems* (twenty, and ſometimes twenty five, of which made a *dinâr*) a year; one in middling circumſtances half that ſum; and a poor man, who was able to get his living, a quarter of it: but that he who was not able to ſupport himſelf ſhould pay nothing [2].

[a] *The* Jews *ſay,* Ezra *is the ſon of* GOD;] This grievous charge againſt the *Jews* the commentators endeavour to ſupport by telling us, that it is meant of ſome ancient heterodox *Jews*, or elſe of ſome *Jews* of *Medina*; who ſaid ſo for no other reaſon, than for that the law being utterly loſt and forgotten during the *Babyloniſh* captivity, *Ezra*, having been raiſed to life after he had been dead one hundred years [3], dictated the whole anew to the ſcribes, out of his own memory; at which they greatly marvelled, and declared that he could not have done it, unleſs he were the ſon of GOD [4]. *Al Beidâwi* adds, that the imputation muſt be true, becauſe this verſe was read to the *Jews*, and they did not contradict it; which they were ready enough to do in other inſtances.

That *Ezra* did thus reſtore not only the *Pentateuch*, but alſo the other books of the *Old Teſtament*, by divine revelation, was the opinion of ſeveral of the *Chriſtian* fathers, who are quoted by Dr. *Prideaux* [5], and of ſome other writers [6]; which they ſeem to have firſt borrowed from a paſſage in that very ancient apocryphal book, called (in our *Engliſh* bible) the *ſecond book of* Eſdras [7]. Dr. *Prideaux* [8] tells us, that herein the fathers attributed more to *Ezra*, than the *Jews* themſelves, who ſuppoſe that he only collected and ſet forth a correct edition of the ſcriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. It is not improbable, however, that the fiction came originally from the *Jews*, tho' they be now of another opinion, and I cannot fix it upon them by any direct proof. For, not to inſiſt on the teſtimony of the *Mohammedans*, (which yet I cannot but think of ſome little weight in a point of this nature,) it is allowed by the moſt ſagacious critics, that the ſecond book of *Ezra* was written by a *Chriſtian* indeed [9], but yet one who had been bred a *Jew*, and was intimately acquainted with the fables of the *Rabbins* [10]; and the ſtory it ſelf is perfectly in the taſte and way of thinking of thoſe men.

[b] See chap. 3. p. 44. not. e.

[c] *The prieſts and monks devour the ſubſtance of men vainly;*] By taking of bribes, ſays *al Beidâwi*; meaning, probably, the money they took for diſpenſing with the commands of GOD, and by way of commutation.

[1] *V.* RELAND. *de jure militari Mohammedanor. p.* 17, & 50. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 31. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, *&c.* [5] *Connect. part* 1. *l.* 5. *p.* 329. [6] ATHANASIUS *junior, in Synopſi S. Script. T.* 2. *p.* 86. LEONTIUS *Byzantin. de ſectis, p.* 428. [7] *Chap.* xiv. 20, *&c.* [8] *Loco citat.* [9] *See* 2 *Eſdras* ii. 43—47. *and* vii. 28, *&c.* [10] *V.* DODWELLI *Diſſert. Cyprian. Diſſert.* 4. §. 2. WHISTON's *Eſſay on the Apoſtolical Conſtit. p.* 34, 76, *and* 304, *&c.* & FABRICII *Codic. Apocryph. Novi Teſt. part.* 2. *p.* 936, *&c.*

be intenſely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads, and their ſides, and their backs ſhall be ſtigmatized therewith; *and their tormentors ſhall ſay*, This is what ye have treaſured up for your ſouls; taſte therefore that which ye have treaſured up. Moreover, the *complete* number of months with GOD, is twelve months [a], *which were ordained* in the book of GOD [b], on the day whereon he created the heavens and the earth: of theſe, four are ſacred [c]. This is the right religion: therefore deal not unjuſtly with your ſelves therein. But attack the idolaters in all *the months*, as they attack you in all [d]; and know that GOD is with thoſe who fear *him*. Verily the transferring *of a ſacred month to another month*, is an additional infidelity [e]. The unbelievers are led into an error thereby: they allow a *month* to be violated one year, and declare it ſacred *another* year [f], that they may agree in the number of *months* which GOD hath commanded to be kept ſacred; and they allow that which GOD hath forbidden. The evil of their actions hath been prepared for them: for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. O true believers, what ailed you, that, when it was ſaid unto you, Go forth *to fight* for the religion of GOD, ye inclined heavily towards the earth [g]? Do ye prefer the preſent life to that which is to come? But the proviſion of this life, in *reſpect of* that which is to come, is but ſlender. Unleſs ye go forth *when ye are ſummoned to war*, GOD will puniſh you with a grievous puniſhment; and he will place another people in your ſtead [h], and ye ſhall not hurt him at all; for GOD is almighty. If

[a] *The number of months with* GOD *is twelve months*;] According to this paſſage, the intercalation of a month every third or ſecond year, which the *Arabs* had learned of the *Jews*, in order to reduce their lunar years to ſolar years, is abſolutely unlawful. For by this means they fixed the time of the pilgrimage and of the faſt of *Ramadân* to certain ſeaſons of the year, which ought to be ambulatory [1].

[b] *In the book of* GOD;] viz. The preſerved table.

[c] See the Prelim. Diſcourſe, §. VIII.

[d] *Attack the idolaters in all the months, as they attack you in all*;] For it is not reaſonable that you ſhould obſerve the ſacred months with regard to thoſe who do not acknowledge them to be ſacred, but make war againſt you therein [2].

[e] *Verily the transferring of a ſacred month to another month is an additional infidelity*;] This was an invention or innovation of the idolatrous *Arabs*, whereby they avoided keeping a ſacred month, when it ſuited not their conveniency, by keeping a prophane month in its ſtead; tranſferring, for example, the obſervance of *Moharram* to the ſucceeding month *Safar*. The firſt man who put this in practice, they ſay, was *Jonâda Ebn Awf*, of the tribe of *Kenâna* [3].

Theſe ordinances relating to the months were promulgated by *Mohammed* himſelf at the pilgrimage of *valediction* [4].

[f] *They allow a month to be violated one year, and declare it ſacred another year*;] As did *Jonâda*, who made public proclamation at the aſſembly of pilgrims, that their gods had allowed *Moharram* to be prophane, whereupon they obſerved it not; but the next year he told them, that the gods had ordered it to be kept ſacred [5].

[g] *When it was ſaid unto you, Go forth to fight for the religion of* GOD, *ye inclined heavily towards the earth*, &c.] *viz.* In the expedition of *Tabûc*, a town ſituate about half way between *Medina* and *Damaſcus*, which *Mohammed* undertook againſt the *Greeks*, with an army of thirty thouſand men, in the ninth year of the *Hejra*. On this expedition the *Moſlems* ſet out with great unwillingneſs, becauſe it was undertaken in the midſt of the ſummer heats, and at a time of great drought and ſcarcity; whereby the ſoldiers ſuffered ſo much, that this army was called the *diſtreſſed army*: beſides, their fruits were juſt ripe, and they had much rather have ſtaid to have gathered them [6].

[h] See chap. 5. p. 90.

[1] *See* PRID. *life of Mah. p.* 65, *&c. and the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *and* VII. [2] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 22. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. *V.* POC. *Spec. p.* 323. *and the Prelim. Diſc.* §. VII. [4] ABULF. *vit. Mah. p.* 132. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Mah. p.* 123.

If ye aſſiſt not *the prophet*, verily GOD *will aſſiſt him, as he* aſſiſted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him out *of* MECCA, the ſecond of two[a]: when they *were* both in the cave; when he ſaid unto his companion, Be not grieved, for GOD is with us [b]. And GOD ſent down his ſecurity [c] upon him, and ſtrengthened him with armies *of angels*, whom ye ſaw not [d]. And he made the word of thoſe who believed not, to be abaſed, and the word of GOD was exalted; for GOD *is* mighty *and* wiſe. Go forth *to battle*, both light, and heavy [e], and employ your ſubſtance and your perſons for the advancement of GOD's religion. This will be better for you; if ye know it. If it had been a near advantage, and a moderate journey, they had ſurely followed thee [f]; but the way ſeemed tedious unto them: and yet they will ſwear by GOD, *ſaying*, If we had been able, we had ſurely gone forth with you. They deſtroy their own ſouls; for GOD knoweth that they are liars. GOD forgive thee! why didſt thou give them leave *to ſtay at home* [g], until they who ſpeak the truth, *when they excuſe themſelves*, had become manifeſted unto thee, and thou hadſt known the liars? They who believe in GOD and the laſt day, will not aſk leave of thee, to be excuſed from employing their ſubſtance and their perſons for the advancement of GOD's true religion; and GOD knoweth thoſe who fear *him*. Verily they only will aſk leave of thee *to ſtay behind*, who believe not in GOD and the laſt day, and whoſe hearts doubt *concerning the faith*: wherefore they are toſſed to and fro in their doubting. If they had been willing to go forth *with thee*, they had certainly prepared for that *purpoſe* a proviſion *of arms and neceſſaries*: but GOD was averſe to their going forth; wherefore he rendred them ſlothful, and it was ſaid *unto them*, Sit ye ſtill with thoſe who ſit ſtill [h]. If they had gone forth with you, they had only been a burthen unto you, and had run to and fro between you, ſtirring you up to ſedition; and *there would have been ſome* among you, who would have given ear unto them: and GOD knoweth the wicked. They formerly ſought to raiſe a ſedition [i], and they diſturbed thy affairs, until the truth came, and the decree of GOD was made manifeſt; although they were averſe thereto. There is of them who ſaith *unto thee*, Give me leave *to ſtay behind*,

[a] *The ſecond of two*;] That is, having only *Abu Becr* with him.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. II. p. 51.

[c] See before, p. 152. not. b.

[d] *And he ſtrengthened him with armies of angels*, &c.] Who, as ſome imagine, guarded him in the cave. Or the words may relate to the ſuccours from heaven which *Mohammed* pretended to have received in ſeveral incounters; as at *Bedr*, the war of the ditch, and the battle of *Honein*.

[e] *Both light and heavy*;] i. e. Whether the expedition be agreeable or not; or whether ye have ſufficient arms and proviſions or not; or whether ye be on horſeback or on foot, *&c.*

[f] *If it had been a near advantage and a moderate journey*, &c.] That is, had there been no difficulties to ſurmount in the expedition of *Tabûc*, and the march thither had been ſhort and eaſy, ſo that the plunder might have coſt them little or no trouble, they would not have been ſo backward.

[g] *Why didſt thou give them leave to ſtay at home*, &c.] For *Mohammed* excuſed ſeveral of his men, on their requeſt, from going on this expedition; as *Abda'llah Ebn Obba*, and his hypocritical adherents, and alſo three of the *Anſârs*; for which he is here reprehended.

[h] *With thoſe who ſit ſtill*;] i. e. With the women and children, and other impotent people.

[i] *They formerly ſought to raiſe a ſedition*, &c.] As they did at the battle of *Obod* [1].

[1] *See chap. 3. p. 50, &c.*

and expoſe me not to temptation [a]. Have they not fallen into temptation *at home* [b]? But hell will ſurely encompaſs the unbelievers. If good happen unto thee, it grieveth them: but if a misfortune befal thee, they ſay, We ordered our buſineſs before [c]; and they turn their backs, and rejoice *at thy miſhap*. Say, Nothing ſhall befal us, but what GOD hath decreed for us: he is our patron; and on GOD let the faithful truſt. Say, Do ye expect *any other ſhould befal* us, than one of the two moſt excellent things; *either victory or martyrdom?* But we expect concerning you, that GOD inflict a puniſhment on you, *either* from himſelf, or by our hands [d]. Wait therefore *to ſee what will be the end of both*; for we will wait with you. Say, Expend *your money in pious uſes, either* voluntarily, or by conſtraint, it ſhall not be accepted of you; becauſe ye are wicked people. And nothing hindreth their contributions from being accepted of them, but that they believe not in GOD and his apoſtle, and perform not the *duty of* prayer, otherwiſe than ſluggiſhly; and expend not *their money for GOD's ſervice*, otherwiſe than unwillingly. Let not therefore their riches, or their children cauſe thee to marvel. Verily GOD intendeth only to puniſh them by theſe things in this world; and that their ſouls may depart while they are unbelievers. They ſwear by GOD that they are of you [e]; yet they are not of you, but are people who ſtand in fear [f]. If they find a place of refuge, or caves, or a retreating hole, they ſurely turn towards the ſame, and in a headſtrong manner haſte *thereto*. There is of them alſo who ſpreadeth ill reports of thee, in relation to *thy diſtribution of* the alms: yet if they receive *part* thereof, they are well pleaſed; but if they receive not *a part* thereof, behold, they are angry [g]. But if they had been pleaſed with that which GOD and his apoſtle had given them, and had ſaid, GOD is our ſupport; GOD will give unto us of his abundance and his prophet *alſo*; verily unto GOD do we make our ſupplications: *it would have been more decent*. Alms *are to be diſtributed* [h] only unto the poor, and the needy [i], and thoſe

[a] *Expoſe me not to temptation*;] By obliging me to go, againſt my will, on an expedition, the hardſhips of which may tempt me to rebel or to deſert. It is related that one *Jadd Ebn Kais* ſaid that the *Anſârs* well knew he was much given to women, and he dared not truſt himſelf with the *Greek* girls; wherefore he deſired he might be left behind, and he would aſſiſt them with his purſe [1].

[b] *Have they not fallen into temptation at home?*] Diſcovering their hypocriſy by their backwardneſs to go to war for the promotion of the true religion.

[c] *We ordered our buſineſs before*;] That is, we took care to keep out of harms way by ſtaying at home.

[d] *Either from himſelf, or by our hands*;] i. e. Either by ſome ſignal judgment from heaven, or by remitting their puniſhment to the true believers.

[e] *That they are of you*;] viz. Staunch *Moſlems*.

[f] *Who ſtand in fear*;] Hypocritically concealing their infidelity, leſt ye ſhould chaſtiſe them, as ye have done the profeſſed infidels and apoſtates; and yet ready to avow their infidelity, when they think they may do it with ſafety.

[g] *There is alſo of them who ſpreadeth ill reports of thee in relation to the diſtribution of the alms*, &c.] This perſon was *Abu'l Jowâdh* the hypocrite, who ſaid *Mohammed* gave them away among the keepers of ſheep only; or, as others ſuppoſe, *Ebn Dhi'lkhowaiſara*, who found fault with the prophet's diſtribution of the ſpoils taken at *Honein*, becauſe he gave them all among the *Meccans*, to reconcile and gain them over to his religion and intereſt [2].

[h] See what is ſaid as to this point in the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV.

[i] *The poor and the needy*;] The commentators make a diſtinction between theſe two words in

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem. V.* ABULFED. *vit. Moh. p.* 118, 119.

thoſe who are employed in *collecting and diſtributing* the ſame, and unto thoſe whoſe hearts *are* reconciled [a], and for *the redemption of* captives, and unto thoſe who are in debt *and inſolvent*, and for the advancement of GOD's religion, and unto the traveller. *This is* an ordinance from GOD: and GOD is knowing *and* wiſe. There are ſome of them who injure the prophet, and ſay, He is an ear [b]: Anſwer, He is an ear of good unto you [c]; he believeth in GOD, and giveth credit to the faithful, and *is* a mercy unto ſuch of you who believe. But they who injure the apoſtle of GOD, ſhall ſuffer a painful puniſhment. They ſwear unto you by GOD, that they may pleaſe you; but it is more juſt that they ſhould pleaſe GOD and his apoſtle, if they are true believers. Do they not know that he who oppoſeth GOD and his apoſtle, ſhall without doubt *be puniſhed with* the fire of hell; *and* ſhall remain therein for ever? This will be great ignominy. The hypocrites are apprehenſive leſt a SURA [d] ſhould be revealed concerning them, to declare unto them that which *is* in their hearts. Say *unto them*, Scoff ye; *but* GOD will ſurely bring to light that which ye fear *ſhould be diſcovered*. And if thou aſk them *the reaſon of this ſcoffing*, they ſay, Verily we were only engaged in diſcourſe, and jeſting *among ourſelves* [e]. Say, Do ye ſcoff at GOD and his ſigns, and at his apoſtle? offer not an excuſe: now are ye become infidels, after your faith. If we forgive a part of you, we will puniſh a part, for that they have been wicked doers. Hypocritical men and women are the one of them of the other: they command that which is evil, and forbid that which is juſt, and ſhut their hands *from giving alms*. They have forgotten GOD; wherefore he hath forgotten them: verily the hypocrites are thoſe who act wickedly. GOD denounceth unto the hypocrites, both men and women, and to the unbelievers, the fire of hell; they ſhall remain therein *for ever:* this will be their ſufficient *reward*; GOD hath curſed them, and they ſhall endure a laſting torment. As they who have been before you, *ſo are ye*. They were ſuperior to you in ſtrength, and had more abundance of wealth and of children; and they enjoyed their portion

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in the original, *fakîr* and *meskîn*; one they ſay, ſignifies him who is utterly deſtitute both of money and means of livelihood; the other, one who is in want indeed, but is able to get ſomething towards his own ſupport. But to which of the two words either of theſe different ſignifications properly belongs, the critics differ.

[a] *Whoſe hearts are reconciled*;] That is, who were lately enemies to the faithful, but have now embraced *Mohammediſm*, and entred into amity with them. For *Mohammed*, to gain their hearts and confirm them in his religion, made large preſents to the chief of the *Koreiſh* out of the ſpoils at *Honein*, as has been juſt now mentioned [1]. But this law they ſay, became of no obligation when the *Mohammedan* faith was eſtabliſhed, and ſtood not in need of ſuch methods for its ſupport.

[b] *He is an ear*;] i. e. He hears every thing that we ſay; and gives credit to all the ſtories that are carried to him.

[c] *He is an ear of good unto you*;] Giving credit to nothing that may do you hurt.

[d] *A Sura*,] So the *Mohammedans* call a chapter of the *Korân* [2].

[e] *They ſay, We were only engaged in diſcourſe*, &c.] It is related that in the expedition of *Tabûc*, a company of hypocrites, paſſing near *Mohammed*, ſaid to one another, *Behold that man; he would take the ſtrong holds of* Syria: *away! away!* which being told the prophet, he called them to him, and asked them why they had ſaid ſo? whereto they replied with an oath, that they were not talking of what related to him or his companions, but were only diverting themſelves with indifferent diſcourſe, to beguile the tedioufneſs of the way [3].

[1] ABULFED. *ibid.* [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. III. *p.* 57. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

in this world; *and* ye alſo enjoy your portion *here*, as they who have preceded you, enjoyed their portion. And ye engage your ſelves in vain diſcourſes, like unto thoſe wherein they engaged themſelves. The works of theſe are vain *both* in this world, and in that which is to come; and theſe are they who periſh. Have they not been acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe who have been before them? of the people of Noah, and of Ad, and of Thamud, and of the people of Abraham, and of the inhabitants of Madian, and of the *cities which were* overthrown [a]? Their apoſtles came unto them with evident demonſtrations: and God was not diſpoſed to treat them unjuſtly; but they dealt unjuſtly with their own ſouls. And the faithful men, and the faithful women are friends one to another: they command that which is juſt, and they forbid that which is evil; and they are conſtant at prayer, and pay their appointed alms; and they obey God, and his apoſtle: unto theſe will God be merciful; for he *is* mighty *and* wiſe. God promiſeth unto the true believers, both men and women, gardens through which rivers flow, wherein they ſhall remain for ever; and delicious dwellings in gardens of perpetual abode [b]: but good will from God *ſhall be their* moſt excellent *reward*. This *will be* great felicity. O prophet, wage war againſt the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be ſevere unto them: for their dwelling ſhall be hell; an unhappy journey *ſhall it be thither!* They ſwear by God that they ſaid not *what they are charged with:* yet they ſpake the word of infidelity, and became unbelievers, after they had embraced Islam [c]. And they deſigned that which they could not effect [d]; and they did not diſapprove *the deſign for any other reaſon*, than becauſe God and his apoſtle had inriched them, of his bounty [e]. If they repent, it will be better for them; but if they relapſe, God

[a] *The cities which were overthrown*;] Namely, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the other cities which ſhared their fate, and are thence called *al Motakifât*, or *the ſubverted* [1].

[b] *Gardens of perpetual abode*;] Literally, *gardens* of *Eden*; but the commentators do not take the word *Eden* in the ſenſe which it bears in *Hebrew*; as has been elſewhere obſerved [2].

[c] *They ſwear by* God *that they ſaid not what they are charged with*, &c.] It is related, that *al Jallâs Ebn Soweid*, hearing ſome paſſages of this chapter, which ſharply reprehend thoſe who refuſed to go on the abovementioned expedition of *Tabûc*, declared, that if what *Mohammed* ſaid of his brethren was true, they were worſe than aſſes. Which coming to the prophet's ear, he ſent for him; and he denied the words upon oath. But on the immediate revelation of this paſſage, he confeſſed his fault, and his repentance was accepted [3].

[d] *They deſigned what they could not effect*, &c.] The commentators tells us, that fifteen men conſpired to kill *Mohammed* in his return from *Tabûc*, by puſhing him from his camel into a precipice, as he rode by night over the higheſt part of *al Akaba*. But when they were going to execute their deſign, *Hodheifa*, who followed and drove the prophet's camel, which was led by *Ammâr Ebn Yâſer*, hearing the tread of camels and the claſhing of arms, gave the alarm, upon which they fled. Some however ſuppoſe the deſign here meant was a plot to expel *Mohammed* from *Medina* [4].

[e] *Becauſe* God *and his apoſtles had inriched them*;] For *Mohammed*'s reſiding at *Medina* was of great advantage to the place, the inhabitants being generally poor, and in want of moſt conveniencies of life; but on the prophet's coming among them, they became poſſeſſed of large herds of cattle, and money alſo. *Al Beidâwi* ſays, that the above named *al Jallâs*, in particular, having a ſervant killed, received, by *Mohammed*'s order, no leſs than ten thouſand *dirhems*, or about three hundred pounds, as a fine for the redemption of his blood.

[1] *See chap.* 11. [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 97. [3] *Al* Beidawi. [4] *Idem.*

GOD will puniſh them with a grievous torment, in this world and in the next; and they ſhall have no patron on earth, nor any protector. There are ſome of them who made a covenant with GOD, *ſaying*, Verily if he give us of his abundance, we will give alms, and become righteous people [a]. Yet when he had given unto them of his abundance, they became covetous thereof, and turned back, and retired afar off. Wherefore he hath cauſed hypocriſy to ſucceed in their hearts, until the day whereon they ſhall meet him; for that they failed to perform unto GOD that which they had promiſed him, and for that they prevaricated. Do they not know that GOD knoweth whatever they conceal, and their private diſcourſes; and that GOD is the knower of ſecrets? They who traduce ſuch of the believers as are liberal in *giving* alms *beyond what they are obliged*, and thoſe who find nothing *to give*, but *what they gain by* their induſtry [b]; and therefore ſcoff at them: GOD ſhall ſcoff at them, and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. Aſk forgiveneſs for them, or do not aſk forgiveneſs for them; *it will be equal.* If thou aſk forgiveneſs for them ſeventy times, GOD will by no means forgive them [c]. This *is the divine pleaſure*, for that they believe not in GOD, and his apoſtle; and GOD directeth not the ungodly people. They who were left at home *in the expedition of* TABUC, were glad of their

[a] *There are ſome of them who made a covenant with* GOD, &c.] An inſtance of this is given in *Thálaba Ebn Hateb*, who came to *Mohammed*, and deſired him to beg of GOD, that he would beſtow riches on him. The prophet at firſt adviſed him rather to be thankful for the little he had, than to covet more, which might become a temptation to him; but on *Thalaba*'s repeated requeſt and ſolemn promiſe that he would make a good uſe of his riches, he was at length prevailed on, and preferred the petition to GOD. *Thalaba* in a ſhort time grew vaſtly rich, which *Mohammed* being acquainted with, ſent two collectors to gather the alms; other people readily paid them, but when they came to *Thalaba*, and read the injunction to him out of the *Korân*, he told them that it was not alms, but tribute, or next kin to tribute, and bid them go back till he had better conſidered of it. Upon which this paſſage was revealed; and when *Thalaba* came afterwards and brought his alms, *Mohammed* told him that GOD had commanded him not to accept it, and threw duſt upon his head, ſaying, *This is what thou haſt deſerved.* He then offered his alms to *Abu Becr*, who refuſed to accept them; as did *Omar* ſome years after, when he was *Khalîf* [1].

[b] *Who traduce ſuch of the believers as are liberal*, &c.] *Al Beidâwi* relates, that *Mohammed* exhorting his followers to voluntary alms, among others, *Abda'lrahmân Ebn Aouf* gave four thouſand *dirhems*, which was one half of what he had; *Aſem Ebn Adda* gave an hundred beaſt's loads of dates; and *Abu Okail* a *Saâ*, which is no more than a ſixtieth part of a load, of the ſame fruit, but was the half of what he had earned by a night's hard work. This *Mohammed* accepted: whereupon the hypocrites ſaid that *Abda'lrahmân* and *Aſem* gave what they did out of oſtentation, and that GOD and his apoſtle might well have excuſed *Abu Okail*'s mite; which occaſioned this paſſage.

I ſuppoſe this collection was made to defray the charge of the expedition of *Tabûc*; towards which, as another writer tells us, *Abu Becr* contributed all that he had, and *Othmân* very largely, *viz.* as it is ſaid, three hundred camels for ſlaughter, and a thouſand *dinârs* of gold [2].

[c] *Aſk forgiveneſs for them*, &c.] In the laſt ſickneſs of *Abda'llah Ebn Obba* the hypocrite, (who died in the ninth year of the *Hejra*) his ſon, named alſo *Abda'llah*, came and aſked *Mohammed* to beg pardon of GOD for him; which he did, and thereupon the former part of this verſe was revealed. But the prophet, not taking that for a repulſe, ſaid he would *pray ſeventy times* for him; upon which the latter part of the verſe was revealed, declaring it would be abſolutely in vain. It may be obſerved that the numbers *ſeven*, and *ſeventy*, and *ſeven hundred*, are frequently uſed by the eaſtern writers to ſignify, not ſo many preciſely, but only an indefinite number, either greater or leſſer [3]; ſeveral examples of which are to be met with in the ſcripture [4].

[1] *Lex.* [2] ABULFED. *vit. Mob. p.* 123. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Matt.* xviii. 21.

their ſtaying behind the apoſtle of GOD, and were unwilling to employ their ſubſtance and their perſons for the advancement of GOD's true religion; and they ſaid, Go not forth in the heat[a]. Say, The fire of hell will be hotter; if they underſtood *this*. Wherefore let them laugh little, and weep much, as a reward for that which they have done. If GOD bring thee back unto ſome of them[b], and they aſk thee leave to go forth *to war with thee*, ſay, Ye ſhall not go forth with me for the future, neither ſhall ye fight an enemy with me; ye were pleaſed with ſitting *at home* the firſt time; ſit ye *at home* therefore with thoſe who ſtay behind. Neither do thou ever pray over any of them who ſhall die[c], neither ſtand at his grave[d]; for that they believed not in GOD and his apoſtle, and die in their wickedneſs. Let not their riches or their children cauſe thee to marvel: for GOD intendeth only to puniſh them therewith in this world; and that their ſouls may depart, while they are infidels. When a SURA[e] is ſent down, *wherein it is ſaid*, Believe in GOD, and go forth to war with his apoſtle; thoſe who are in plentiful circumſtances among them aſk leave of thee *to ſtay behind*, and ſay, Suffer us to be *of the number* of thoſe who ſit *at home*. They are well pleaſed to be with thoſe who ſtay behind, and their hearts are ſealed up; wherefore they do not underſtand. But the apoſtle, and thoſe who have believed with him, expoſe their fortunes and their lives *for GOD's ſervice*; they ſhall enjoy the good things *of either life*, and they ſhall be happy. GOD hath prepared for them gardens through which rivers flow; they ſhall remain therein *for ever*. This will be great felicity. And certain ARABS of the deſart came to excuſe themſelves[f], *praying* that they might be permitted *to ſtay behind*; and they ſat *at home* who had renounced GOD and his apoſtle. But a painful puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on ſuch of them as believe not. In thoſe who are weak, or are afflicted with ſickneſs, or in thoſe who find not wherewith to contribute *to the war*[g], it ſhall be

[a] *Go not forth in the heat*;] This they ſpoke in a ſcoffing manner to one another; becauſe, as has been obſerved, the expedition of *Tabûc* was undertaken in a very hot and dry ſeaſon.

[b] *If* GOD *bring thee back unto ſome of them*, &c.] That is, if thou return in ſafety to *Medina* to the hypocrites; who are here called *ſome of them* who ſtaid behind, becauſe they were not all hypocrites. The whole number is ſaid to have been twelve [1].

[c] *Neither do thou ever pray over any of them who ſhall die.*] This paſſage was alſo revealed on account of *Abda'llah Ebn Obba*. In his laſt illneſs he deſired to ſee *Mohammed*, and when he was come, asked him to beg forgiveneſs of GOD for him, and requeſted that his corps might be wrapped up in the garment that was next his body, (which might have the ſame efficacy with the habit of a *Franciſcan*,) and that he would pray over him when dead. Accordingly when he was dead, the prophet ſent his ſhirt, or inner veſtment, to ſhroud the corps, and was going to pray over it, but was forbidden by theſe words. Some ſay they were not revealed till he had actually prayed for him [2].

[d] *Neither ſtand at his grave*;] Either by aſſiſting at his funeral, or viſiting his ſepulchre.

[e] See before, p. 157. not. d.

[f] *Certain* Arabs *of the deſart came to excuſe themſelves*, &c.] Theſe were the tribes of *Aſad* and *Ghatfân*, who excuſed themſelves on account of the neceſſities of their families, which their induſtry only maintained. But ſome write they were the family of *Amer Ebn al Tofail*, who ſaid that if they went with the army, the tribe of *Tay* would take advantage of their abſence, and fall upon their wives and children, and their cattle [3].

[g] *Who find not wherewith to contribute*;] By reaſon of their extream poverty; as thoſe of *Joheina*, *Mozeina*, and *Bani Odhra* [4].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.*

be no crime *if they ſtay at home*; provided they behave themſelves faithfully towards GOD and his apoſtle. There is no room *to lay blame* on the righteous; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful: nor on thoſe, unto whom, when they came unto thee, *requeſting* that thou wouldeſt ſupply them with neceſſaries for travelling, thou didſt anſwer, I find not wherewith to ſupply you, returned, their eyes ſhedding tears for grief, that they found not wherewith to contribute *to the expedition* [a]. But there is reaſon *to blame* thoſe who aſk leave of thee *to ſit at home*, when they are rich. They are pleaſed to be with thoſe who ſtay behind, and GOD hath ſealed up their hearts; wherefore they do not underſtand. * They will excuſe themſelves unto you, when ye are returned XI.
unto them. Say, Excuſe not your ſelves; we will by no means believe you: GOD hath acquainted us with your behaviour; and GOD will obſerve your actions, and his apoſtle *alſo*: and hereafter ſhall ye be brought before him who knoweth that which is hidden, and that which is manifeſt; and he will declare unto you that which ye have done. They will ſwear unto you by God, when ye are returned unto them, that ye may let them alone [b]. Let them alone therefore, for they are an abomination, and their dwelling *ſhall be* hell, a reward for that which they have deſerved. They will ſwear unto you, that ye may be well pleaſed with them; but if ye be well pleaſed with them, verily GOD will not be well pleaſed with people who prevaricate. The ARABS of the deſart are more obſtinate in *their* unbelief and hypocriſy; and it is eaſier for them to be ignorant of the ordinances of that which GOD hath ſent down unto his apoſtle [c]: and GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. Of the ARABS of the deſart there is who reckoneth that which he expendeth *for the ſervice of* GOD, *to be as* tribute [d]; and waiteth that ſome change *of fortune* [e] *may befal* you. A change for evil *ſhall happen* unto them; for GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. And of the ARABS of the deſart there is who believeth in GOD, and in the laſt day; and eſteemeth that which he layeth out *for the ſervice of* GOD to be the *means of* bringing him near unto GOD, and the prayers of the apoſtle. Is it not unto them *the means of* a near approach? GOD ſhall lead them into his mercy; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful [f]. *As for* the leaders *and* the firſt of

[a] *Who requeſted thee to ſupply them with neceſſaries for travelling*, &c.] The perſons here intended were ſeven men of the *Anſârs*, who came to *Mohammed* and begged he would give them ſome patched boots and ſoled ſhoes, it being impoſſible for them to march ſo far barefoot, in ſuch a ſeaſon, but he told them he could not ſupply them; whereupon they went away weeping. Some however ſay theſe were the *Banu Mokren*, and others, *Abu Muſa* and his companions [1].

[b] *That ye may let them alone*,] And not chaſtiſe them.

[c] *The* Arabs *of the deſart are more obſtinate*, &c.] Becauſe of their wild way of life, the hardneſs of their hearts, their not frequenting people of knowledge, and the few opportunities they have of being inſtructed [2].

[d] *As tribute*;] Or a contribution exacted by force, the payment of which he can in no wiſe avoid.

[e] *And waiteth that ſome change of fortune may befal you*;] Hoping that ſome reverſe may afford a convenient opportunity of throwing off the burden.

[f] The *Arabs* meant in the former of theſe two paſſages, are ſaid to have been the tribes of *Aſad*, *Ghatfân*, and *Banu Tamim*; and thoſe intended in the latter, *Abdallah*, ſurnamed *Dhû'lbajâdîn*, and his people [3].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem. See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 25, *and* 30. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI

of the MOHAJERIN, and the ANSARS [a], and thoſe who have followed them in well doing; GOD is well pleaſed with them, and they are well pleaſed in him: and he hath prepared for them gardens watered by rivers; they ſhall remain therein for ever. This ſhall be great felicity. And of the ARABS of the deſart who *dwell* round about you, *there are* hypocritical perſons [b]: and of the inhabitants of MEDINA *there are ſome* who are obſtinate in hypocriſy. Thou knoweſt them not, *O prophet*, *but* we know them: we will ſurely puniſh them twice [c]; afterwards ſhall they be ſent to a grievous torment. And others have acknowledged their crimes [d]. They have mixed a good action with another *which is* bad [e]: peradventure GOD will be turned unto them; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. Take alms of their ſubſtance, that thou mayeſt cleanſe them, and purify them thereby [f]; and pray for them: for thy prayers ſhall be a ſecurity *of mind* unto them; and GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Do they not know that GOD accepteth repentance from his ſervants, and accepteth alms; and that GOD is eaſy to be reconciled, *and* merciful? Say *unto them*, Work *as ye will*; but GOD will behold your work, and his apoſtle *alſo*, and the true believers: and ye ſhall be brought before him who knoweth that which is kept ſecret, and that which is made public; and he will declare unto you whatever ye have done. And *there are* others *who* wait with ſuſpenſe the decree of GOD; whether he will puniſh them, or whether he will be turned unto them [g]: but GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. *There are ſome* who have built a temple to hurt *the faithful*, and to *propagate* infidelity, and to *foment* diviſion

[a] *The leaders and the firſt of the* Mohâjerîn *and are* Anſârs;] The *Mohâjerîn*, or *refugees*, were thoſe of *Mecca*, who fled thence on account of their religion; and the *Anſârs*, or *helpers*, were thoſe of *Medina*, who received *Mohammed* and his followers into their protection, and aſſiſted them againſt their enemies. By the leaders of the *Mohâjerîn* are meant thoſe who believed on *Mohammed* before the *Hejra*, or early enough to pray towards *Jeruſalem*, from which the *Kebla* was changed to the temple of *Mecca* in the ſecond year of the *Hejra*, or elſe ſuch of them as were preſent at the battle of *Bedr*. The leaders of the *Anſârs* were thoſe who took the oath of fidelity to him at *al Akaba*, either the firſt or the ſecond time [1].

[b] *Of the* Arabs *of the deſart who dwell round about you*, &c.] i. e. In the neighbourhood of *Medina*. There were the tribes of *Joheina*, *Mozeina*, *Aſlam*, *Aſhja*, and *Ghifâr* [2].

[c] *We will puniſh them twice*;] Either by expoſing them to public ſhame, and putting them to death; or by either of thoſe puniſhments and the torment of the ſepulchre; or elſe by exacting alms of them by way of fine, and giving them corporal puniſhment [3].

[d] *Others have acknowledged their crimes*:] Making no hypocritic excuſes for them. Theſe were certain men, who having ſtaid at home inſtead of accompanying *Mohammed* to *Tabûc*, as ſoon as they heard the ſevere reprehenſions and threats of this chapter againſt thoſe who had ſtaid behind, bound themſelves to the pillars of the moſque, and ſwore that they would not looſe themſelves, till they were looſed by the prophet. But when he entred the moſque to pray, and was informed of the matter, he alſo ſwore that he would not looſe them without a particular command from GOD; whereupon this paſſage was revealed, and they were accordingly diſmiſſed [4].

[e] *They have mixed a good action with a bad*;] Tho' they were backward in going to war, and held with the hypocrites, yet they confeſſed their crime and repented.

[f] *Take alms of their ſubſtance*, &c.] When theſe perſons were looſed, they prayed *Mohammed* to take their ſubſtance, for the ſake of which they had ſtaid at home, as alms, to cleanſe them from their tranſgreſſion; but he told them he had no orders to accept any thing from them: upon which this verſe was ſent down, allowing him to take their alms [5].

[g] *There are others who wait*, &c.] The perſons here intended were the three *Anſârs* whoſe pardon is granted a little below.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.*

diviſion among the true believers [a], and for a lurking place for him who hath fought againſt GOD and his apoſtle in time paſt [b]; and they ſwear, *ſaying*, Verily we intended no other than *to do* for the beſt: but GOD is witneſs that they do certainly lye. Stand not *up to pray* therein for ever. *There is* a temple founded on piety [c], from the firſt day *of its building*. *It is* more juſt that thou ſtand *up to pray* therein: therein *are* men who love to be purified [d]; for GOD loveth the clean. Whether therefore is he better, who hath founded his building on the fear of GOD and *his* good will; or he who hath founded his building on the brink of a bank of earth which is waſhed away by waters, ſo that it falleth with him into the fire of hell? GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Their building which they have built will not ceaſe *to be an occaſion of* doubting in their hearts, until their hearts be cut in pieces [e];

[a] *There are ſome who have built a temple to hurt the faithful*, &c.] When *Banu Amru Ebn Awf* had built the temple or moſque of *Kobâ*, which will be mentioned by and by, they asked *Mohammed* to come and pray in it, and he complied with their requeſt. This exciting the envy of their brethren, *Banu Ganem Ebn Awf*, they alſo built a moſque, intending that the *Imâm* or prieſt who ſhould officiate there, ſhould be *Abu Amer* a *Chriſtian* monk; but he dying in *Syria*, they came to *Mohammed* and deſired he would conſecrate, as it were, their moſque by praying in it. The prophet accordingly prepared himſelf to go with them, but was forbidden by the immediate revelation of this paſſage, diſcovering their hypocriſy and ill deſign: whereupon he ſent *Malec Ebn al Dokhſhom*, *Maan Ebn Addi*, *Amer Ebn al Sacan*, and *al Wahſha* the *Ethiopian* to demoliſh and burn it; which they performed and made it a dunghil. According to another account this moſque was built a little before the expedition of *Tabûc*, with a deſign to hinder *Mohammed*'s men from ingaging therein; and when he was asked to pray there, he anſwered that he was juſt ſetting out on a journey, but that when he came back, with GOD's leave, he would do what they deſired; but when they applied to him again, on his return, this paſſage was revealed [1].

[b] *For a lurking place for him who hath fought againſt* GOD *and his apoſtle in time paſt*;] That is *Abu Amer* the monk, who was a declared enemy to *Mohammed*, having threatened him at *Obod*, that no party ſhould appear in the field againſt him, but he would make one of them; and, to be as good as his word, he continued to oppoſe him till the battle of *Honcin*, at which he was preſent, and being put to flight with thoſe of *Hawâzen*, he retreated into *Syria*, deſigning to obtain a ſupply of troops from the *Grecian* emperor to renew the war; but he died at *Kinnijrin*. Others ſay that this monk was a confederate at the war of the ditch, and that he fled thence into *Syria* [2].

[c] *There is a temple founded on piety*, &c.] viz. That of *Kobâ*, a place about two miles from *Medina*, where *Mohammed* reſted four days before he entred that city, in his flight from *Mecca*, and where he laid the foundation of a moſque [3], which was afterwards built by *Banu Amru Ebn Awf*. But according to a different tradition, the moſque here meant, was that which *Mohammed* built at *Medina*.

[d] *Therein are men who deſire to be purified*;] *Al Beidâwi* ſays, that *Mohammed* walking once with the *Mohajerîn* to *Kobâ*, found the *Anſârs* ſitting at the moſque door, and asked them whether they were believers; and, on their being ſilent, repeated the queſtion: whereupon *Omar* anſwered, that they were believers; and *Mohammed* demanding whether they acquieſced in the judgment *Omar* had made of them, they ſaid, yes. He then asked them whether they would be patient in adverſity, and thankful in proſperity; to which they anſwering in the affirmative, he ſwore by the LORD of the *Caaba*, that they were true believers. Afterwards he examined them as to their manner of performing the legal waſhings, and particularly, what they did after eaſing themſelves; they told him that in ſuch a caſe they uſed three ſtones, and after that waſhed with water: upon which he repeated theſe words of the *Korân* to them.

[e] *Until their hearts be cut in pieces*;] Some interpret theſe words of their being deprived of their judgment and underſtanding; and others of the puniſhment they are to expect, either of death in this world, or of the rack of the ſepulchre, or the pains of hell.

[1] *Idem*. JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem*. [3] *Idem*, EBN SHOHNAH. *V.* ABULFED. *ann. M.* p. 52. *Where the tranſlator taking this paſſage of the* Koràn, *which is there cited, for the ſenſe of his author, has miſſed the true ſenſe.*

and GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. Verily GOD hath purchaſed of the true believers their ſouls, and their ſubſtance, *promiſing* them the enjoyment of paradiſe; *on condition that* they fight for the cauſe of GOD: whether they ſlay or be ſlain, the promiſe for the ſame is aſſuredly due by the law, and the goſpel, and the KORAN. And who performeth his contract more faithfully than GOD? Rejoice therefore in the contract which ye have made. This ſhall be great happineſs. The penitent, *and* thoſe who ſerve *GOD*, and praiſe *him*, *and* who faſt, and bow down, and worſhip; *and* who command that which is juſt, and forbid that which is evil, and keep the ordinances of GOD, *ſhall likewiſe be rewarded with paradiſe:* wherefore bear good tidings unto the faithful. It is not *allowed* unto the prophet, nor thoſe who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters[a], although they be of kin, after it is become known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell[b]. Neither did ABRAHAM aſk forgiveneſs for his father, otherwiſe than in purſuance of a promiſe which he had promiſed unto him[c]: but when it became known unto him, that he was an enemy unto GOD, he declared himſelf clear of him[d]. Verily ABRAHAM was pitiful and compaſſionate. Nor is GOD *diſpoſed* to lead people into error[e], after that he hath directed them, until that which they ought to avoid is become known unto them; for GOD knoweth all things. Verily unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth; he giveth life, and he cauſeth to die; and ye have no patron or helper beſides GOD. GOD is reconciled unto the prophet, and unto the MOHAJERIN, and the ANSARS[f], who followed him in the hour of diſtreſs[g], after that it had wanted little but that the hearts of

[a] *It is not allowed the prophet—to pray for idolaters*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed, as ſome think, on account of *Abu Taleb*, *Mohammed*'s uncle and great benefactor; who on his death-bed, being preſſed by his nephew to ſpeak a word which might enable him to plead his cauſe before GOD, that is, to profeſs *Iſlâm*, abſolutely refuſed. *Mohammed* however told him that he would not ceaſe to pray for him, till he ſhould be forbidden by GOD; which he was by theſe words. Others ſuppoſe the occaſion to have been *Mohammed*'s viſiting his mother *Amena*'s ſepulchre at *al Abwâ*, ſoon after the taking of *Mecca*; for they ſay that while he ſtood at the tomb he burſt into tears, and ſaid, *I asked leave of* GOD *to viſit my mother's tomb, and he granted it me; but when I asked leave to pray for her, it was denied me* [1].

[b] *After it is become known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell*;] By their dying infidels. For otherwiſe it is not only lawful, but commendable, to pray for unbelievers, while there are hopes of their converſion.

[c] *In purſuance of a promiſe which he had promiſed him*;] viz. To pray that GOD would diſpoſe his heart to repentance. Some ſuppoſe this was a promiſe made to *Abraham* by his father, that he would believe in GOD. For the words may be taken either way.

[d] *When he knew that he was an enemy of* GOD, *he declared himſelf clear of him.*] Deſiſting to pray for him, when he was aſſured by inſpiration that he was not to be converted; or after he actually died an infidel. See chap. 6. p. 106.

[e] *To lead people into error*;] i. e. To conſider or puniſh them as tranſgreſſors. This paſſage was revealed to excuſe thoſe who had prayed for ſuch of their friends as had died idolaters, before it was forbidden; or elſe to excuſe certain people who had ignorantly prayed towards the firſt *Kebla*, and drank wine, *&c.*

[f] GOD *is reconciled unto the prophet*, &c.] Having forgiven the crime they committed, in giving the hypocrites leave to be abſent from the expedition to *Tabûc*; or for the other ſins which they might, thro' inadvertence, have been guilty of. For the beſt men have need of repentance [2].

[g] *In the hour of diſtreſs*;] viz. In the expedition of *Tabûc*; wherein *Mohammed*'s men were driven to ſuch extremities, that (beſides what they endured by reaſon of the exceſſive heat) ten

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

of a part of them had ſwerved *from their duty:* afterwards was he turned unto them; for he *was* compaſſionate *and* merciful towards them. And *he is* alſo *reconciled* unto the three who were left behind [a], ſo that the earth became too ſtrait for them, notwithſtanding its ſpaciouſneſs, and their ſouls became ſtraitened within them, and they conſidered that there was no refuge from GOD, otherwiſe than *by having recourſe* unto him. Then was he turned unto them, that they might repent; for GOD *is* eaſy to be reconciled *and* merciful. O true believers, fear GOD, and be with the ſincere. There was no *reaſon* why the inhabitants of MEDINA, and the ARABS of the deſart who dwell around them, ſhould ſtay behind the apoſtle of GOD, or ſhould prefer themſelves before him [b]. This *is unreaſonable:* becauſe they are not diſtreſſed either by thirſt, or labour, or hunger, for the defence of GOD's true religion; neither do they ſtir a ſtep, which may irritate the unbelievers; neither do they receive from the enemy any damage, but a good work is written down unto them for the ſame; for GOD ſuffereth not the reward of the righteous to periſh. And they contribute not any ſum either ſmall or great, nor do they paſs a valley, but it is written down unto them, that GOD may reward them with a recompenſe exceeding that which they have wrought. The believers are not *obliged* to go forth *to war* all together: if a part of every band of them go not forth, *it is* that they may diligently inſtruct themſelves in *their* religion [c]; and may admoniſh their people, when they return unto them, that they may take heed to themſelves. O true believers, wage war againſt ſuch of

ten men were obliged to ride by turns on one camel, and proviſions and water were ſo ſcarce, that two men divided a date between them, and they were obliged to drink the water out of the camels ſtomacks [1].

[a] *The three who were left behind;*] Or, as it may be tranſlated, *who were left in ſuſpenſe*, whether they ſhould be pardoned or not [2]. Theſe were three *Anſârs*, named *Caab Ebn Malec*, *Helâl Ebn Omeyya* and *Merâra Ebn Rabî*, who went not with *Mohammed* to *Tabûc*, and were therefore, on his return, ſecluded from the fellowſhip of the other *Moſlems*; the prophet forbidding any to ſalute them, or to hold diſcourſe with them. Under which interdiction they continued fifty days, till, on their ſincere repentance, they were at length diſcharged from it, by the revelation of this paſſage [3].

[b] *Or ſhould prefer themſelves before him;*] By not caring to ſhare with him the dangers and fatigues of war. *Al Beidâwi* tells us, that after *Mohammed* had ſet out for *Tabûc*, one *Abu Khaithama* ſitting in his garden, where his wife, a very beautiful woman, had ſpread a mat for him in the ſhade, and had ſet new dates and freſh water before him, after a little reflexion, cryed out, *This is not well, that I ſhould thus take my eaſe and pleaſure, while the apoſtle of* GOD *is expoſed to the ſcorching of the ſun-beams, and the inclemencies of the air*; and immediately mounting his camel, took his ſword and lance, and went to join the army.

[c] *If a part of every band of them go not forth,* &c.] That is, if ſome of every tribe or town be left behind, the end of their being ſo left is, that they may apply themſelves to ſtudy, and attain a more exact knowledge of the ſeveral points of their religion, ſo as to be able to inſtruct ſuch as by reaſon of their continual employment in the wars, have no other means of information. They ſay, that after the preceding paſſages were revealed, reprehending thoſe who had ſtaid at home during the expedition of *Tabûc*, every man went to war; ſo that the ſtudy of religion, which is rather more neceſſary for the defence and propagation of the faith, than even arms themſelves, became wholly laid aſide and neglected; to prevent which, for the future, a convenient number are hereby directed to be left behind, that they may have leiſure to proſecute their ſtudies.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See before, p.* 162. *not. g. Moh. p.* 133, 126. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, ABUL[illegible] *Moh.*

of the infidels as are near you [a]; and let them find ſeverity [b] in you: and know that GOD is with thoſe who fear *him*. Whenever a SURA is ſent down, there are ſome of them who ſay, Which of you hath this cauſed to increaſe in faith? It will increaſe the faith of thoſe who believe, and they ſhall rejoice: but unto thoſe in whoſe hearts there is an infirmity, it will add *farther* doubt unto their *preſent* doubt; and they ſhall die in their infidelity. Do they not ſee that they are tried every year once or twice [c]? yet they repent not, neither are they warned. And whenever a SURA is ſent down, they look at one another, *ſaying*, Doth any one ſee you [d]? then do they turn aſide. GOD ſhall turn aſide their hearts *from the truth*; becauſe they are a people who do not underſtand. Now hath an apoſtle come unto you of our own nation [e], an excellent *perſon*: it is *grievous* unto him that ye commit wickedneſs; *he is* careful over you, *and* compaſſionate and merciful towards the believers. If they turn back, ſay, GOD is my ſupport: there is no GOD but he. On him do I truſt; and he is the LORD of the magnificent throne.

[a] *Such of the infidels as are near you*;] Either of your kindred or neighbours; for theſe claim your pity and care in the firſt place, and their converſion ought firſt to be endeavoured. The perſons particularly meant in this paſſage, are ſuppoſed to have been the *Jews* of the tribes of *Koreidha* and *Nadhîr*, and thoſe of *Khaibar*; or elſe the *Greeks* of *Syria* [1].

[b] *Severity*;] Or fierceneſs in war.

[c] *They are tried every year once or twice*;] i. e. By various kinds of trials; or by being called forth to war, and by being made witneſſes of GOD's miraculous protection of the faithful.

[d] *They look at one another*, &c.] They wink at one another to riſe and leave the prophet's preſence, if they think they can do it without being obſerved; to avoid hearing the ſevere and deſerved reproofs which they apprehend in every new revelation. The perſons intended are the hypocritical *Moſlems*.

[e] See chap. 3. p. 55. not. b.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. X.

Intitled, JONAS[a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A L. R.[b] Theſe are the ſigns of the wiſe book. Is it a ſtrange thing unto the men *of* MECCA, that we have revealed *our will* unto a man from among them [c], *ſaying*, Denounce threats unto men *if they believe not*; and bear good tidings unto thoſe who believe, that on the merit of their ſincerity they have an intereſt with their LORD? The unbelievers ſay, This is manifeſt

[a] This prophet is mentioned towards the end of the chapter.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, 60.

[c] *A man from among them*;] And not one of the moſt powerful among them neither; ſo that the *Koreiſh* ſaid it was a wonder GOD could find out no other meſſenger than the orphan pupil of *Abu Taleb* [1].

[1] *Idem.*

nifeſt ſorcery [a]. Verily your LORD is GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth in ſix days; and then aſcended *his* throne, to take on himſelf the government of *all* things. There is no interceſſor, but by his permiſſion [b]. This is GOD, your LORD; therefore ſerve him. Will ye not conſider? Unto him ſhall ye all return, *according to* the certain promiſe of GOD: for he produceth a creature, and then cauſeth it to return again; that he may reward thoſe who believe and do that which is right, with equity. But as for the unbelievers, they ſhall drink boiling water, and *they ſhall ſuffer* a grievous puniſhment, for that they have diſbelieved. It is he who hath ordained the ſun to ſhine *by day*, and the moon for a light *by night*; and hath appointed her ſtations, that ye might know the number of years, and the computation *of time*. GOD hath not created this, but with truth. He explaineth *his* ſigns unto people who underſtand. Moreover in the viciſſitude of night and day, and whatever GOD hath created in heaven and earth, are ſurely ſigns unto men who fear *him*. Verily they who hope not to meet us *at the laſt day*, and delight in this preſent life, and reſt ſecurely in the ſame, and who are negligent of our ſigns; their dwelling ſhall be *hell* fire, for that which they have deſerved. But as to thoſe who believe, and work righteouſneſs, their LORD will direct them becauſe of their faith; they ſhall have rivers flowing through gardens of pleaſure. Their prayer therein *ſhall be*, Praiſe be unto thee, O GOD! and their ſalutation [c] therein *ſhall be*, Peace! and the end of their prayer *ſhall be*, Praiſe be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! If GOD ſhould cauſe evil to haſten unto men, according to their deſire of haſtening good, verily their end had been decreed. Wherefore we ſuffer thoſe who hope not to meet us *at the reſurrection*, to wander amazedly in their error. When evil befalleth a man; he prayeth unto us *lying* on his ſide, or ſitting, or ſtanding [d]: but when we deliver him from his affliction, he continueth *his former courſe of life*, as though he had not called upon us *to defend him* againſt the evil which had befallen him. Thus was that which the tranſgreſſors committed prepared for them. We have formerly deſtroyed the generations *who were* before you, *O men of* MECCA, when they had acted unjuſtly, and our apoſtles had come unto them with evident *miracles* and they would not believe. Thus do we reward the wicked people. Afterwards did we cauſe you to ſucceed them in the earth; that we might ſee how ye would act. When our evident ſigns are recited unto them, they who hope not to meet us *at the reſurrection*, ſay, Bring a different KORAN from this; or make ſome change therein. Anſwer, It is not *fit* for me, that I ſhould change it at my pleaſure: I follow that only which is revealed unto me. Verily I fear, if I ſhould be diſobedient unto my LORD, the puniſhment of the great day. Say, If GOD had ſo pleaſed, I had not read it unto you, neither had I taught you the ſame. I have already

[a] *This is manifeſt ſorcery*;] Meaning the *Korân*. According to the reading of ſome copies, the words may be rendered, *This man*, (i. e. Mohammed) *is no other than a manifeſt ſorcerer*.

[b] *There is no interceſſor but by his permiſſion*.] Theſe words were revealed to refute the fooliſh opinion of the idolatrous *Meccans*, who imagined their idols were intercеſſors with GOD for them.

[c] *Their ſalutation*;] Either the mutual ſalutation of the bleſſed to one another, or that of the angels to the bleſſed.

[d] *Lying, or ſitting, or ſtanding*;] i. e. In all poſtures, and at all times.

ready dwelt among you to the age *of forty years* [a], before *I received* it. Do ye not therefore underſtand? And who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth a lie againſt GOD, or accuſeth his ſigns of falſehood? Surely the wicked ſhall not proſper. They worſhip beſides GOD, that which can neither hurt them nor profit them, and they ſay, Theſe are our interceſſors with GOD [b]. Anſwer, Will ye tell GOD that which he knoweth not, neither in heaven nor in earth [c]? Praiſe be unto him! and far be that from him, which they aſſociate *with him!* Men were profeſſors of one religion only [d], but they diſſented *therefrom*; and if a decree had not previouſly iſſued from thy LORD, *deferring their puniſhment*, verily the *matter* had been decided between them, concerning which they diſagreed. They ſay, Unleſs a ſign be ſent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe.* Anſwer, Verily that which is hidden *is known* only unto GOD: wait therefore *the pleaſure of GOD*; and I alſo will wait with you. And when we cauſed the men *of MECCA* to taſte mercy, after an affliction which had befallen them, behold, they *deviſed* a ſtratagem againſt our ſigns [e]. Say *unto them*, GOD is more ſwift in *executing* a ſtratagem, *than ye.* Verily our meſſengers [f] write down that which ye deceitfully deviſe. It is he who hath given you conveniencies for travelling by land and by ſea; ſo that ye be in ſhips, which ſail with them, with a favourable wind, and they rejoice therein. *And when* a tempeſtuous wind overtaketh them, and waves come upon them from every ſide, and they think themſelves to be encompaſſed *with inevitable dangers*; they call upon GOD, exhibiting the pure religion unto him [g], *and ſaying*, Verily, if thou deliver us from this *peril*, we will be of thoſe who give thanks. But when he hath delivered them, behold, they behave themſelves inſolently in the earth, without juſtice. O men, Verily the violence which ye commit againſt your own ſouls, *is for the* enjoyment of this preſent life only; afterwards unto us ſhall ye return, and we will declare unto you that which ye have done. Verily the likeneſs of this preſent life is no other than

[a] *To the age of forty years*;] For ſo old was *Mohammed* before he took upon him to be a prophet [1]; during which time his fellow citizens well knew that he had not applied himſelf to learning of any ſort, nor frequented learned men, nor had ever exerciſed himſelf in compoſing verſes, or orations, whereby he might acquire the art of rhetoric, or elegance of ſpeech [2]. A flagrant proof, ſays *al Beidâwi*, that this book could be taught him by none but GOD.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. I. p. 15, *&c.*

[c] *Will ye tell* GOD *that which he knoweth not*, &c.] *viz.* That he hath equals or companions either in heaven, or on earth; ſince he acknowledgeth none?

[d] *Men were profeſſors of one religion only*, &c.] That is to ſay, the true religion, or *Iſlâm*, which was generally profeſſed, as ſome ſay, till *Abel* was murdered, or, as others, till the days of *Noah*. Some ſuppoſe the firſt ages after the flood are here intended; others, the ſtate of religion in *Arabia*, from the time of *Abraham* to that of *Amru Ebn Lohai*, the great introducer of idolatry into that country.

[e] *And when we cauſed thoſe of* Mecca *to taſte mercy after affliction*, &c.] For it is ſaid that they were afflicted with a dearth for ſeven years, ſo that they were very near periſhing; but no ſooner relieved by GOD's ſending them plenty, than they began again to charge *Mohammed* with impoſture, and to ridicule his revelations [3].

[f] *Our meſſengers*;] i. e. The guardian angels.

[g] *Exhibiting the pure religion unto him*;] That is, applying themſelves to GOD only, and neglecting their idols; their fears directing them in ſuch an extremity to ask help of him only who could give it.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 43. ABULFEDA. *Vit. Moh. c.* 7. [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 27, *&c.*
[3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

than as water, which we ſend down from heaven, and wherewith the productions of the earth are mixed, of which men eat, and cattle *alſo*, until the earth receive its veſture, and be adorned *with various plants:* the inhabitants thereof imagine that they have power over the ſame; *but* our command cometh unto it by night, or by day, and we render it *as though it had been* mowen, as though it had not yeſterday abounded *with fruits.* Thus do we explain *our* ſigns unto people who conſider. GOD inviteth unto the dwelling of peace [a], and directeth whom he pleaſeth into the right way. They who do right ſhall *receive* a moſt excellent *reward*, and a ſuperabundant addition [b]; neither blackneſs [c] nor ſhame ſhall cover their faces. Theſe *ſhall be* the inhabitants of paradiſe; they ſhall continue therein *for ever.* But they who commit evil *ſhall* receive the reward of evil, equal thereunto [d], and they ſhall be covered with ſhame, (*for* they ſhall have no protector againſt GOD;) as though their faces were covered with the profound darkneſs of the night. Theſe ſhall be the inhabitants of *hell* fire; they ſhall remain therein *for ever.* On the day *of the reſurrection* we will gather them altogether; then will we ſay unto the idolaters, *Get ye* to your place, ye and your companions [e]: and we will ſeparate them from one another; and their companions ſhall ſay *unto them*, Ye did not worſhip us [f]; and GOD is a ſufficient witneſs between us and you; neither did we mind your worſhipping *of us.* There ſhall every ſoul experience [g] that which it ſhall have ſent before it [h]; and they ſhall be brought before GOD, their true LORD; and the *falſe deities* which they vainly imagined, ſhall diſappear from before them. Say, Who provideth you food from heaven and earth? or who hath the abſolute power over the hearing and the ſight? and who bringeth forth the living from the dead, and bringeth forth the dead from the living? and who governeth *all* things? They will ſurely anſwer, GOD. Say, Will ye not therefore fear *him?* This is therefore GOD, your true LORD: and what *remaineth there* after truth, except error? How therefore are ye turned aſide *from the truth?* Thus is the word of thy LORD verified upon them who do wickedly; that they believe not. Say, Is there any of your companions who produceth a creature, and then cauſeth it to return *unto himſelf?* Say, GOD produceth a creature, and then cauſeth it to return *unto himſelf.* How therefore are ye turned aſide *from his worſhip?* Say, Is there any of your companions who di-

recteth

[a] *Unto the dwelling of peace;*] viz. Paradiſe.

[b] *And a ſuperabundant addition;*] For their reward will vaſtly exceed the merit of their good works. *Al Ghazâli* ſuppoſes this *additional recompenſe* will be the beatific viſion [i].

[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. p. 86, *&c.*

[d] *Equal thereunto;*] i. e. Tho' the bleſſed will be rewarded beyond their deſerts, yet GOD will not puniſh any beyond their demerits, but treat them with the exacteſt juſtice.

[e] *And your companions;*] That is, your idols, or the companions which ye attributed unto GOD.

[f] *Ye did not worſhip us;*] But ye really worſhipped your own luſts, and were ſeduced to idolatry, not by us, but by your own ſuperſtitious fancies. It is pretended, that GOD will, at the laſt day, inable the idols to ſpeak, and that they will thus reproach their worſhippers, inſtead of interceding for them, as they hoped. Some ſuppoſe the angels, who were alſo objects of the worſhip of the pagan *Arabs*, are particularly intended in this place.

[g] *Shall experience;*] Some copies inſtead of *tablu*, read *tatlu*, i. e. *ſhall follow*, or *meditate upon.*

[h] See chap. 2. p. 12. not. h.

[i] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 100.

recteth unto the truth? Say, GOD directeth unto the truth. Whether is he therefore, who directeth unto the truth, more worthy to be followed; or he who directeth not, unleſs he be directed? What aileth you therefore, that ye judge as ye do? And the greater part of them follow an *uncertain* opinion only; but a *meer* opinion attaineth not unto any truth. Verily GOD knoweth that which they do. This KORAN could not have been compoſed by *any* except GOD; but *it is* a confirmation of that which was *revealed* before it, and an explanation of the ſcripture; there is no doubt thereof; *ſent down* from the LORD of all creatures. Will they ſay, *MOHAMMED* hath forged it? Anſwer, Bring therefore a chapter like unto it; and call whom ye may *to your aſſiſtance*, beſides GOD, if ye ſpeak truth. But they have charged that with falſhood, the knowledge whereof they do not comprehend, neither hath the interpretation thereof come unto them. In the ſame manner did thoſe who were before them, accuſe *their prophets* of impoſture; but behold, what was the end of the unjuſt. There are ſome of them who believe therein; and there are ſome of them who believe not therein [a]: and thy LORD well knoweth the corrupt doers. If they accuſe thee of impoſture, ſay, I have my work, and ye have your work; ye ſhall be clear of that which I do, and I will be clear of that which ye do. There are ſome of them who hearken unto thee; but wilt thou make the deaf to hear, although they do not underſtand? And there are ſome of them who look at thee; but wilt thou direct the blind, although they ſee not [b]? Verily GOD will not deal unjuſtly with men in any reſpect: but men deal unjuſtly with their own ſouls [c]. On a certain day he will gather them together, as though they had not tarried [d] above an hour of a day: they ſhall know one another [e]. Then ſhall they periſh who have denied the meeting of GOD; and were not *rightly* directed. Whether we cauſe thee to ſee a part of *the puniſhment* wherewith we have threatened them, or whether we cauſe thee to die *before thou ſee it*; unto us ſhall they return: then *ſhall* GOD *be* witneſs of that which they do. Unto every nation *hath* an apoſtle *been ſent*: and when their apoſtle came, *the matter* was decided between them with equity [f]; and they were not

[a] *There are ſome of them who believe therein*, &c.] i. e. There are ſome of them who are inwardly well ſatisfied of the truth of thy doctrine, tho' they are ſo wicked as to oppoſe it; and there are others of them who believe it not, thro' prejudice and want of conſideration. Or the paſſage may be underſtood in the future tenſe, of ſome who ſhould afterwards believe, and repent, and of others who ſhould die infidels [1].

[b] *There are ſome of them who hearken unto thee; but wilt thou make the deaf to hear*, &c.] Theſe words were revealed on account of certain *Meccans*, who ſeemed to attend while *Mohammed* read the *Korân* to them, or inſtructed them in any point of religion, but yet were as far from being convinced or edified, as if they had not heard him at all [2].

[c] GOD *will not deal unjuſtly with men; but they deal unjuſtly with their own ſouls.*] For GOD deprives them not of their ſenſes, or underſtanding; but they corrupt and make an ill uſe of them.

[d] *As though they had not tarried*,] Either in the world, or in the grave.

[e] *They ſhall know one another*;] As if it were but a little while ſince they parted. But this will happen during the firſt moments only of the reſurrection; for afterwards the terror of the day will diſturb and take from them all knowledge of one another [3].

[f] *The matter was decided between them with equity*;] By delivering the prophet and thoſe who believed on him, and deſtroying the obſtinate infidels.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* *See chap.* 6. *p.* 101. [3] *Idem.*

not treated unjuſtly. The *unbelievers* ſay, When *will* this threatening *be made good*, if ye ſpeak truth? Anſwer, I am able neither to procure advantage unto my ſelf, nor to avert miſchief *from me*, but as GOD pleaſeth. Unto every nation is a fixed term *decreed*; when their term therefore is expired, they ſhall not have reſpite for an hour, neither ſhall *their puniſhment* be anticipated. Say, Tell me; if the puniſhment of GOD overtake you by night, or by day, what *part* thereof will the ungodly wiſh to be haſtened? When it falleth *on you*, do ye then believe it? Now *do ye believe, and wiſh it far from you*, when as ye formerly deſired it ſhould be haſtened? Then ſhall it be ſaid unto the wicked, Taſte ye the puniſhment of eternity: would ye receive *other* than the reward of that which ye have wrought? They will deſire to know of thee, whether this be true. Anſwer, Yea, by my LORD, it is certainly true; neither ſhall ye weaken *GOD's power, ſo as to eſcape it*. Verily, if every ſoul which hath acted wickedly had whatever is on the earth, it would *willingly* redeem it ſelf therewith *at the laſt day*. Yet they will conceal *their* repentance [a], after they ſhall have ſeen the puniſhment: and *the matter* ſhall be decided between them with equity; and they ſhall not be unjuſtly treated. Doth not whatſoever is in heaven and on earth *belong* unto GOD? Is not the promiſe of GOD true? But the greater part of them know *it* not. He giveth life, and he cauſeth to die; and unto him ſhall ye *all* return. O men, now hath an admonition come unto you from your LORD, and a remedy for the *doubts* which are in *your* breaſts; and a direction, and mercy unto the true believers. Say, Through the grace of GOD, and his mercy: therein therefore let them rejoice; this will be better than what they heap together *of worldly riches*. Say, Tell me; of that which GOD hath ſent down unto you for food, have ye declared *part to be* lawful, and *other part to be* unlawful [b]? Say, Hath GOD permitted you *to make this diſtinction?* or do ye deviſe *a lye* concerning GOD? But what will be the opinion of thoſe who deviſe a lye concerning GOD, on the day of the reſurrection? Verily GOD is indued with beneficence towards mankind; but the greater part of them do not give thanks. Thou ſhalt be *engaged* in no buſineſs, neither ſhalt thou be *employed* in meditating on *any paſſage* of the KORAN; nor ſhall ye do any action, but we will be witneſſes over you, when ye are employed therein. Nor is ſo much as the weight of an ant [c] hidden from thy LORD, in earth or in heaven: neither *is there any thing* leſſer than that, or greater, but it is *written* in the perſpicuous book [d]. Are not the friends of GOD *the perſons*, on whom no fear ſhall come, and who ſhall not be grieved? They who believe and fear *GOD*, ſhall receive good tidings in this life, and in that which is to come. There is no change in the words of GOD. This *ſhall be*

[a] *They will conceal their repentance*;] To hide their ſhame and regret [1]; or becauſe their ſurprize and aſtoniſhment will deprive them of the uſe of ſpeech [2]. Some, however, underſtand the verb which is here rendered *will conceal*, in the contrary ſignification, which it ſometimes bears; and then it muſt be tranſlated, *They will openly declare their repentance*, &c.

[b] See chap. 6. p. 113, *&c.*

[c] See chap. 4. p. 66. not. d.

[d] *The perſpicuous book*;] The *preſerved table*; wherein GOD's decrees are recorded.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

great felicity. Let not their diſcourſe [a] grieve thee; for all might *belongeth* unto GOD: he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Is not whoever *dwelleth* in heaven and on earth, *ſubject* unto GOD? What therefore do they follow, who invoke idols, beſides GOD? They follow nothing but a *vain* opinion; and they only utter lyes. It is he who hath ordained the night for you, that ye may take your reſt therein, and the clear day *for labour:* verily herein are ſigns unto people who hearken. They ſay, GOD hath begotten children: GOD forbid! He is ſelf-ſufficient. Unto him *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and on earth: ye have no demonſtrative proof of this. Do ye ſpeak of GOD that which ye know not? Say, Verily they who imagine a lye concerning GOD, ſhall not proſper. *They may enjoy* a proviſion in this world; *but* afterwards unto us ſhall they return, and we will then cauſe them to taſte a grievous puniſhment, for that they were unbelievers. Rehearſe unto them the hiſtory of NOAH [b]: when he ſaid unto his people, O my people, if my ſtanding forth *among you*, and my warning *you* of the ſigns of GOD, be grievous unto you; in GOD do I put my truſt. Therefore lay your deſign *againſt me*, and aſſemble your falſe gods; but let not your deſign be *carried on* by you *in* the dark: then come forth againſt me, and delay not. And if ye turn aſide *from my admonitions*, I aſk not any reward of you *for the ſame* [c]; *I expect* my reward from GOD alone, and I am commanded to be *one* of thoſe who are reſigned *unto him.* But they accuſed him of impoſture; wherefore we delivered him, and thoſe who *were* with him in the ark, and we cauſed them to ſurvive *the flood*, but we drowned thoſe who charged our ſigns with falſhood. Behold therefore, what was the end of thoſe who were warned *by NOAH.* Then did we ſend, after him, apoſtles unto their *reſpective* people [d], and they came unto them with evident demonſtrations: yet they were not *diſpoſed* to believe in that which they had before rejected as falſe. Thus do we ſeal up the hearts of the tranſgreſſors. Then did we ſend, after them, MOSES and AARON unto PHARAOH and his princes with our ſigns [e]: but they behaved proudly, and were a wicked people. And when the truth from us had come unto them, they ſaid, Verily this is manifeſt ſorcery. MOSES ſaid *unto them*, Do ye ſpeak *this* of the truth, after it hath come unto you? Is this ſorcery? but ſorcerers ſhall not proſper. They ſaid, Art thou come unto us to turn us aſide from that *religion*, which we found our fathers practiſe; and that ye two may have the command in the land? But we do not believe you. And PHARAOH ſaid, Bring unto me every expert magician. And when the magicians were come, MOSES ſaid unto them, Caſt down that which ye are about to caſt down. And when they had caſt down *their rods and cords*, MOSES ſaid *unto them*, The enchantment which ye have performed, ſhall GOD ſurely render vain; for GOD proſpereth not the work of the wicked doers. And GOD will verify the truth of his words, although the wicked be averſe *thereto.*

And

[a] *Their diſcourſe*;] viz. The impious and rebellious talk of the infidels.

[b] See chap. 7. p. 122, *&c.*

[c] *I ask not any reward*, &c.] Therefore ye cannot excuſe your ſelves by ſaying that I am burthenſome to you.

[d] *We ſent, after him, apoſtles unto their reſpective people*;] As *Hûd*, *Sâleh*, *Abraham*, *Lot*, and *Shoaib*, to thoſe of *Ad*, *Thamûd*, *Babel*, *Sodom*, and *Midian*.

[e] See chap. 7. p. 128. *&c.*

And there believed not *any* on MOSES, except a generation of his people [a], for fear of PHARAOH and of his princes, lest he should afflict them. And PHARAOH was lifted up with pride in the earth, and was surely *one* of the transgressors. And MOSES said, O my people, if ye believe in GOD, put your trust in him, if ye be resigned *to his will.* They answered, We put our trust in GOD: O LORD, suffer us not to be afflicted by unjust people; but deliver us, through thy mercy, from the unbelieving people. And we spake by inspiration unto MOSES and his brother, *saying*, Provide habitations for your people in EGYPT, and make your houses a place of worship [b], and be constant at prayer; and bear good news unto the true believers. And MOSES said, O LORD, verily thou hast given unto PHARAOH and his people *pompous* ornaments [c], and riches in this present life, O LORD, that they may be seduced from thy way: O LORD, bring their riches to nought, and harden their hearts; that they may not believe, until they see *their* grievous punishment. *GOD* said, Your petition is heard [d]: be ye upright therefore [e], and follow not the way of those who are ignorant. And we caused the children of ISRAEL to pass through the sea; and PHARAOH and his army followed them in a violent and hostile manner; until, when he was drowning, he said, I believe that there is no GOD but he, on whom the children of ISRAEL believe; and I am *one* of the resigned [f]. Now *dost thou believe*; when thou hast been hitherto rebellious, and one of the wicked doers? This day will we raise thy body [g] *from the bottom of the sea*, that thou mayest be a sign unto those who shall be after thee; and verily a great number of men are negligent of our signs. And we prepared for the children of ISRAEL an established dwelling *in the land of CANAAN*, and we provided good things for their sustenance: and they differed

[a] *Except a generation of his people*;] For when he first began to preach, a few of the younger *Israelites* only believed on him; the others not giving ear to him, for fear of the king. But some suppose the pronoun *his* refers to *Pharaoh*, and that these were certain *Egyptians*, who, together with his wife *Asia*, believed on *Moses* [1].

[b] *A place of worship.*] So *Jallalo'ddin* expounds the original word *Kebla*, which properly signifies that place or quarter towards which one prays. Wherefore *al Zamakhshari* supposes, that the *Israelites* are here ordered to dispose their oratories in such a manner, that, when they prayed, their faces might be turned towards *Mecca*; which he imagines was the *Kebla* of *Moses*, as it is that of the *Mohammedans*. The former commentator adds, that *Pharaoh* had forbidden the *Israelites* to pray to GOD; for which reason they were obliged to perform that duty privately in their houses.

[c] *Ornaments*;] As magnificent apparel, chariots, and the like.

[d] *Your petition is heard*;] The pronoun is in the dual number; the antecedent being *Moses* and *Aaron*. The commentators say, that in consequence of this prayer, all the treasures of *Egypt* were turned into stones [2].

[e] *Be ye upright*;] Or, as *al Beidâwi* interprets it, Be ye constant and steady in preaching to the people. The *Mohammedans* pretend that *Moses* continued in *Egypt* no less than forty years, after he had first published his mission: which cannot be reconciled to scripture.

[f] *I believe that there is no* GOD *but he*, &c.] These words, it is said, *Pharaoh* repeated often in his extremity, that he might be heard. But his repentance came too late; for *Gabriel* soon stopped his mouth with mud, lest he should obtain mercy; reproaching him at the same time in the words which follow.

[g] *We will raise thy dead body*, &c.] Some of the children of *Israel* doubting whether *Pharaoh* was really drowned, *Gabriel*, by GOD's command, caused his naked corps to swim to shore, that they might see it [3]. The word here translated *body*, signifying also a *coat of mail*, some imagine the meaning to be, that his corps floated armed with his coat of mail, which they tell us was of gold, by which they knew that it was he.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI [2] JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *See Exod.* xiv. 30.

fered not *in point of religion*, until knowledge had come unto them [a]; verily thy LORD will judge between them on the day of reſurrection, concerning that wherein they diſagreed. If thou art in a doubt concerning *any part of* that which we have ſent down unto thee [b], aſk them who have read the book *of the law* before thee. Now hath the truth come unto thee from thy LORD; be not therefore *one* of thoſe who doubt: neither be thou *one* of thoſe who charge the ſigns of GOD with falſhood, leſt thou become *one* of thoſe who periſh. Verily thoſe againſt whom the word of thy LORD is decreed, ſhall not believe, although there come unto them every *kind of* miracle; until they ſee the grievous puniſhment *prepared for them.* And if *it were* not *ſo*, ſome city, *among the many which have been deſtroyed*, would have believed; and the faith of its *inhabitants* would have been of advantage unto them: *but none of them believed, before the execution of their ſentence*, except the people of JONAS [c]. When they believed, we delivered them from the puniſhment of ſhame in this world, and ſuffered them to enjoy *their lives and poſſeſſions* for a time [d]. But if thy LORD had pleaſed, verily all who are in the earth would have believed in general. Wilt thou therefore forcibly compel men to be true believers? No ſoul can believe, but by the permiſſion of GOD: and he ſhall pour out *his* indignation on thoſe who will not underſtand. Say, Conſider whatever is in heaven and on earth: but ſigns are of no avail, neither preachers, unto people who will not believe. Do they therefore expect any other than *ſome terrible judgment*, like unto the judgments *which have fallen* on thoſe who have gone before them? Say, Wait ye *the iſſue*; and I alſo will wait with you: then will we deliver our apoſtles and thoſe who believe. Thus is it a juſtice due from us, that we ſhould deliver the true believers. Say, O men *of MECCA*, if ye be in doubt concerning my religion, verily I worſhip not the *idols* which ye worſhip, beſides GOD; but I worſhip GOD, who will cauſe you to die: and I am commanded to be *one* of the true believers. And *it was ſaid unto me*, Set thy face towards the *true* religion, *and be* orthodox; and by no means be *one* of thoſe who attribute companions *unto* GOD; neither

[a] *Until after knowledge had come unto them*;] i. e. After the law had been revealed, and publiſhed by *Moſes*.

[b] *Concerning that which we have ſent down unto thee*;] That is, concerning the truth of the hiſtories which are here related. The commentators doubt whether the perſon here ſpoken to, be *Mohammed* himſelf, or his auditor.

[c] *The people of* Jonas;] *viz.* The inhabitants of *Ninive*, which ſtood on or near the place where *al Mawſel* now ſtands. This people having corrupted themſelves with idolatry, *Jonas* the ſon of *Mattai* (or *Amittai*, which the *Mohammedans* ſuppoſe to be the name of his mother,) an *Iſraelite* of the tribe of *Benjamin*, was ſent by GOD to preach to, and reclaim them. When he firſt began to exhort them to repentance, inſtead of hearkening to him, they uſed him very ill, ſo that he was obliged to leave the city; threatening them, at his departure, that they ſhould be deſtroyed within three days, or, as others ſay, within forty [1]. But when the time drew near, and they ſaw the heavens overcaſt with a black cloud, which ſhot forth fire, and filled the air with ſmoke, and hung directly over their city, they were in a terrible conſternation, and getting into the fields, with their families and cattle, they put on ſackcloth, and humbled themſelves before GOD, calling aloud for pardon, and ſincerely repenting of their paſt wickedneſs. Whereupon GOD was pleaſed to forgive them, and the ſtorm blew over [2].

[d] *For a time*;] i. e. Until they died according to the ordinary courſe of nature.

[1] *See Jonah* iii. 4. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, ABULFED. *See chap.* 21, *and* 37.

ther invoke, beſides GOD, that which can neither profit thee nor hurt thee: for if thou do, thou *wilt* then certainly *become one* of the unjuſt. If GOD afflict thee with hurt, there is none who can relieve thee from it, except he; and if he willeth thee any good, there is none who can keep back his bounty: he will confer it on ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth; and he *is* gracious *and* merciful. Say, O men, now hath the truth come unto you from your LORD. He therefore who ſhall be directed, will be directed to *the advantage of* his own ſoul: but he who ſhall err, will err only againſt the ſame. I am no guardian over you. Do thou, *O prophet*, follow that which is revealed unto thee: and perſevere with patience, until GOD ſhall judge; for he is the beſt judge.

CHAP. XI.

Intitled, HUD [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A L. R. [b] *This* book, the verſes whereof are guarded againſt corruption [c], and are alſo diſtinctly explained [d], *is a revelation* from the wiſe, the knowing *GOD:* that ye ſerve not *any other* than GOD; (verily I am a denouncer *of threats*, and a bearer of good tidings unto you from him;) and that ye aſk pardon of your LORD, and then be turned unto him. He will cauſe you to enjoy a plentiful proviſion, until a prefixed time: and unto every one that hath merit *by good works*, will he give his abundant *reward*. But if ye turn back, verily I fear for you the puniſhment of the great day: unto GOD ſhall ye return; and he is almighty. Do they not double *the folds of* their breaſts [e], that they may conceal *their deſigns* from him? When they cover themſelves with their garments, doth not he know that which they conceal, and

[a] The ſtory of which prophet is repeated in this chapter.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. p. 59, *&c.*

[c] *The verſes whereof are guarded againſt corruption*;] According to the various ſenſes which the verb *ohkimat*, in the original, may bear, the commentators ſuggeſt as many different interpretations. Some ſuppoſe the meaning to be, according to our verſion, that the *Korân* is not liable to be corrupted [1], as the law and the goſpel have been, in the opinion of the *Mohammedans:* others, that every verſe in this particular chapter is in full force, and not one of them abrogated: others, that the verſes of the *Korân* are diſpoſed in a clear and perſpicuous method, or contain evident and demonſtrative arguments: and others, that they comprize judicial declarations, to regulate both faith and practice [2].

[d] *And are alſo diſtinctly explained*;] The ſignification of the verb *foſſilat*, which is here uſed, being alſo ambiguous, the meaning of this paſſage is ſuppoſed to be, either that the verſes are diſtinctly propoſed or expreſſed in a clear manner; or that the ſubject matter of the whole may be diſtinguiſhed or divided into laws, monitions, and examples; or elſe that the verſes were revealed by parcels. [3]

[e] *Do they not double the folds of their breaſts*;] Or, as it may be tranſlated, *Do they not turn away their breaſts*, &c.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 75. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, &c.
[3] *Idem.*

and that which they diſcover? For he knoweth the innermoſt parts of the
XII. breaſts *of men* [a]. * There is no *creature* which creepeth on the earth, but GOD *provideth* its food; and he knoweth the place of its retreat, and where it is laid up [b]. The whole *is written* in the perſpicuous book *of his decrees*. It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in ſix days, (but his throne was above the waters *before the creation thereof* [c],) that he might prove you, *and ſee* which of you would excel in works. If thou ſay, Ye ſhall ſurely be raiſed again, after death; the unbelievers will ſay, This is nothing but manifeſt ſorcery. And verily if we defer their puniſhment unto a determined ſeaſon, they will ſay, What hindreth it *from falling on us?* Will it not come upon them on a day, wherein there ſhall be none to avert *it* from them; and that which they ſcoffed at ſhall incompaſs them? Verily, if we cauſe man to taſte mercy from us, and afterwards take it away from him; he *will* ſurely *become* deſperate [d], and ungrateful. And if we cauſe him to taſte favour, after an affliction hath befallen him, he will ſurely ſay, The evils *which I ſuffered* are paſſed from me; and he *will become* joyful and inſolent: except thoſe who perſevere with patience, and do that which is right; they ſhall *receive* pardon, and a great reward. Peradventure thou wilt omit *to publiſh* part of that which hath been revealed unto thee, and thy breaſt will become ſtraitened, leſt they ſay, Unleſs a treaſure be ſent down unto him, or an angel come with him, *to bear witneſs unto him, we will not believe.* Verily thou art a preacher *only*; and GOD is the governour of all things. Will they ſay, He hath forged *the* KORAN? Anſwer, Bring therefore ten chapters [e] like unto it, forged *by your ſelves*; and call on whomſoever ye may *to aſſiſt you*, except GOD, if ye ſpeak truth. But if they *whom ye call to your aſſiſtance* hear you not; know that *this book* hath been revealed by the knowledge of GOD only [f], and that there is no GOD, but he. *Will* ye therefore *become* Moſlems? Whoſo

[a] This paſſage was occaſioned by the words of certain of the idolaters, who ſaid to one another, *When we let down our curtains*, (ſuch as the women uſe in the eaſt to ſcreen themſelves from the ſight of the men, when they happen to be in the room,) *and wrap our ſelves up in our garments, and fold up our breaſts, to conceal our malice againſt* Mohammed, *how ſhould he come to the knowledge of it?* Some ſuppoſe the paſſage relates to certain hypocritical *Moſlems*; but this opinion is generally rejected, becauſe the verſe was revealed at *Mecca*, and the birth of hypocriſy among the *Mohammedans* happened not till after the *Hejra*.

[b] *The place of its retreat, and where it is laid up*;] i. e. Both during its life, and after its death; or the repoſitory of every animal, before its birth, in the loins and wombs of the parents.

[c] *But his throne was above the waters, before the creation thereof*;] For the *Mohammedans* ſuppoſe this throne, and the waters whereon it ſtands, which waters they imagine are ſupported by a ſpirit or wind, were, with ſome other things, created before the heavens and earth. This fancy they borrowed from the *Jews*, who alſo ſay, that the throne of glory then ſtood in the air, and was born on the face of the waters, by the breath of GOD's mouth [1].

[d] *Deſperate*;] Caſting aſide all hopes of the divine favour, for want of patience, and truſt in GOD.

[e] *Ten chapters*;] This was the number which he firſt challenged them to compoſe; but they not being able to do it, he made the matter ſtill eaſier, challenging them to produce a ſingle chapter only [2], comparable to the *Korân* in doctrine and eloquence.

[f] *By the knowledge of* GOD *only*;] Or containing ſeveral paſſages wrapped up in dark and myſterious expreſſions, which can proceed from, and are perfectly comprehended by none but GOD [3].

[1] RASHI, *ad Geneſ.* i. 2. *V.* RELAND. *de relig. Moh. p.* 50, *&c.* [2] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 3. *chap.* 10. *p.* 170, *&c.* [3] *See chap.* 3. *p.* 35.

Whoſo chooſeth the preſent life, and the pomp thereof, unto them will we give *the recompenſe of* their works therein, and the ſame ſhall not be diminiſhed unto them. Theſe are they for whom no *other reward* is *prepared* in the next life, except the fire *of hell:* that which they have done in *this life* ſhall periſh; and that which they have wrought *ſhall be* vain. Shall he therefore *be compared with them*, who followeth the evident declaration of his LORD, and whom a witneſs from him [a] attendeth, preceded by the book of MOSES [b], *which was revealed for* a guide, and *out of* mercy *to mankind?* Theſe believe in the *KORAN:* but whoſoever of the confederate *infidels* believeth not therein, is threatened with the fire *of hell, which threat ſhall certainly be executed:* be not therefore in a doubt concerning it; for it is the truth from thy LORD: but the greater part of men will not believe. Who is more unjuſt than he who imagineth a lye concerning GOD? They ſhall be ſet before their LORD, *at the day of judgment*, and the witneſſes [c] ſhall ſay, Theſe are they who deviſed lyes againſt their LORD. Shall not the curſe of GOD *fall* on the unjuſt; who turn *men* aſide from the way of GOD, and ſeek to render it crooked, and who believe not in the life to come? Theſe were not able to prevail *againſt GOD* on earth, *ſo as to eſcape puniſhment*; neither had they any protectors beſides GOD: their puniſhment ſhall be doubled unto them [d]. They could not hear, neither did they ſee. Theſe are they who have loſt their ſouls; and the *idols* which they falſely imagined, have abandoned them. There is no doubt but they ſhall be moſt miſerable in the world to come. But as for thoſe who believe, and do good works, and humble themſelves before their LORD, they ſhall be the inhabitants of paradiſe; they ſhall remain therein *for ever*. The ſimilitude of the two parties [e] is as the blind and the deaf, and *as* he who ſeeth and heareth: ſhall they be compared as equal? Will ye not therefore conſider? We formerly ſent NOAH [f] unto his people; *and he ſaid*, Verily I am a public preacher unto you; that ye worſhip GOD alone: verily I fear for you the puniſhment of the terrible day. But the chiefs of his people, who believed not, anſwered, We ſee thee *to be* no other than a man, like unto us; and we do not ſee that any follow thee, except thoſe who are the moſt abject among us, *who have believed on thee* by a raſh judgment [g]; neither do we perceive any excellence in you above us: but we eſteem you to be lyars. *NOAH* ſaid, O my people, tell me; if I have *received* an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath beſtowed on me mercy from himſelf, which is hidden from you, do we compel you to *receive* the ſame, in caſe ye be averſe thereto? O my people, I aſk not of you any riches, for *my preaching unto you:* my reward is with GOD alone. I will not drive away thoſe who have believed [h]: verily they ſhall meet their LORD, *at the reſurrection*; but I perceive

[a] *A witneſs from him*;] viz. The *Korân*; or, as others ſuppoſe, the angel *Gabriel*.

[b] *Preceded by the book of* Moſes;] Which bears teſtimony thereto.

[c] *The witneſſes*;] That is, The angels, and prophets, and their own members.

[d] *Their puniſhment ſhall be doubled*;] For they ſhall be puniſhed both in this life, and in the next.

[e] *Of the two parties*;] i. e. The believers and the infidels.

[f] See chap. 7. p. 122, *&c.*

[g] *By a raſh judgment*;] For want of mature conſideration, and moved by the firſt impulſe of their fancy.

[h] *I will not drive away thoſe who have believed*;] For this they asked him to do, becauſe they were poor mean people. The ſame thing the *Koreiſh* demanded

ceive that ye are ignorant men. O my people, who ſhall aſſiſt me againſt GOD, if I drive them away? Will ye not therefore conſider? I ſay not unto you, The treaſures of GOD are in my power; neither *do I ſay*, I know the ſecrets *of GOD*: neither do I ſay, Verily I am an angel [a]; neither do I ſay of thoſe whom your eyes do contemn, GOD will by no means beſtow good on them: (GOD beſt knoweth that which is in their ſouls;) for then ſhould I certainly be *one* of the unjuſt. They anſwered, O NOAH, thou haſt already diſputed with us, and haſt multiplied diſputes with us; now therefore do thou bring that *puniſhment* upon us wherewith thou haſt threatened us, if thou ſpeakeſt truth. *NOAH* ſaid, Verily GOD alone ſhall bring it upon you, if he pleaſeth; and ye ſhall not prevail againſt him, *ſo as to eſcape the ſame*. Neither ſhall my counſel profit you, although I endeavour to counſel you aright, if GOD ſhall pleaſe to lead you into error. He is your LORD, and unto him ſhall ye return. Will the *MECCANS* ſay, *MOHAMMED* hath forged *the KORAN?* Anſwer, If I have forged it, on me *be* my guilt; and let me be clear of that which ye are guilty of. And it was revealed unto NOAH, *ſaying*, Verily none of thy people ſhall believe, except he who hath already believed: be not therefore grieved, for that which they are doing. But make an ark in our preſence, *according to the form and dimenſions* which we have revealed *unto thee:* and ſpeak not unto me in behalf of thoſe who have acted unjuſtly; for they *are doomed to be* drowned. And he built the ark; and ſo often as a company of his people paſſed by him, they derided him [b]: *but* he ſaid, Though ye ſcoff at us *now*, we will ſcoff at you *hereafter*, as ye ſcoff *at us*; and ye ſhall ſurely know on whom a puniſhment ſhall be inflicted, which ſhall cover him with ſhame, and on whom a laſting puniſhment ſhall fall. *Thus were they imployed* until our ſentence was put in execution, and the oven poured forth *water* [c]. *And* we ſaid *unto NOAH*, Carry into *the ark* of every *ſpecies of*

demanded of *Mohammed*, but he was forbidden to comply with their requeſt [1].

[a] See chap. 6. p. 103.

[b] *They derided him*;] For building a veſſel in an inland country, and ſo far from the ſea; and for that he was turned carpenter, after he had ſet up for a prophet [2].

[c] *And the oven poured forth water*;] Or, as the original literally ſignifies, *boiled over*; which is conſonant to what the *Rabbins* ſay, that the waters of the deluge were boiling hot.

This oven was, as ſome ſay, at *Cûfa*, in a ſpot whereon a moſque now ſtands; or, as others rather think, in a certain place in *India*, or elſe at *Ain warda* in *Meſopotamia* [3]; and its exundation was the ſign by which *Noah* knew the flood was coming [4]. Some pretend that it was the ſame oven which *Eve* made uſe of to bake her bread in, being of a form different from thoſe we uſe, having the mouth in the upper part, and that it deſcended from patriarch to patriarch, till it came to *Noah* [5]. It is remarkable that *Mohammed*, in all probability, borrowed this circumſtance from the *Perſian Magi*, who alſo fancied that the firſt waters of the deluge guſhed out of the oven of a certain old woman named *Zala Cûfa* [6].

But the word *tannûr*, which is here tranſlated *oven*, alſo ſignifying the *ſuperficies of the earth*, or *a place whence waters ſpring forth*, or *where they are collected*, ſome ſuppoſe it means no more in this paſſage, than the ſpot or fiſſure whence the firſt eruption of waters brake forth.

[1] *See chap. 6. p. 103.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.* [5] *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. art. Noah.* [6] *V.* HYDE *de rel. vet. Perſar. and* LORD'S *account of the relig. of the Perſees, p.* 9.

of animals one pair [a]; and thy family [b], (except him on whom a previous ſentence *of deſtruction* hath paſſed [c],) and thoſe who believe [d]. But there believed not with him, except a few [e]. And *NOAH* ſaid, Embark thereon, in the name of GOD; while it moveth forward, and while it ſtandeth ſtill [f]; for my LORD *is* gracious *and* merciful. And *the ark* ſwam with them between waves like mountains [g]: and NOAH called unto his ſon [h], who was ſeparated *from him, ſaying*, Embark with us, my ſon, and ſtay not with the unbelievers. He

 anſwered,

[a] *One pair*;] Or, as the words may alſo be rendred, and ſome commentators think they ought, *two pair*, that is, two males, and two females of each ſpecies; wherein they partly agree with divers *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* writers [1], who from the *Hebrew* expreſſion, *ſeven and ſeven*, and *two and two, the male and his female* [2], ſuppoſe there went into the ark fourteen pair of every clean, and two pair of every unclean ſpecies. There is a tradition that GOD gathered together unto *Noah*, all ſorts of beaſts, birds and other animals, (it being indeed difficult to conceive how he ſhould come by them all, without ſome ſupernatural aſſiſtance,) and that as he laid hold on them, his right hand conſtantly fell on the male, and his left on the female [3].

[b] *Thy family*;] Namely thy wife; and thy ſons, and their wives [4].

[c] *Except him on whom a previous ſentence of deſtruction hath paſſed*;] This was an unbelieving ſon of *Noah* [5], named *Canaan* [6], or *Yam* [7]; tho' others ſay he was not the ſon of *Noah*, but his grandſon by his ſon *Ham*, or his wife's ſon by another husband; nay ſome pretend he was related to him no farther than by having been educated and brought up in his houſe [8]. The beſt commentators add, that *Noah*'s wife, named *Wâïla*, who was an infidel, was alſo comprehended in this exception, and periſhed with her ſon [9].

[d] *And thoſe who believe.*] *Noah*'s family being mentioned before, it is ſuppoſed that by theſe words are intended the other believers, who were his proſelytes, but not of his family: whence the common opinion among the *Mohammedans*, of a greater number than eight being ſaved in the ark, ſeems to have taken its riſe [10].

[e] *There believed not with him except a few*;] viz. His other wife, who was a true believer, his three ſons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and their wives, and ſeventy two perſons more [11].

[f] *Embark thereon, in the name of* GOD, *while it moveth forward, and while it ſtandeth ſtill*;] That is, omit no opportunity of getting on board. According to a different reading, the latter words may be rendred, *Who ſhall cauſe it to move forward, and to ſtop*, as there ſhall be occaſion. The commentators tell us that the ark moved forwards, or ſtood ſtill, as *Noah* would have it, on his pronouncing only the words, *In the name of* GOD [12].

It is to be obſerved that the more judicious commentators make the dimenſions of the ark to be the ſame with thoſe aſſigned by *Moſes* [13]; notwithſtanding others have enlarged them moſt extravagantly [14], as ſome *Chriſtian* writers [15] have alſo done. They likewiſe tell us that *Noah* was two years in building the ark, which was framed of *Indian* plane tree [16], that it was divided into three ſtories, of which the lower was deſigned for the beaſts, the middle one for the men and women, and the upper for the birds [17]; and that the men were ſeparated from the women by the body of *Adam*, which *Noah* had taken into the ark [18]. This laſt is a tradition of the eaſtern *Chriſtians* [19], ſome of whom pretended that the matrimonial duty was ſuperſeded and ſuſpended during the time *Noah* and his family were in the ark [20]; tho' *Ham* has been accuſed of not obſerving continency on that occaſion, his wife, it ſeems, bringing forth *Canaan* in the very ark [21].

[g] *Between waves like mountains*;] The waters prevailing fifteen cubits above the mountains [22].

[h] See above, not. c.

[1] ABEN EZRA, JUSTIN MARTYR, ORIGEN, *&c.* [2] *Geneſ.* vii. 2. [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] YAHYA. [6] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [7] EBN SHOHNAH. [8] *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 676. [9] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, *al* BEIDAWI. [10] *See chap. 7. p.* 123. [11] *See ibid. not. a.* [12] *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c.* [13] *Idem, &c.* [14] YAHYA. *V.* MARRACC. *in Alcor. p.* 340. [15] ORIGEN. *contr. Celſ. l.* 4. *V.* KIRCHER. *de Arca Noe, c.* 8. [16] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *p.* 675. *and* EUTYCH. *p.* 34. [17] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* EUTYCH. *annal. p.* 34. [18] YAHYA. [19] JACOB. EDESSENUS, *apud Barcepham de parad. part* 1. *c.* 14. EUTYCH. *ubi ſup. V. etiam* ELIEZER. *pirke c.* 23. [20] AMBROS. *de Noa & arca, c.* 21. [21] *V.* HEIDEGGER. *Hiſt. Patriarchar. v.* 1. *p.* 409. [22] *Al* BEIDAWI.

anſwered, I will get on a mountain, which will ſecure me from the water. *NOAH* replied, There is no ſecurity this day from the decree of GOD, except for him on whom he ſhall have mercy. And a wave paſſed between them, and he became *one* of thoſe who were drowned. And it was ſaid, O earth, ſwallow up thy waters, and thou, O heaven, withhold *thy rain*. And *immediately* the water abated, and the decree was fulfilled, and *the ark* reſted on *the mountain* AL JUDI [a]; and it was ſaid, Away with the ungodly people! And *NOAH* called upon his LORD, and ſaid, O LORD, verily my ſon is of my family; and thy promiſe is true [b]: for thou art the moſt juſt of thoſe who exerciſe judgment. *GOD* anſwered, O NOAH, verily he is not of thy family [c]: this *interceſſion of thine for him*, is not a righteous work [d]. Aſk not of me therefore that wherein thou haſt no knowledge: I admoniſh thee that thou become not *one* of the ignorant. *NOAH* ſaid, O LORD, I have recourſe unto thee *for the aſſiſtance of thy grace*, that I aſk not of thee that wherein I have no knowledge: and unleſs thou forgive me, and be merciful unto me, I ſhall be

[a] *And the ark reſted on the mountain* al Judi;] This mountain is one of thoſe which divide *Armenia*, on the ſouth, from *Meſopotamia*, and that part of *Aſſyria*, which is inhabited by the *Curds*, from whom the mountains took the name of *Cardu*, or *Gardu*, by the *Greeks* turned into *Gordyæi*, and other names [1]. Mount *al Jûdi*, (which name ſeems to be a corruption, tho' it be conſtantly ſo written by the *Arabs*, for *Jordi or Giordi*) is alſo called *Thamanîn* [2], probably from a town at the foot of it [3], ſo named from the number of perſons ſaved in the ark, the word *thamanin* ſignifying *eighty*, and overlooks the country of *Diyâr Rabîah*, near the cities of *Mawſel*, *Forda*, and *Jazîrat Ebn Omar*, which laſt place one affirms to be but four miles from the place of the ark, and ſays that a *Mohammedan* temple was built there with the remains of that veſſel, by the *Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alazîz*, whom he by miſtake calls *Omar Ebn al Khattâb* [4].

The tradition which affirms the ark to have reſted on theſe mountains muſt have been very ancient, ſince it is the tradition of the *Chaldeans* themſelves [5]: the *Chaldee* paraphraſts conſent to their opinion [6], which obtained very much formerly, eſpecially among the *eaſtern Chriſtians* [7]. To confirm it, we are told, that the remainders of the ark were to be ſeen on the *Gordyæan* mountains: *Beroſus* and *Abydenus* both declare there was ſuch a report in their time [8]; the firſt obſerving that ſeveral of the inhabitants thereabouts ſcraped the pitch off the planks as a rarity, and carried it about them for an amulet: and the latter ſaying, that they uſed the wood of the veſſel againſt many diſeaſes with wonderful ſucceſs. The relics of the ark were alſo to be ſeen here in the time of *Epiphanius*, if we may believe him [9]; and we are told the emperor *Heraclius* went from the town of *Thamanin* up to the mountain *al Jûdi*, and ſaw the place of the ark [10]. There was alſo formerly a famous monaſtery, called *the monaſtery of the ark*, upon ſome of theſe mountains, where the *Neſtorians* uſed to celebrate a feaſt day on the ſpot where they ſuppoſed the ark reſted; but in the year of *Chriſt* 776, that monaſtery was deſtroyed by lightening, with the church, and a numerous congregation in it [11]. Since which time it ſeems the credit of this tradition hath declined, and given place to another, which obtains at preſent, and according to which the ark reſted on mount *Maſis* in *Armenia*, called by the *Turks*, *Aghir dagh*, or *the heavy* or *great mountain*, and ſituate about twelve leagues ſouth eaſt of *Erivan* [12].

[b] *Thy promiſe is true*;] *Noah* here challenges GOD's promiſe, that he would ſave his family.

[c] *He is not of thy family*;] Being cut off from it on account of his infidelity.

[d] According to a different reading, this paſſage may be rendred, *For he hath acted unrighteouſly*.

[1] *See* BOCHART. *Phaleg. l.* 1. *c.* 3. [2] *Geogr. Nub. p.* 202. [3] *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 404, & 676. & AGATHIAM, *l.* 14. *p.* 135. [4] BENJAMIN. *Itiner. p.* 61. [5] BEROSUS, *apud Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 4. [6] ONKELOS & JONATHAN, *in Geneſ.* viii. 4. [7] *V.* EUTYCH. *Annal. p.* 41. [8] BEROSUS, *apud Joſeph. ubi ſup.* ABYDENUS, *apud Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l.* 9. *c.* 4. [9] EPIPH. *Hæreſ.* 18. [10] ELMACIN. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. [11] *V. Chronic.* DIONYSII *patriarch. Jacobitar. apud Aſſeman. Bibl. Orient. T.* 2. *p.* 113. [12] *Al* BEIDAWI.

be *one* of thoſe who periſh. It was ſaid *unto him*, O NOAH, come down from the *ark* [a], with peace from us, and bleſſings upon thee, and upon a part of thoſe who are with thee [b]: but as for a part *of them* [c], we will ſuffer them to enjoy *the proviſion of this world*; and afterwards ſhall a grievous puniſhment from us be inflicted on them, *in the life to come*. This is a ſecret hiſtory, which we reveal unto thee: thou didſt not know it, neither did thy people, before this. Wherefore perſevere with patience; for the *proſperous* iſſue ſhall attend the pious. And unto *the tribe of* AD *we ſent* their brother HUD [d]. He ſaid, O my people worſhip GOD; ye have no GOD beſides him: ye only imagine falſehood, *in ſetting up idols and interceſſors of your own making*. O my people, I aſk not of you for this *my preaching*, any recompenſe: my recompenſe *do I expect* from him only, who hath created me. Will ye not therefore underſtand? O my people, aſk pardon of your LORD; and be turned unto him: he will ſend the heaven to pour forth rain plentifully upon you [e], and he will encreaſe your ſtrength by *giving* unto you *farther* ſtrength [f]: therefore turn not aſide, to commit evil. They anſwered, O HUD, thou haſt brought us no proof *of what thou ſayeſt*; therefore we will not leave our gods for thy ſaying, neither do we believe thee. We ſay no other than that ſome of our gods have afflicted thee with evil [g]. He replied, Verily I call GOD to witneſs, and do ye alſo bear witneſs, that I am clear of that which ye aſſociate *with GOD*, beſides him. Do ye all therefore *join to* deviſe a plot againſt me, and tarry not; for I put my confidence in GOD, my LORD and your LORD. There is no beaſt, but he holdeth *it* by its forelock [h]: verily my LORD *proceedeth* in the right way. But if ye turn back, I have already declared unto you that with which I was ſent unto you; and my LORD ſhall ſubſtitute another nation in your ſtead; and ye ſhall not hurt him at all: for my LORD *is* guardian over all things. And when our ſentence came *to be put in execution*, we delivered HUD, and thoſe who had believed with him [i], through our mercy; and we delivered them from a grievous puniſhment. And this *tribe of* AD wittingly rejected the ſigns of their LORD, and were diſobedient unto his meſſengers, and they followed the command of every rebellious perverſe perſon. Wherefore they were followed in

[a] *Come down from the ark*, &c.] The *Mohammedans* ſay that *Noah* went into the ark on the tenth of *Rajeb*, and came out of it the tenth of *al Moharram*; which therefore became a faſt. So that the whole time of *Noah*'s being in the ark, according to them, was ſix months [1].

[b] *With peace, and bleſſing, on a part of them*;] viz. Such of them as continued in their belief.

[c] *But as for a part of them*;] That is, ſuch of his poſterity as ſhould depart from the true faith, and fall into idolatry.

[d] See chap. 7. p. 123.

[e] *He will ſend you rain plentifully*;] For the *Adites* were grievouſly diſtreſſed by a drought for three years [2].

[f] *And will encreaſe your ſtrength*;] By giving you children; the wombs of their wives being alſo rendered barren, during the time of the drought, as well as their lands [3].

[g] *Have afflicted thee with evil*;] Or madneſs; having deprived thee of thy reaſon for the indignities thou haſt offered them.

[h] *There is no beaſt but he holdeth it by its forelock*;] That is, he exerciſeth an abſolute power over it. A creature held in this manner being ſuppoſed to be reduced to the loweſt ſubjection.

[i] *And thoſe who believed with him*;] Who were in number four thouſand [4].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See* D'HERBEL. *ubi ſup.* [2] *See the notes to chap. 7. p. 124.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.*

in this world by a curſe, and *they ſhall be followed by the ſame* on the day of reſurrection. Did not AD diſbelieve in their LORD? Was it not *ſaid*, Away with AD, the people of HUD? And unto *the tribe of* THAMUD *we ſent* their brother SALEH [a]. He ſaid *unto them*, O my people, worſhip GOD; ye have no GOD beſides him. It is he who hath produced you out of the earth, and hath given you an habitation therein. Aſk pardon of him therefore, and be turned unto him; for my LORD is near, *and* ready to anſwer. They anſwered, O SALEH, thou waſt *a perſon* on whom we placed our hopes before this [b]. Doſt thou forbid us to worſhip that which our fathers worſhipped? But we are certainly in doubt concerning *the religion* to which thou doſt invite us, *as* juſtly to be ſuſpected. *SALEH* ſaid, O my people, tell me; if I have received an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath beſtowed on me mercy from himſelf; who will protect me from *the vengeance of* GOD, if I be diſobedient unto him? For ye ſhall not add unto me, other than loſs. And *he ſaid*, O my people, this ſhe-camel of GOD *is* a ſign unto you; therefore diſmiſs her freely that ſhe may feed in GOD's earth, and do her no harm, leſt a ſwift puniſhment ſeize you. Yet they killed her; and *SALEH* ſaid, Enjoy *yourſelves* in your dwellings for three days [c]; *after which ye ſhall be deſtroyed.* This is an infallible prediction. And when our decree came *to be executed*, we delivered SALEH and thoſe who believed with him, through our mercy, ~~alſo~~ from the diſgrace of that day; for thy LORD is the ſtrong, the mighty *GOD*. But a terrible noiſe *from heaven* aſſailed thoſe who had acted unjuſtly; and in the morning they were found in their houſes, lying *dead and* proſtrate; as though they had never dwelt therein. Did not THAMUD diſbelieve in their LORD? Was not THAMUD *caſt* far away? Our meſſengers [d] alſo came formerly unto ABRAHAM, with good tidings: they ſaid, Peace *be upon thee.* And he anſwered, *And on you be* peace! and he tarried not, but brought a roaſted calf. And when he ſaw that their hands did not touch *the meat*, he miſliked them, and entertained a fear of them [e]. *But* they ſaid, Fear not: for we are ſent unto the people of LOT [f]. And his wife *SARAH was* ſtanding by [g], and ſhe laughed [h]; and we promiſed her ISAAC, and after ISAAC, JACOB. She ſaid, Alas! ſhall

[a] See chap. 7. p. 124.

[b] *We had placed our hopes on thee before this*;] Deſigning to have made thee our prince, becauſe of the ſingular prudence and other good qualities which we obſerved in thee; but thy diſſenting from us in point of religious worſhip has fruſtrated thoſe hopes [1].

[c] *For three days*;] viz. *Wedneſday*, *Thurſday*, and *Friday* [2]. See chap. 7. p. 125. not. c.

[d] *Our meſſengers*;] Theſe were the angels, who were ſent to acquaint *Abraham* with the promiſe of *Iſaac*, and to deſtroy *Sodom* and *Gomorrah.* Some of the commentators pretend they were twelve, or nine, or ten in number; but others, agreeably to ſcripture, ſay they were but three, viz. *Gabriel*, *Michael*, and *Iſrafil* [3].

[e] *He entertained a fear of them*;] Apprehending they had ſome ill deſign againſt him, becauſe they would not eat with him.

[f] *We are ſent unto the people of* Lot;] Being angels, whoſe nature needs not the ſupport of food [4].

[g] Sarah *was ſtanding by*;] Either behind the curtain, or door of the tent; or elſe waiting upon them.

[h] *And ſhe laughed*;] The commentators are ſo little acquainted with ſcripture, that, not know-

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. *See Gen.* xviii. [4] *Idem.*

ſhall I bear a ſon, who am old; this my huſband alſo being advanced in years [a]? Verily this *would be* a wonderful thing. *The angels* anſwered, Doſt thou wonder at the *effect of the* command of GOD? The mercy of God and his bleſſings be upon you, the family of the houſe [b]: for he *is* praiſe-worthy, *and* to be glorified. And when *his* apprehenſion had departed from ABRAHAM, and the good tidings *of ISAAC's birth* had come unto him, he diſputed with us concerning the people of LOT [c]: for ABRAHAM was a pitiful, compaſſionate, and devout *perſon*. *The angels ſaid unto him*, O ABRAHAM, abſtain from this; for now is the command of thy LORD come, *to put their ſentence in execution*, and an inevitable puniſhment is ready to fall upon them. And when our meſſengers came unto LOT, he was troubled for them [d], and his arm was ſtraitened concerning them [e], and he ſaid, This is a grievous day. And his people came unto him, ruſhing upon him: and they had formerly been guilty of wickedneſs. *LOT* ſaid *unto them*, O my people, theſe my daughters are more lawful for you: therefore fear GOD, and put me not to ſhame by *wronging* my gueſts. Is there not a man of prudence among you? They anſwered, Thou knoweſt that we have no need of thy daughters; and thou well knoweſt what we would have. He ſaid, If I had ſtrength ſufficient to *oppoſe* you, or I could have recourſe unto a powerful ſupport; *I would certainly do it*. *The angels* ſaid, O LOT, verily we are the meſſengers of thy LORD; they ſhall by no means come in unto thee [f]. Go forth therefore with thy family, in ſome part of the night, and let not any of you turn back: but as for thy wife [g], that ſhall happen unto her, which

knowing the true occaſion of *Sarah*'s laughter, they ſtrain their inventions to give ſome reaſon for it. One ſays, that ſhe laughed at the angels diſcovering themſelves, and ridding *Abraham* and herſelf of their apprehenſions; and another, that it was at the approaching deſtruction of the *Sodomites*, (a very probable motive in one of her ſex.) Some however interpret the original word differently, and will have it that ſhe did not *laugh*, but that *her courſes*, which had ſtopped for ſeveral years, *came upon her* at this time, as a previous ſign of her future conception [1].

[a] *Shall I bear a ſon who am old, my husband alſo being advanced in years?*] *Al Beidâwi* writes that *Sarah* was then ninety, or ninety nine years old, and *Abraham* a hundred and twenty.

[b] *The family of the houſe*;] Or the ſtock whence all the prophets were to proceed for the future. Or the expreſſion may perhaps refer to *Abraham* and *Iſmael*'s building the *Caaba*, which is often called, by way of excellence, *the houſe*.

[c] *He diſputed with us concerning the people of* Lot;] That is, he interceded with us for them [2]. *Jallalo'ddin*, inſtead of the numbers mentioned by *Moſes*, ſays, that *Abraham* firſt asked whether GOD would deſtroy thoſe cities if three hundred righteous perſons were found therein, and ſo fell ſucceſſively to two hundred, forty, fourteen, and at laſt came to one: but there was not one righteous perſon to be found among them, except only *Lot* and his family.

[d] *He was troubled for them*;] Becauſe they appeared in the ſhape of beautiful young men, which muſt needs tempt thoſe of *Sodom* to abuſe them [3].

[e] *His arm was ſtraitened concerning them*;] i. e. He knew himſelf unable to protect them againſt the inſults of his townſmen.

[f] *The angels ſaid, O* Lot—*they ſhall by no means come in unto thee*;] *Al Beidâwi* ſays, that *Lot* ſhut his door, and argued the matter with the riotous aſſembly from behind it; but at length they endeavoured to get over the wall: whereupon *Gabriel*, ſeeing his diſtreſs, ſtruck them on the face with one of his wings, and blinded them; ſo that they moved off, crying out for help, and ſaying that *Lot* had magicians in his houſe.

[g] *But as for thy wife*, &c.] This ſeems to be the true ſenſe of the paſſage; but according to

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI: DIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* JOSEPH. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 11.

[2] *V. Gen.* xviii. 23, *&c.*

[3] JALLALO'D-

which ſhall happen unto them. Verily the prediction *of their puniſhment* ſhall be *fulfilled in* the morning: is not the morning near? And when our command came, we turned thoſe *cities* upſide down [a], and we rained upon them ſtones of baked clay [b], one following another, and being marked [c], from thy LORD; and they *are* not far diſtant from thoſe who act unjuſtly [d]. And unto MADIAN *we ſent* their brother SHOAIB [e]: he ſaid, O my people, worſhip GOD; ye have no GOD but him: and diminiſh not meaſure and weight. Verily I ſee you *to be* in a happy condition [f]: but I fear for you the puniſhment of the day which will encompaſs *the ungodly*. O my people, give full meaſure, and juſt weight; and diminiſh not unto men *ought* of their matters; neither commit injuſtice in the earth, acting corruptly. The reſidue *which ſhall remain unto you as the gift* of GOD, *after ye ſhall have done juſtice to others*, will be better for you, *than wealth gotten by fraud*; if ye be true believers. I am no guardian over you. They anſwered, O SHOAIB, do thy prayers injoin thee, that we ſhould leave the *gods* which our fathers worſhipped; or that we ſhould not do what we pleaſe with our ſubſtance [g]? Thou *only*, it ſeems, art the wiſe *perſon*, and fit to direct. He ſaid, O my people, tell me; if I have received an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath beſtowed on me an excellent proviſion, and I will not conſent unto you in that which I forbid you; do I ſeek *any other* than *your* reformation, to the utmoſt of my power? My ſupport is from GOD alone; on him do I truſt, and unto him do I turn me. O my people, let not *your* oppoſing of me, draw on you *a vengeance* like unto that which fell on the people of NOAH,

to a different reading of the vowel, ſome interpret it, *Except thy wife*; the meaning being, that *Lot* is here commanded to take his family with him *except his wife*. Wherefore the commentators cannot agree whether *Lot*'s wife went forth with him or not; ſome denying it, and pretending that ſhe was left behind and periſhed in the common deſtruction; and others affirming it, and ſaying, that when ſhe heard the noiſe of the ſtorm and overthrow of the cities, ſhe turned back lamenting their fate, and was immediately ſtruck down and killed by one of the ſtones mentioned a little lower [1]. A puniſhment ſhe juſtly merited for her infidelity, and diſobedience to her husband [2].

[a] *We turned thoſe cities upſide down*;] For they tell us, that *Gabriel* thruſt his wing under them, and lifted them up ſo high, that the inhabitants of the lower heaven heard the barking of the dogs, and the crowing of the cocks; and then inverting them, threw them down to the earth [3].

[b] *Stones of baked clay*;] The kiln wherein they were burned, ſome imagine to have been hell.

[c] *And being marked*,] That is, as ſome ſuppoſe, ſtreaked with white and red, or having ſome other peculiar mark to diſtinguiſh them from ordinary ſtones. But the common opinion is, that each ſtone had the name of the perſon who was to be killed by it, written thereon [4]. The army of *Abraha al Aſhram* was alſo deſtroyed by the ſame kind of ſtones.

[d] *And they are not far diſtant from thoſe who act unjuſtly*;] This is a kind of threat to other wicked perſons, and particularly to the infidels of *Mecca*, who deſerved and might juſtly apprehend the ſame puniſhment.

[e] See chap. 7. p. 126, *&c.*

[f] *I ſee you to be in a happy condition*;] That is, enjoying plenty of all things; and therefore having the leſs occaſion to defraud one another, and being the more ſtrongly bound to be thankful and obedient unto GOD.

[g] *That we ſhould not do what we pleaſe with our ſubſtance*;] For this liberty they imagined was taken from them, by his prohibition of falſe weights and meaſures, or to diminiſh or adulterate their coin [5].

[1] *Idem interpretes.* [2] *See chap.* 66. [3] JALLALO'DDIN, *al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.*
[5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

NOAH, or the people of HUD, or the people of SALEH: neither *was* the people of LOT far diſtant from you [a]. Aſk pardon therefore of your LORD; and be turned unto him: for my LORD is merciful, *and* loving. They anſwered, O SHOAIB, we underſtand not much of what thou ſayeſt; and we ſee thee to be a *man* of no power [b] among us: if it had not been *for the ſake of* thy family [c], we had ſurely ſtoned thee, neither couldeſt thou have prevailed againſt us. *SHOAIB* ſaid, O my people, is my family more worthy in your opinion, than GOD? and do ye caſt him behind you with neglect? Verily my LORD comprehendeth that which ye do. O my people, do ye work according to your condition; I will ſurely work *according to my duty* [d]. *And* ye ſhall certainly know, on whom will be inflicted a puniſhment which ſhall cover him with ſhame, and who is a lyar. Wait therefore *the event*; for I alſo will wait *it* with you. Wherefore when our decree came *to be executed*, we delivered SHOAIB and thoſe who believed with him, through our mercy: and a terrible noiſe *from heaven* aſſailed thoſe who had acted unjuſtly; and in the morning they were found in their houſes lying *dead and* proſtrate, as though they had never dwelt therein. Was not MADIAN removed *from off the earth*, as THAMUD had been removed? And we formerly ſent MOSES with our ſigns, and manifeſt power, unto PHARAOH and his princes [e]: but they followed the command of PHARAOH; although the command of PHARAOH did not direct *them* aright. *PHARAOH* ſhall precede his people on the day of reſurrection, and he ſhall lead them into *hell* fire; an unhappy way *ſhall it be* which *they* ſhall be led. They were followed in this *life* by a curſe, and on the day of reſurrection miſerable *ſhall be* the gift which ſhall be given *them*. This is *a part* of the hiſtories of the cities, which we rehearſe unto thee. Of them there are *ſome* ſtanding; and *others which are* utterly demoliſhed [f]. And we treated them not unjuſtly, but they dealt unjuſtly with their own ſouls: and their gods which they invoked, beſides GOD, were of no advantage unto them at all, when the decree of thy LORD came *to be executed on them*, neither were they any other than a detriment unto them. And thus *was* the puniſhment of thy LORD *inflicted*, when he puniſhed the cities which were unjuſt; for his puniſhment is grievous and ſevere. Verily herein is a ſign unto him who feareth

 the

[a] *Neither was the people of* Lot *far diſtant from you*;] For *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* were ſituate not a great way from you, and their deſtruction happened not many ages ago; neither did they deſerve it, on account of their obſtinacy and wickedneſs, much more than your ſelves.

[b] *A man of no power*;] The *Arabic* word *daîf*, *weak*, ſignifying alſo, in the *Hamyaritic* dialect, *blind*, ſome ſuppoſe that *Shoaib* was ſo, and that the *Midianites* objected that to him, as a defect which diſqualified him for the prophetic office.

[c] *For the ſake of thy family*;] i. e. For the reſpect we bear to thy family and relations; whom we honour as being of our religion, and not for any apprehenſion we have of their power to aſſiſt you againſt us. The original word here tranſlated *family*, ſignifies any number from three to ſeven or ten, but not more [1].

[d] See chap. 6. p. 113. not. a.

[e] See chap. 7. p. 128, &c.

[f] *Demoliſhed*;] Literally, *mowen down*; the ſentence preſenting the different images of corn ſtanding, and cut down, which is alſo often uſed by the ſacred writers.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

the puniſhment of the laſt *day:* that *ſhall be a* day, whereon *all* men ſhall be aſſembled, and that *ſhall be* a day whereon witneſs ſhall be born; we defer it not, but to a determined time. When *that day* ſhall come, no ſoul ſhall ſpeak *to excuſe it ſelf, or to intercede for another*, but by the permiſſion of GOD. Of them *one ſhall be* miſerable, and *another ſhall be* happy. And they who ſhall be miſerable, ſhall be *thrown* into *hell* fire; there ſhall they wail and bemoan *themſelves* [a]: they ſhall remain therein ſo long as the heavens and the earth ſhall endure [b]; except what thy LORD ſhall pleaſe *to remit of their ſentence* [c]; for thy LORD effecteth that which he pleaſeth. But they who ſhall be happy, *ſhall be admitted* into paradiſe; they ſhall remain therein ſo long as the heavens and the earth endure; beſides what thy LORD ſhall pleaſe *to add unto their bliſs*; a bounty which ſhall not be interrupted. Be not therefore in doubt concerning that which theſe men worſhip: they worſhip no other than what their fathers worſhipped before *them*; and we will ſurely give them their full portion, not in the leaſt diminiſhed. We formerly gave unto MOSES the book *of the law*; and diſputes aroſe *among his people* concerning it: and unleſs a previous decree had proceeded from thy LORD, *to bear with them during this life, the matter* had been ſurely decided between them. And *thy people are alſo* jealous *and* in doubt concerning the *KORAN*. But unto every one of them will thy LORD render *the reward of* their works; for he well knoweth that which they do. Be thou ſtedfaſt therefore, as thou haſt been commanded; and *let him alſo be ſtedfaſt* who ſhall be converted with thee; and tranſgreſs not: for he ſeeth that which ye do. And incline not unto thoſe who act unjuſtly, leſt the fire *of hell* touch you: for ye have no protectors, except GOD; neither ſhall ye be aſſiſted *againſt him*. Pray regularly morning and evening [d]; and in the former part of the night [e], for good *works* drive away evils. This is an admonition unto thoſe who conſider: wherefore perſevere with patience; for GOD ſuffereth not the reward of the righteous to periſh. Were ſuch of the generations before you, indued with underſtanding and virtue, who forbad the acting corruptly in the earth, any more than a few only of thoſe whom we delivered? But they who were unjuſt followed *the delights* which they injoyed *in this world* [f], and were wicked doers [g]: and thy LORD

was

[a] *There ſhall they wail and bemoan themſelves*;] The two words in the original ſignify properly the vehement drawing in and expiration of one's breath, which is uſual to perſons in great pain and anguiſh; and particularly the reciprocation of the voice of an aſs, when he brays.

[b] *So long as the heavens and the earth ſhall endure*;] This is not to be ſtrictly underſtood, as if either the puniſhment of the damned ſhould have an end, or the heavens and the earth ſhould endure for ever; the expreſſion being only uſed by way of image or compariſon, which needs not agree in every point with the thing ſignified. Some, however, think the future heavens and earth, into which the preſent ſhall be changed, are here meant [1].

[c] See the Prelim Diſc. §. IV. p. 92, 93.

[d] *Morning and evening*;] Literally, *in the two extremities of the day.*

[e] *And in the former part of the night*;] That is, after ſun-ſet, and before ſupper; when the *Mohammedans* ſay their fourth prayer, called by them *Salât al moghreb*, or the evening prayer [2].

[f] *Followed the delights which they enjoyed in this world*;] Making it their ſole buſineſs to pleaſe their luxurious deſires and appetites, and placing their whole felicity therein.

[g] *Al Beidawi* ſays, that this paſſage gives the reaſon

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

was not *of ſuch a diſpoſition* as to deſtroy the cities unjuſtly [a], while their inhabitants behaved themſelves uprightly. And if thy LORD pleaſed, he would have made *all* men of one religion: but they ſhall not ceaſe to differ among themſelves, unleſs thoſe on whom thy LORD ſhall have mercy: and unto this hath he created them; for the word of thy LORD ſhall be fulfilled, *when he ſaid*, Verily I will fill hell altogether with genii and men. The whole *which we have related* of the hiſtories of *our* apoſtles do we relate unto thee, that we may confirm thy heart thereby; and herein is the truth come unto thee, and an admonition, and a warning unto the true believers. Say unto thoſe who believe not, Act ye according to your condition; we ſurely will act *according to our duty* [b]: and wait *the iſſue*; *for* we certainly wait *it alſo*. Unto GOD *is known* that which is ſecret in heaven and earth; and unto him ſhall the whole matter be referred. Therefore worſhip him, and put thy truſt in him; for thy LORD is not regardleſs of that which ye do.

reaſon why the nations were deſtroyed of old; *viz.* for their violence and injuſtice, their following their own luſts, and for their idolatry and unbelief.

[a] *Unjuſtly*;] Or, as the commentator juſt named explains it, *for their idolatry* only, when they obſerved juſtice in other reſpects.

[b] See chap. 6. p. 113, not. a.

CHAP. XII.

Intitled, JOSEPH [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A L. R. [b] Theſe are the ſigns of the perſpicuous book; which we have ſent down in the Arabic tongue, that peradventure ye might underſtand. We relate unto thee a moſt excellent hiſtory, by revealing unto thee this KORAN [c], whereas thou waſt before *one* of the negligent [d]. When JOSEPH ſaid unto his father [e], O my father, verily I ſaw *in my dream* eleven

 ſtars,

[a] The *Koreiſh*, thinking to puzzle *Mohammed*, at the inſtigation, and by the direction of certain *Jewiſh Rabbins*, demanded of him how *Jacob*'s family happened to go down into *Egypt*; and that he would relate to them the hiſtory of *Joſeph*, with all its circumſtances: whereupon he pretended to have received this chapter from heaven, containing the ſtory of that patriarch [1]. It is ſaid, however, to have been rejected by two *Mohammedan* ſects, branches of the *Khârejites*, called the *Ajâredites* and the *Maimûnians*, as apocryphal and ſpurious.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. p. 59. *&c.*

[c] *This* Koràn;] Or this particular chapter: For the word *Korân*, as has been elſewhere obſerved [2], properly ſignifying no more than a *reading*, or *lecture*, is often uſed to denote, not only the whole volume, but any diſtinct chapter or ſection of it.

[d] *One of the negligent*;] i. e. So far from being acquainted with the ſtory, that it never ſo much as entred into thy thoughts: a certain argument, ſays *al Beidâwi*, that it muſt have been revealed to him from heaven.

[e] *His father*;] Who was *Jacob*, the ſon of *Iſaac*, the ſon of *Abraham* [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Prelim. Diſ.* §. III. *p.* 56. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c.*

ſtars [a], and the ſun and the moon; I ſaw them make obeiſance unto me. *JACOB* ſaid, O my child, tell not thy viſion to thy brethren, leſt they deviſe ſome plot againſt thee [b]; for the devil is a profeſſed enemy unto man: and thus, *according to thy dream*, ſhall thy LORD chuſe thee, and teach thee the interpretation of *dark* ſayings [c], and he ſhall accompliſh his favour upon thee and upon the family of JACOB, as he hath formerly accompliſhed it upon thy fathers ABRAHAM and ISAAC; for thy LORD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. Surely in *the hiſtory of* JOSEPH and his brethren there are ſigns *of GOD's providence* to the inquiſitive; when they ſaid *to one another*, JOSEPH and his brother [d] are dearer to our father than we, who are the greater number: our father certainly maketh a wrong judgment. *Wherefore* ſlay JOSEPH, or drive him into ſome *diſtant or deſart part of the* earth, and the face of your father ſhall be cleared towards you [e]; and ye ſhall afterwards be people of integrity. One of them [f] ſpoke and ſaid; Slay not JOSEPH, but throw him to the bottom of the well; and ſome travellers will take him up, if ye do *this*. They ſaid, *unto JACOB*, O father, why doſt thou not intruſt JOSEPH with us, ſince we are ſincere *well-wiſhers* unto him? Send him with us to morrow, *into the field*, that he may divert himſelf, and ſport [g], and we will be his guardians. *JACOB* anſwered, It grieveth me that ye take him away; and I fear leſt the wolf devour him [h], while ye are negligent of him. They ſaid, ſurely if the wolf devour him, when there are ſo many of us, we ſhall be weak indeed [i]. And when they had carried him with them, and agreed to ſet him at the bottom of the well [k], *they executed their deſign:* and we ſent a revelation unto him,

[a] *Eleven ſtars*;] The commentators give us the names of theſe ſtars, (which I think it needleſs to trouble the reader with,) as *Mohammed* repeated them, at the requeſt of a *Jew*, who thought to intrap him by the queſtion [1].

[b] *Leſt they deviſe ſome plot againſt thee*;] For they ſay, *Jacob*, judging that *Joſeph*'s dream portended his advancement above the reſt of the family, juſtly apprehended his brethren's envy might tempt them to do him ſome miſchief.

[c] *The interpretation of dark ſayings*;] That is, of dreams; or, as others ſuppoſe, of the profound paſſages of ſcripture, and all difficulties reſpecting either religion or juſtice.

[d] *His brother*;] viz. *Benjamin*; his brother by the ſame mother.

[e] *The face of your father ſhall be cleared towards you*;] Or, he will ſettle his love wholly upon you, and ye will have no rival in his favour.

[f] *One of them*, &c.] This perſon, as ſome ſay, was *Judah*, the moſt prudent and noble-minded of them all; or, according to others, *Reuben*, whom the *Mohammedan* writers call *Rubîl* [2]. And both theſe opinions are ſupported by the account of *Moſes*, who tells us, that *Reuben* adviſed them not to kill *Joſeph*, but to throw him into a pit privately, intending to releaſe him [3]; and that afterwards *Judah*, in *Reuben*'s abſence, perſuaded them not to let him die in the pit, but to ſell him to the *Iſhmaelites* [4].

[g] *That he may divert himſelf*, &c.] Some copies read, in the firſt perſon plural, *that we may divert our ſelves*, &c.

[h] *Leſt the wolf devour him*;] The reaſon why *Jacob* feared this beaſt in particular, as the commentators ſay, was either becauſe the land was full of wolves; or elſe becauſe *Jacob* had dreamed he ſaw *Joſeph* devoured by one of thoſe creatures [5].

[i] *We ſhall be weak indeed*;] i. e. It will be an inſtance of extream weakneſs and folly in us, and we ſhall be juſtly blamed for his loſs.

[k] *At the bottom of the well.*] This well, ſay ſome, was a certain well near *Jeruſalem*, or not far from the river *Jordan*; but others call it the well of *Egypt*, or *Midian*. The commentators tells us, that when the ſons of *Jacob* had gotten *Joſeph* with them in the field, they began to abuſe and to beat him ſo unmercifully, that they had

[1] *Idem*, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI. [2] *Idem*. [3] *Gen.* xxxvii. 21, 22. [4] *Ibid. v.* 26, 27.
[5] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI.

him [a], *ſaying*, Thou ſhalt *hereafter* declare this their action unto them; and they ſhall not perceive *thee to be JOSEPH.* And they came to their father at even, weeping, *and* ſaid, Father, we went and ran races with one another [b], and we left JOSEPH with our baggage, and the wolf hath devoured him; but thou wilt not believe us, although we ſpeak the truth. And they produced his inner garment *ſtained* with falſe blood. *JACOB* anſwered, Nay, but ye your ſelves have contrived the thing for your own ſakes [c]: however patience is moſt becoming, and GOD's aſſiſtance is to be implored *to enable me to ſupport the misfortune* which ye relate. And certain travellers [d] came, and ſent one [e] to draw water for them: and he let down his bucket [f], and ſaid, Good news [g]! this is a youth. And they concealed him [h], *that they might ſell him* as a piece of merchandize: but GOD knew that which they did. And they

had killed him, had not *Judah*, on his crying out for help, inſiſted on the promiſe they had made not to kill him, but to caſt him into the well. Whereupon they let him down a little way; but as he held by the ſides of the well, they bound him, and took off his inner garment, deſigning to ſtain it with blood, to deceive their father. *Joſeph* begged hard to have his garment returned him, but to no purpoſe, his brothers telling him, with a ſneer, that the eleven ſtars, and the ſun and the moon might cloath him and keep him company. When they had let him down half way, they let him fall thence to the bottom; and there being water in the well (tho' the ſcripture ſays the contrary,) he was obliged to get upon a ſtone, on which as he ſtood weeping, the angel *Gabriel* came to him with the revelation mentioned immediately [1].

[a] *We ſent a revelation unto him.*] *Joſeph* being then but ſeventeen years old, *Al Beidâwi* obſerves that herein he reſembled *John* the Baptiſt and JESUS, who were alſo favoured with the divine communication very early. The commentators pretend that *Gabriel* alſo cloathed him in the well with a garment of ſilk of paradiſe. For they ſay that when *Abraham* was thrown into the fire by *Nimrod* [2], he was ſtripped; and that *Gabriel* brought this garment and put it on him; and that from *Abraham* it deſcended to *Jacob*, who folded it up and put it into an amulet, which he hung about *Joſeph*'s neck, whence *Gabriel* drew it out [3].

[b] *And ran races*, &c.] Theſe races they uſed by way of exerciſe; and the commentators generally underſtand here that kind of race wherein they alſo ſhewed their dexterity in throwing darts, which is ſtill uſed in the eaſt.

[c] *Ye your ſelves have contrived the thing*, &c.] This *Jacob* had reaſon to ſuſpect, becauſe when the garment was brought to him, he obſerved that tho' it was bloody, yet it was not torn [4].

[d] *Certain travellers*;] viz. A caravan or company travelling from *Midian* to *Egypt*, who reſted near the well, three days after *Joſeph* had been thrown into it.

[e] *They ſent one to draw water*, &c.] The commentators are ſo exact as to give us the name of this man, who, as they pretend, was *Malec Ebn Dhór*, of the tribe of *Khozâah* [5].

[f] *He let down his bucket*;] And *Joſeph*, making uſe of the opportunity, took hold of the cord, and was drawn up by the man.

[g] *Good news!*] The original words are *Ya boſhra:* the latter of which ſome take for the proper name of the water-drawer's companion, whom he called to his aſſiſtance; and then they muſt be tranſlated, *O Boſhra.*

[h] *They concealed him*, &c.] The expoſitors are not agreed whether the pronoun *they* relates to *Malec* and his companions, or to *Joſeph*'s brethren. Thoſe who eſpouſe the former opinion ſay, that thoſe who came to draw water concealed the manner of their coming by him from the reſt of the caravan, that they might keep him to themſelves; pretending that ſome people of the place had given him to them to ſell for them in *Egypt*. And they who prefer the latter opinion, tell us, that *Judah* carried victuals to *Joſeph* every day while he was in the well, but not finding him there on the fourth day, he acquainted his brothers with it: whereupon they all went to the caravan and claimed *Joſeph* as their ſlave, he not daring to diſcover that he was their brother, leſt ſomething worſe ſhould befal him; and at length they agreed to ſell him to them [6].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *See chap.* 21. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Idem.* [6] *Idem.*

they ſold him for a mean price, for a few pence[a], and valued him lightly. And the Egyptian who bought him[b] ſaid to his wife[c], uſe him honourably; peradventure he may be ſerviceable to us, or we may adopt him for our ſon[d]. Thus did we prepare an eſtabliſhment for JOSEPH in the earth, and we taught him the interpretation of *dark* ſayings: for GOD is well able to effect his purpoſe; but the greater part of men do not underſtand. And when he had attained his age of ſtrength, we beſtowed on him wiſdom, and knowledge; for thus do we recompenſe the righteous. And ſhe, in whoſe houſe he was, deſired him to lie with her; and ſhe ſhut the doors and ſaid, Come hither. He anſwered, GOD forbid! verily my lord[e] hath made my dwelling *with him* eaſy; and the ungrateful ſhall not proſper. But ſhe reſolved within her ſelf *to enjoy* him, and he would have reſolved *to enjoy* her, had he not ſeen the evident demonſtration of his LORD[f]. So we turned away evil and filthineſs from him, becauſe he was one of our ſincere ſervants. And they ran *to get one before the other* to the door[g]; and ſhe rent his inner garment behind. And they met her lord at the door. She ſaid, What *ſhall be* the reward of him who ſeeketh *to commit* evil in thy family, but impriſonment, and a painful puniſhment? And JOSEPH ſaid, She aſked me to lie with her. And a witneſs of her family[h] bore witneſs, *ſaying*,

[a] *They ſold him for a mean price*, &c.] Namely twenty, or twenty two *dirhems*, and thoſe not of full weight neither; for having weighed one ounce of ſilver only, the remainder was paid by tale, which is the moſt unfair way of payment [1].

[b] *The* Egyptian *who bought him*;] His name was *Kitfîr*, or *Itfîr*, (a corruption of *Potiphar*;) and he was a man of great conſideration, being ſuperintendent of the royal treaſury [2].

The commentators ſay, that *Joſeph* came into his ſervice at ſeventeen, and lived with him thirteen years; and that he was made prime miniſter in the thirty third year of his age, and died at an hundred and twenty.

They who ſuppoſe *Joſeph* was twice ſold, differ as to the price the *Egyptian* paid for him: ſome ſaying it was twenty *dinârs* of gold, a pair of ſhoes, and two white garments; and others, that it was a large quantity of ſilver, or of gold.

[c] *His wife*;] Some call her *Raïl*; but the name ſhe is beſt known by, is that of *Zoleikha*.

[d] *Or we may adopt him*;] *Kitfîr* having no children. It is ſaid that *Joſeph* gained his maſter's good opinion ſo ſuddenly by his countenance, which *Kitfîr*, who, they pretend, had great skill in phyſiognomy, judged to indicate his prudence and other good qualities.

[e] *My lord*;] viz. *Kitfîr*. But others underſtand it to be ſpoken of GOD.

[f] *Had he not ſeen the evident demonſtration of his* LORD;] That is, had he not ſeriouſly conſidered the filthineſs of whoredom, and the great guilt thereof. Some, however, ſuppoſe that the words mean ſome miraculous voice or apparition, ſent by GOD to divert *Joſeph* from executing the criminal thoughts which began to poſſeſs him. For they ſay, that he was ſo far tempted with his miſtreſs's beauty and inticing behaviour, that he ſat in her lap, and even began to undreſs himſelf, when a voice called to him, and bid him beware of her; but he taking no notice of this admonition, tho' it was repeated three times, at length the angel *Gabriel*, or, as others will have it, the figure of his maſter appeared to him: but the more general opinion is that it was the apparition of his father *Jacob*, who bit his fingers ends, or, as ſome write, ſtruck him on the breaſt, whereupon his lubricity paſſed out at the ends of his fingers [3].

For this fable, ſo injurious to the character of *Joſeph*, the *Mohammedans* are obliged to their old friends the *Jews* [4], who imagine that he had a deſign to lie with his miſtreſs, from theſe words of *Moſes* [5], *And it came to paſs—that* Joſeph *went into the houſe to do his buſineſs*, &c.

[g] *They ran to the door*;] He flying from her, and ſhe running after to detain him.

[h] *A witneſs of her family*;] viz. A couſin of hers, who was then a child in the cradle [6].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem*, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA. [4] *Talm. Babyl. Sed. Naſhim*, *p.* 36. *V.* BARTOLOCC. *Bibl. Rabb. part.* 3. *p.* 509. [5] *Geneſ.* XXXIX. 11. [6] *Supra citati interpretes.*

ſaying, If his garment be rent before, ſhe ſpeaketh truth, and he is a liar: but if his garment be rent behind, ſhe lieth, and he is a ſpeaker of truth. And when *her huſband* ſaw that his garment was torn behind, he ſaid, This is a cunning contrivance of your *ſex*; for ſurely your cunning is great. O JOSEPH, take no farther notice of this *affair*: and thou, *O woman*, aſk pardon for thy crime; for thou art a guilty perſon. And certain women ſaid *publickly* [a] in the city, The nobleman's wife aſked her ſervant to lie with her: he hath inflamed her breaſt with his love; and we perceive her *to be* in a manifeſt error. And when ſhe heard of their ſubtle behaviour, ſhe ſent unto them [b], and prepared a banquet for them, and ſhe gave to each of them a knife; and ſhe ſaid *unto JOSEPH*, Come forth unto them. And when they ſaw him, they praiſed him greatly [c]; and they cut their own hands [d], and ſaid, O GOD! this is not a mortal; he is no other than an angel, deſerving the higheſt reſpect. And *his miſtreſs* ſaid, This is he, for whoſe ſake ye blamed me: I aſked him to lie with me, but he hath conſtantly refuſed. But if he do not perform that which I command him, he ſhall ſurely be caſt into priſon, and he ſhall be made *one* of the contemptible. *JOSEPH* ſaid, O LORD, a priſon is more eligible unto me than *the crime* to which they invite me; but unleſs thou turn aſide their ſnares from me, I ſhall youthfully incline unto them, and I ſhall become *one* of the fooliſh. Wherefore his LORD heard him, and turned aſide their ſnare from him; for he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. And it ſeemed good unto them [e] *even* after they had ſeen the ſigns *of his innocency*, to impriſon him for a time. And there entred into the priſon with him two *of the king's* ſervants [f]. One of them [g] ſaid, It

[a] *Certain women*, &c.] Theſe women, whoſe tongues were ſo free with *Zoleikha*'s character on this occaſion, were five in number, and the wives of ſo many of the king's chief officers, *viz.* his chamberlain, his butler, his baker, his jailor, and his herdſman [1].

[b] *She ſent unto them*;] The number of all the women invited, was forty, and among them were the five ladies abovementioned [2].

[c] *They praiſed him greatly*;] The old *Latin* tranſlators have ſtrangely miſtaken the ſenſe of the original word *acbarnabo*, which they render *menſtruatæ ſunt*; and then rebuke *Mohammed* for the indecency, crying out demurely in the margin, *O fœdum & obſcœnum prophetam! Erpenius* [3] thinks that there is not the leaſt trace of ſuch a meaning in the word; but he is miſtaken: for the verb *cabara* in the fourth conjugation, which is here uſed, has that import, tho' the ſubjoining of the pronoun to it here (which poſſibly the *Latin* tranſlators did not obſerve) abſolutely overthrows that interpretation.

[d] *They cut their own hands*;] Through extreme ſurprize at the wonderful beauty of *Joſeph*; which ſurprize *Zoleikha* foreſeeing, put knives into their hands, on purpoſe that this accident might happen. Some writers have obſerved, on occaſion of this paſſage, that it is cuſtomary in the eaſt for lovers to teſtify the violence of their paſſion by cutting themſelves, as a ſign that they would ſpend their blood in the ſervice of the perſon beloved; which is true enough, but I do not find that any of the commentators ſuppoſe theſe *Egyptian* ladies had any ſuch deſign.

[e] *It ſeemed good unto them*;] That is to *Kitfir* and his friends. The occaſion of *Joſeph*'s impriſonment is ſaid to be, either that they ſuſpected him to be guilty, notwithſtanding the proofs which had been given of his innocence; or elſe that *Zoleikha* deſired it, feigning, to deceive her husband, that ſhe wanted to have *Joſeph* removed from her ſight, till ſhe could conquer her paſſion by time; tho' her real deſign was to force him to compliance.

[f] *Two of the king's ſervants*;] viz. His chief butler and baker; who were accuſed of a deſign to poiſon him.

[g] *One of them*;] Namely the butler.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *In not. ad Hiſt. Joſephi*

It ſeemed to me *in my dream* that I preſſed wine *out of grapes.* And the other ſaid, It ſeemed unto me *in my dream* that I carried bread on my head, whereof the birds did eat. Declare unto us the interpretation of *our dreams*, for we perceive that thou art a beneficent perſon. *Joseph* anſwered, No food, wherewith ye may be nouriſhed, ſhall come unto you, but I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof, before it come unto you [a]. This *knowledge is a part* of that which my LORD hath taught me: for I have left the religion of people who believe not in GOD, and who deny the life to come; and I follow the religion of my fathers, ABRAHAM, and ISAAC, and JACOB. It is not *lawful* for us to aſſociate any thing with GOD. This *knowledge of the divine unity hath been given us* of the bounty of GOD towards us, and towards mankind; but the greater part of men are not thankful. O my fellow-priſoners, are ſundry lords better, or the only *true* and mighty GOD? Ye worſhip not, beſides him, other than the names which ye have named [b], ye and your fathers, concerning which GOD hath ſent down no authoritative proof: yet judgment *belongeth* unto GOD alone; *who* hath commanded that ye worſhip none beſides him. This is the right religion; but the greater part of men know *it* not. O my fellow-priſoners, verily the one of you ſhall ſerve wine unto his lord, *as formerly*; but the other ſhall be crucified, and the birds ſhall eat from off his head. The matter is decreed concerning which ye ſeek to be informed. And *Joseph* ſaid unto him whom he judged to be the perſon who ſhould eſcape of the two, Remember me in the preſence of thy lord. But the devil cauſed him to forget to make mention of *Joseph* unto his lord [c]; wherefore he remained in the priſon ſome years [d]. And the king *of Egypt* [e] ſaid, Verily I ſaw *in my dream* ſeven fat kine, which ſeven lean kine devoured, and ſeven green ears *of corn*, and other *ſeven* withered *ears.* O nobles, expound my viſion unto me, if ye be *able to* interpret a viſion. They anſwered, *They are* confuſed dreams; neither are we ſkilled in the interpretation of *ſuch kind of* dreams. And *Joseph's fellow-priſoner* who

[a] *No food wherewith ye may be nouriſhed, ſhall come unto you, but I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof, before it come unto you.*] The meaning of this paſſage ſeems to be, either that *Joſeph*, to ſhew he uſed no arts of divination or aſtrology, promiſes to interpret their dreams to them immediately, even before they ſhould eat a ſingle meal; or elſe, he here offers to propheſy to them beforehand, the quantity and quality of the victuals which ſhould be brought them, as a taſte of his skill.

[b] See chap. 7. p. 123. not. g.

[c] *But the devil cauſed him to forget to mention* Joſeph *unto his lord*;] According to the explication of ſome, who take the pronoun *him* to relate to *Joſeph*, this paſſage may be rendred, *But the devil cauſed him* (i. e. Joſeph) *to forget to make his application unto his* LORD; and to beg the good offices of his fellow-priſoner for his deliverance, inſtead of relying on GOD alone, as it became a prophet, eſpecially, to have done [1].

[d] *Some years*;] The original word ſignifying any number from three to nine, or ten, the common opinion is that *Joſeph* remained in priſon ſeven years; tho' ſome ſay he was confined no leſs than twelve years [2].

[e] *The king of* Egypt;] This prince, as the oriental writers generally agree, was *Riyân*, the ſon of *al Walîd* the *Amalekite* [3], who was converted by *Joſeph* to the worſhip of the true GOD, and died in the life time of that prophet. But ſome pretend that the *Pharaoh* of *Joſeph* and of *Moſes*, were one and the ſame perſon, and that he lived (or rather reigned) four hundred years [4].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 8. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See chap. 7. p. 128. not. a.*

who had been delivered, ſaid, (for he remembred *JOSEPH* after a certain ſpace of time,) I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof; wherefore let me go *unto the perſon who will interpret it unto me. And he went to the priſon, and ſaid,* O JOSEPH, thou man of veracity, teach us *the interpretation* of ſeven fat kine, which ſeven lean kine devoured, and of ſeven green ears *of corn*; and other *ſeven* withered *ears, which the king ſaw in his dream*; that I may return unto the men *who have ſent me*, that peradventure they may underſtand *the ſame. JOSEPH* anſwered, Ye ſhall ſow ſeven years as uſual: and *the corn* which ye ſhall reap, do ye leave in its ear [a], except a little whereof ye may eat. Then ſhall there come, after this, ſeven grievous *years of famine*, which ſhall conſume what ye ſhall have laid up as a proviſion for the ſame, except a little which ye ſhall have kept. Then ſhall there come, after this, a year wherein men ſhall have plenty of rain [b], and wherein they ſhall preſs *wine and oyl.* And *when the chief butler had reported this*, the king ſaid, Bring him unto me. And when the meſſenger came unto *JOSEPH*, he ſaid, Return unto thy lord, and aſk of him, what was the intent of the women who cut their hands [c]; for my LORD well knoweth the ſnare which they laid *for me* [d]. *And when the women were aſſembled before the king*, he ſaid *unto them*, What was your deſign, when ye ſollicited JOSEPH to unlawful love? They anſwered, GOD be praiſed! we know not any ill of him. The nobleman's wife ſaid, Now is the truth become manifeſt: I ſollicited him to lie with me; and he is *one* of thoſe who ſpeak truth. *And when JOSEPH was acquainted therewith he ſaid*, This *diſcovery hath been made*, that *my lord* might know that I was not unfaithful unto him in *his* abſence, and that GOD directeth not the plot of the deceivers. * Neither do I *abſolutely* juſtify my ſelf [e]: ſince *every* ſoul is prone unto evil, except thoſe on whom my LORD ſhall ſhew mercy; for my LORD *is* gracious *and* merciful. XIII.

[a] *Ye ſhall leave the corn in the ear,* &c.] To preſerve it from the weevil [1].

[b] *Wherein men ſhall have plenty of rain*;] Notwithſtanding what ſome ancient authors write to the contrary [2], it often rains in winter in the lower *Egypt*, and even ſnow has been obſerved to fall at *Alexandria*, contrary to the expreſs aſſertion of *Seneca* [3]. In the upper *Egypt* indeed, towards the cataracts of *Nile*, it rains very ſeldom [4]. Some, however, ſuppoſe that the rains here mentioned are intended of thoſe which ſhould fall in *Ethiopia*, and occaſion the ſwelling of the *Nile*, the great cauſe of the fertility of *Egypt*; or elſe of thoſe which ſhould fall in the neighbouring countries, which were alſo afflicted with famine during the ſame time.

[c] *Return unto thy* LORD, *and ask of him,* &c.] *Joſeph*, it ſeems, cared not to get out of priſon, till his innocence was publickly known and declared. It is obſerved by the commentators, that *Joſeph* does not bid the meſſenger move the king to inform himſelf of the truth of the affair, but bids him directly to ask the king, to incite him to make the proper inquiry with the greater earneſtneſs. They alſo obſerve that *Joſeph* takes care not to mention his miſtreſs, out of reſpect and gratitude for the favours he had received while in her houſe [5].

[d] *The ſnare which they had laid for me*;] Endeavouring both by threats and perſuaſions to intice me to commit folly with my miſtreſs.

[e] *Neither do I abſolutely juſtify my ſelf*;] According to a tradition of *Ebn Abbâs*, *Joſeph* had no ſooner ſpoken the foregoing words, aſſerting his innocency, than *Gabriel* ſaid to him, *What not when thou waſt deliberating to lie with her?* Upon which *Joſeph* confeſſed his frailty [6].

[1] *Idem.* [2] PLATO, *in Timæo.* POMP. MELA. [3] *Nat. quæſt. l.* 4. [4] *See* GREAVES's *Deſcr. of the pyramids, p.* 74, *&c.* RAY's *Collection of Travels, T.* 2. *p.* 92. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c.* [6] *Idem, &c.*

And the king ſaid, Bring him unto me: I will take him into my own peculiar ſervice. And when *JOSEPH was brought unto the king, and* he had diſcourſed with him, he ſaid, Thou art this day firmly eſtabliſhed with us, *and ſhalt be* intruſted *with our affairs* [a]. *JOSEPH* anſwered, Set me over the ſtore-houſes of the land; for I *will be* a ſkilful keeper *thereof*. Thus did we eſtabliſh JOSEPH in the land, that he might provide himſelf a dwelling therein, where he pleaſed. We beſtow our mercy on whom we pleaſe, and we ſuffer not the reward of the righteous to periſh: and certainly the reward of the next life is better, for thoſe who believe, and fear GOD. Moreover JOSEPH's brethren came [b], and went

[a] *And when* Joſeph *was brought unto the king*, &c.] The commentators ſay, that *Joſeph* being taken out of priſon, after he had waſhed and changed his cloaths, was introduced to the king, whom he ſaluted in the *Hebrew* tongue, and on the king's asking what language that was, he anſwered, that it was the language of his fathers. This prince, they ſay, underſtood no leſs than ſeventy languages, in every one of which he diſcourſed with *Joſeph*, who anſwered him in the ſame; at which the king greatly marvelling, deſired him to relate his dream, which he did, deſcribing the moſt minute circumſtances: whereupon the king placed *Joſeph* by him on his throne, and made him his *Wazîr*, or chief miniſter. Some ſay that his maſter *Kitfîr* dying about this time, he not only ſucceeded him in his place, but, by the king's command, married the widow, his late miſtreſs, whom he found to be a virgin, and who bare him *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes* [1]. So that according to this tradition, ſhe was the ſame woman who is called *Aſenath* by *Moſes*. This ſuppoſed marriage, which authorized their amours, probably incouraged the *Mohammedan* divines to make uſe of the loves of *Joſeph* and *Zoleikha*, as an allegorical emblem of the ſpiritual love between the Creator and the creature, GOD and the ſoul; juſt as the *Chriſtians* apply the ſong of *Solomon* to the ſame myſtical purpoſe [2].

[b] *Moreover* Joſeph's *brethren came*, &c.] *Joſeph*, being made *Wazîr*, governed with great wiſdom; for he not only cauſed juſtice to be impartially adminiſtred, and incouraged the people to induſtry and the improvement of agriculture during the ſeven years of plenty, but began and perfected ſeveral works of great benefit; the natives at this day aſcribing to the patriarch *Joſeph* almoſt all the ancient works of public utility throughout the kingdom; as particularly the rendering the province of *al Feyyûm*, from a ſtanding pool or marſh, the moſt fertile and beſt cultivated land in all *Egypt* [3]. When the years of famine came, the effects of which were felt not only in *Egypt*, but in *Syria* and the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants were obliged to apply to *Joſeph* for corn, which he ſold to them, firſt for their money, jewels, and ornaments, then for their cattle, and lands, and at length for their perſons; ſo that all the *Egyptians* in general became ſlaves to the king, tho' *Joſeph*, by his conſent, ſoon releaſed them, and returned them their ſubſtance. The dearth being felt in the land of *Canaan*, *Jacob* ſent all his ſons, except only *Benjamin*, into *Egypt* for corn. On their arrival, *Joſeph* (who well knew them) asked them who they were, ſaying he ſuſpected them to be ſpies; but they told him they came only to buy proviſions, and that they were all the ſons of an ancient man, named *Jacob*, who was alſo a prophet. *Joſeph* then asked how many brothers there were of them; they anſwered, Twelve; but that one of them had been loſt in a deſart. Upon which he enquired for the eleventh brother, there being no more than ten of them preſent. They ſaid, he was a lad, and with their father, whoſe fondneſs for him would not ſuffer him to accompany them in their journey. At length *Joſeph* asked them, who they had to vouch for their veracity; but they told him they knew no man who could vouch for them in *Egypt*. Then, replied he, one of you ſhall ſtay behind with me as a pledge, and the others may return home with their proviſions; and when ye come again, ye ſhall bring your younger brother with you, that I may know ye have told me the truth. Whereupon, it being in vain to diſpute the matter, they caſt lots who ſhould ſtay behind, and the lot fell upon *Simeon*. When they departed, *Joſeph* gave each of them a camel, and another for their brother [4].

[1] *Idem*, KITAB TAFASIR, *&c.* [2] *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. art. Jouſouf.* [3] *V.* GOLII *not. in Alfragan. p.* 175, *&c.* KIRCHER. *Oedip. Ægypt. vol.* 1. *p.* 8. LUCAS, *Voy. tom.* ii. *p.* 205, *& tom.* iii. *p.* 53. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.

went in unto him; and he knew them, but they knew not him. And when he had furniſhed them with their proviſions, he ſaid, Bring unto me your brother, *the ſon* of your father: do ye not ſee that I give full meaſure, and that I am the moſt hoſpitable receiver of gueſts? But if ye bring him not unto me, there ſhall be no *corn* meaſured unto you from me, neither ſhall ye approach *my preſence*. They anſwered, We will endeavour to obtain him of his father, and we will certainly perform *what thou requireſt*. And *JOSEPH* ſaid to his ſervants, Put their money [a] *which they have paid for their corn*, into their ſacks, that they may perceive it, when they ſhall be returned to their family: peradventure they will come back *unto us*. And when they were returned unto their father, they ſaid, O father, it is forbidden to meaſure out *corn* unto us *any more*, *unleſs we carry our brother* BENJAMIN *with us*: wherefore ſend our brother with us, and we ſhall have *corn* meaſured unto us; and we will certainly guard him *from any miſchance*. *JACOB* anſwered, Shall I truſt him with you *with any better ſucceſs* than I truſted your brother *JOSEPH* with you heretofore? But GOD is the beſt guardian; and he is the moſt merciful of thoſe who ſhew mercy. And when they opened their proviſions, they found their money had been returned unto them; *and* they ſaid, O father, what do we deſire *farther?* this our money hath been returned unto us: we will therefore *return*, *and* provide corn for our family: we will take care of our brother; and we ſhall receive a camel's burthen more *than we did the laſt time*. This is a ſmall quantity [b]. *JACOB* ſaid, I will by no means ſend him with you, until ye give me a ſolemn promiſe, *and ſwear* by GOD that ye will certainly bring him back unto me, unleſs ye be encompaſſed *by ſome inevitable impediment*. And when they had given him their ſolemn promiſe, he ſaid, GOD is witneſs of what we ſay. And he ſaid, My ſons, enter not *into the city* by one *and the ſame* gate; but enter by different gates. But *this precaution* will be of no advantage unto you againſt *the decree of* GOD; for judgment belongeth unto GOD alone: in him do I put my truſt, and in him let thoſe confide who *ſeek in whom to* put their truſt. And when they entred *the city*, as their father had commanded them, it was of no advantage unto them againſt *the decree of* GOD; *and the ſame ſerved* only *to ſatisfy* the deſire of JACOB's ſoul, which he had charged *them to perform:* for he was indued with knowledge of that which we had taught him; but the greater part of men do not underſtand. And when they entred into the preſence of JOSEPH, he received his brother

[a] *Their money*;] The original word ſignifying not only money, but alſo goods bartered or given in exchange for other merchandize, ſome commentators tell us, that they paid for their corn, not in money, but in ſhoes and dreſſed skins [1].

[b] *This is a ſmall quantity*.] The meaning may be, either that the corn they now brought was not ſufficient for the ſupport of their families, ſo that it was neceſſary for them to take another journey; or elſe, that a camel's load more or leſs was but a trifle to the king of *Egypt*. Some ſuppoſe theſe to be the words of *Jacob*, declaring it was too mean a conſideration to induce him to part with his ſon.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

BENJAMIN as his gueſt, *and* ſaid, Verily I am thy brother [a]: be not therefore afflicted for that which they have committed *againſt us*. And when he had furniſhed them with their proviſions, he put *his* cup [b] in his brother *BENJAMIN*'s ſack. Then a cryer cried *after them ſaying*, O company of travellers, ye are ſurely thieves. They ſaid, (and turned back unto them,) What *is it* that ye miſs? They anſwered, We miſs the prince's cup: and unto him who ſhall produce it, *ſhall be given* a camel's load *of corn*; and I *will be* ſurety for the ſame. *JOSEPH*'s *brethren* replied, By GOD, ye do well know, that we come not to act corruptly in the land [c], neither are we thieves. *The EGYPTIANS* ſaid, What ſhall be the reward of him, *who ſhall appear to have ſtolen the cup*, if ye be *found* liars? *JOSEPH*'s *brethren* anſwered, As to the reward of him, in whoſe ſack it ſhall be found, let him become *a bondman in* ſatisfaction for the ſame: thus do we reward the juſt, *who are guilty of theft* [d]. Then he began by their ſacks, before *he ſearched* the ſack of his brother [e]; and he drew out *the cup* from his brother's ſack. Thus did we furniſh JOSEPH with a ſtratagem. It was not *lawful* for him to take his brother *for a bondman*, by the law of the king *of EGYPT* [f], had not GOD pleaſed *to allow it, according to the offer of his brethren.* We exalt to degrees *of knowledge and honour* whom we pleaſe: and *there is one who is* knowing above all thoſe who are indued with knowledge. *His brethren* ſaid, If *BENJAMIN* be guilty of theft, his brother *JOSEPH* hath been alſo guilty of theft heretofore [g]. But JOSEPH concealed theſe things in his mind, and

[a] *He received his brother* Benjamin *as his gueſt*, &c.] It is related that *Joſeph*, having invited his brethren to an entertainment, ordered them to be placed two and two together; by which means *Benjamin*, the eleventh, was obliged to ſit alone, and burſting into tears, ſaid, If my brother *Joſeph* were alive, he would have ſat with me. Whereupon *Joſeph* ordered him to be ſeated at the ſame table with himſelf, and when the entertainment was over, diſmiſſed the reſt, ordering that they ſhould be lodged two and two in a houſe, but kept *Benjamin* in his own apartment, where he paſſed the night. The next day *Joſeph* asked him, whether he would accept of himſelf for his brother, in the room of him whom he had loſt; to which *Benjamin* replied, *Who can find a brother comparable unto thee? yet thou art not the ſon of* Jacob *and* Rachel. And upon this *Joſeph* diſcovered himſelf to him [1].

[b] *His cup*;] Some imagine this to be a meaſure holding a *Saá* (or about a gallon,) wherein they uſed to meaſure corn, or give water to the beaſts. But others take it to be a drinking-cup of ſilver, or gold.

[c] *Ye well know that we came not to act corruptly*, &c.] Both by our behaviour among you, and our bringing again our money which was returned to us without our knowledge.

[d] *Thus do we reward thoſe who are guilty of theft*;] This was the method of puniſhing theft uſed by *Jacob* and his family: for among the *Egyptians* it was puniſhed in another manner.

[e] *He began by their ſacks*, &c.] Some ſuppoſe this ſearch was made by the perſon whom *Joſeph* ſent after them; others by *Joſeph* himſelf, when they were brought back to the city.

[f] *It was not lawful for him to take his brother for a bondman by the law of* Egypt;] For there the thief was not reduced to ſervitude, but was ſcourged, and obliged to reſtore the double of what he had ſtolen [2].

[g] *His brother* Joſeph *hath been guilty of theft heretofore*;] The occaſion of this ſuſpicion, it is ſaid, was, that *Joſeph* having been brought up by his father's ſiſter, ſhe became ſo fond of him, that when he grew up, and *Jacob* deſigned to take him from her, ſhe contrived the following ſtratagem to keep him. Having a girdle which had once belonged to *Abraham*, ſhe girt it about the child, and then pretending ſhe had loſt it, cauſed ſtrict ſearch to be made for it; and it being at length found on *Joſeph*, he was adjudged, according to the abovementioned law of the family, to be delivered to her as her property. Some,

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

and did not diſcover them unto them: *and* he ſaid *within himſelf*, Ye are in a worſe condition *than us two*; and GOD beſt knoweth what ye diſcourſe about. They ſaid *unto JOSEPH*, Noble *lord*, Verily this *lad* hath an aged father; wherefore take one of us in his ſtead; for we perceive that thou art a beneficent perſon. *JOSEPH* anſwered, GOD forbid that we ſhould take *any other* than him with whom we found our goods; for then *ſhould* we certainly *be* unjuſt. And when they deſpaired of *obtaining BENJAMIN*, they retired to confer privately together. *And* the elder of them [a] ſaid, Do ye not know that your father hath received a ſolemn promiſe from you, in the name of GOD; and how perfidiouſly ye behaved heretofore towards JOSEPH? Wherefore I will by no means depart the land *of EGYPT*, until my father give me leave *to return unto him*, or GOD maketh known his will to me; for he is the beſt judge. Return ye to your father, and ſay, O father, verily thy ſon hath committed theft; we bear witneſs of no more than what we know, and we could not guard againſt what we did not foreſee: and do thou inquire in the city, where we have been, and of the company of merchants, with whom we are arrived, and *thou wilt find* that we ſpeak the truth. *And when they were returned, and had ſpoken thus to their father*, he ſaid, Nay but rather ye your ſelves have contrived the thing for your own ſakes: but patience *is* moſt proper *for me*; peradventure GOD will reſtore them all [b] unto me; for he *is* knowing *and* wiſe. And he turned from them and ſaid, Oh how am I grieved for JOSEPH! And his eyes became white with mourning [c], he being oppreſſed with deep ſorrow. *His ſons* ſaid, By GOD, thou wilt not ceaſe to remember JOSEPH, until thou be brought to death's door, or thou be actually deſtroyed *by exceſſive affliction*. He anſwered, I only repreſent my grief, which I am not able to contain, and my ſorrow unto GOD; but I know *by revelation* from GOD that which ye know not [d]. O my ſons, go and make inquiry after JOSEPH and his brother; and deſpair not of the mercy of GOD; for none deſpaireth of GOD's mercy, except the unbelieving people. *Wherefore JOSEPH's brethren returned into EGYPT:* and when they came into his preſence they ſaid, Noble *lord*, the famine is felt by us and our family, and we are come with a ſmall ſum of money [e]: yet give unto us

Some, however, ſay that *Joſeph* actually ſtole an idol of gold, which belonged to his mother's father, and deſtroyed it; a ſtory probably taken from *Rachel*'s ſtealing the images of *Laban*: and others tell us that he once ſtole a goat, or a hen, to give to a poor man [1].

[a] *The elder of them*;] viz. *Reuben*. But ſome think *Simeon*, or *Judah* to be here meant; and inſtead of *the elder*, interpret it, *the moſt prudent of them*.

[b] *Peradventure* GOD *will reſtore them all*, &c.] i. e. *Joſeph*, *Benjamin*, and *Simeon*.

[c] *His eyes became white*;] That is, the pupils loſt their deep blackneſs, and became of a pearl colour, (as happens in ſuffuſions,) by his continual weeping; which very much weakened his ſight, or, as ſome pretend, made him quite blind [2].

[d] *I know by revelation from* GOD, *that which ye know not*;] viz. That *Joſeph* is yet alive; of which ſome tell us he was aſſured by the angel of death in a dream; tho' others ſuppoſe he depended on the completion of *Joſeph*'s dream, which muſt have been fruſtrated, had he died before his brethren had bowed down before him [3].

[e] *A ſmall ſum of money*;] Their money being clipped and adulterated. Some, however, imagine they did not bring money, but goods to barter, ſuch as wool and butter, or other commodities of ſmall value [4].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem*. [4] *Idem*.

us full measure, and bestow *corn* upon us *as* alms; for GOD rewardeth the alms-givers. *JOSEPH* said *unto them*, Do ye know what ye did unto JOSEPH and his brother, when ye were ignorant *of the consequences thereof* [a]? They answered, Art thou really JOSEPH [b]? He replied, I am JOSEPH; and this is my brother. Now hath GOD been gracious unto us. For whoso feareth *God*, and persevereth with patience, *shall at length find relief*; since GOD will not suffer the reward of the righteous to perish. They said, By GOD, now hath GOD chosen thee above us; and we have surely been sinners. *JOSEPH* answered, Let there be no reproach *cast* on you this day. GOD forgiveth you; for he is the most merciful of those who shew mercy. Depart ye with this my inner garment [c], and throw it on my father's face; and he shall recover his sight: and *then* come unto me with all your family. And when the company of travellers was departed *from EGYPT on their journey towards CANAAN*, their father said *unto those who were about him*, Verily I perceive the smell of JOSEPH [d]: although ye think that I dote. They answered, By GOD, thou art in thy old mistake [e]. But when the messenger of good tidings [f] was come *with JOSEPH's inner garment*, he threw it over his face; and he recovered his eye-sight. *And JACOB* said, Did I not tell you that I knew from GOD, that which ye knew not? They answered, O father, ask pardon of our sins for us, for we have surely been sinners. He replied, I will surely ask pardon for you of my LORD [g]; for he *is* gracious *and* merciful. And when *JACOB and his family arrived in EGYPT, and* were introduced unto JOSEPH, he received his parents unto him [h], and said, Enter ye into EGYPT, by GOD's favour, in full security. And he raised his parents to the seat of state, and they

[a] *Do ye know what ye did unto* Joseph *and his brother*, &c.] The injury they did *Benjamin*, was the separating him from his brother; after which they kept him in so great subjection, that he durst not speak to them, but with the utmost submission. Some say that these words were occasioned by a letter which *Joseph*'s brethren delivered to him from their father, requesting the releasement of *Benjamin*, and by their representing his extreme affliction at the loss of him and his brother. The commentators observe that *Joseph*, to excuse his brethren's behaviour towards him, attributes it to their ignorance, and the heat of youth [1].

[b] *Art thou really* Joseph?] They say that this question was not the effect of a bare suspicion that he was *Joseph*, but that they actually knew him, either by his face and behaviour, or by his foreteeth, which he shewed in smiling, or else by putting off his *tiara*, and discovering a whitish mole on his forehead [2].

[c] *My inner garment*;] Which the commentators generally suppose to be the same garment with which *Gabriel* invested him in the well; which having originally come from paradise, had preserved the odour of that place, and was of so great virtue as to cure any distemper in the person who was touched with it [3].

[d] *I perceive the smell of* Joseph;] This was the odour of the garment abovementioned, brought by the wind to *Jacob*, who smelt it, as is pretended, at the distance of eighty parasangs [4]; or, as others will have, three, or eight days journey off [5].

[e] *Thou art in thy old mistake*;] Being led into this imagination by thy excessive love of *Joseph*.

[f] *The messenger of good tidings*;] viz. *Judah*; who as he had formerly grieved his father, by bringing him *Joseph*'s coat stained with blood, now rejoiced him as much, by being the bearer of this vest, and the news of *Joseph*'s prosperity [6].

[g] *I will ask pardon for you*, &c.] Deferring it, as some fancy, till he should see *Joseph*, and have his consent.

[h] *His parents*,] viz. His father, and *Leah*, his mother's sister, whom he looked on as his mother, after *Rachel*'s death [7].

Al Beidawi tells us, that *Joseph* sent carriages and

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Idem.* [5] JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. [7] *Idem. See Genes.* XXXVII. 10.

they, *together with his brethren*, fell down and did obeiſance unto him [a]. And he ſaid, O my father, this is the interpretation of my viſion, *which I ſaw* heretofore: now hath my LORD rendred it true. And he hath ſurely been gracious unto me, ſince he took me forth from the priſon, and hath brought you hither from the deſart; after that the devil had ſown diſcord between me and my brethren: for my LORD is gracious unto whom he pleaſeth; and he *is* the knowing, the wiſe *GOD*. O LORD, thou haſt given me *a part* of the kingdom, and haſt taught me the interpretation of *dark* ſayings. The Creator of heaven and earth! thou art my protector in this world, and in that which is to come: make me to die a Moſlem, and join me with the righteous [b]. This is a ſecret hiſtory, which we reveal unto thee, O *MOHAMMED*, although thou waſt not preſent with the *brethren of JOSEPH*, when they concerted their deſign, and contrived a plot *againſt him*. But the greater part of men, although thou earneſtly deſire it, will not believe. Thou ſhalt not demand of them any reward for *thy publiſhing the KORAN*; it is no other than an admonition unto all creatures. And how many ſigns ſoever *there be of the being, unity, and providence of GOD*, in the heavens and the earth; they will paſs by them, and will retire afar off from them. And the greater part of them believe not in GOD, without being alſo guilty of idolatry [c]. Do they not believe that ſome overwhelming *affliction* ſhall fall on them, as a puniſhment from GOD; or that the hour *of judgment* ſhall overtake them ſuddenly, while they conſider not *its approach?* Say *unto thoſe of MECCA*, This is my way: I invite *you* unto GOD, by an evident demonſtration; *both* I and he who followeth me; and, praiſe be unto GOD! I am not an idolater. We ſent not *any apoſtles* before thee, except men, unto whom we revealed *our will, and whom we choſe* out of thoſe who dwelt in cities [d]. Will they not go through the earth, and ſee what hath been the end of thoſe who have preceded

and proviſions for his father, and his family; and that he and the king of *Egypt* went forth to meet them. He adds, that the number of the children of *Iſrael*, who entred *Egypt* with him, was ſeventy two; and that when they were led out thence by *Moſes*, they were increaſed to ſix hundred thouſand five hundred and ſeventy men and upwards, beſides the old people and children.

[a] *And he raiſed his parents to the ſeat of ſtate, and they, together with his brethren, fell down and did obeiſance unto him.*] A tranſpoſition is ſuppoſed to be in theſe words, and that he ſeated his father and mother after they had bowed down to him, and not before [1].

[b] The *Mohammedan* authors write, that *Jacob* dwelt in *Egypt* twenty four years, and at his death ordered his body to be buried in *Paleſtine* by his father, which *Joſeph* took care to perform; and then returning into *Egypt*, died twenty three years after. They add, that ſuch high diſputes aroſe among the *Egyptians*, concerning his burial, that they had like to have come to blows; but at length they agreed to put his body into a marble coffin, and to ſink it in the *Nile*; out of a ſuperſtitious imagination, that it might help the regular increaſe of the river, and deliver them from famine, for the future: but when *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, he took up the coffin, and carried *Joſeph*'s bones with him into *Canaan*, where he buried them by his anceſtors [2].

[c] *Without being alſo guilty of idolatry;*] For this crime *Mohammed* charges not only on the idolatrous *Meccans*, but alſo on the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*; as has been already obſerved more than once.

[d] *Of thoſe who dwelt in cities;*] And not of the inhabitants of the deſarts; becauſe the former are more knowing and compaſſionate, and the latter more ignorant and hard-hearted [3].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem. See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 30.

ceded them? But the dwelling of the next life ſhall ſurely be better for thoſe who fear GOD. Will they not therefore underſtand? *Their predeceſſors were born with for a time*, until, when *our* apoſtles deſpaired *of their converſion*, and they thought that they were liars, our help came unto them, and we delivered whom we pleaſed; but our vengeance was not turned away from the wicked people. Verily in the hiſtories of *the prophets and their people* there is an inſtructive example unto thoſe who are indued with underſtanding. *The* KORAN is not a new invented fiction; but a confirmation of *thoſe ſcriptures* which *have been revealed* before it, and a diſtinct explication of every thing *neceſſary*, *in reſpect either to faith or practice*, and a direction and mercy unto people who believe.

CHAP. XIII.

Intitled, Thunder[a]; *revealed at* MECCA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

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[d] *Two different kinds*;] As ſweet and ſour, black and white, ſmall and large, *&c* [1].
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collars on their necks [a], and theſe *ſhall be* the inhabitants of *hell* fire: therein ſhall they abide for ever. They will aſk of thee to haſten evil rather than good [b]: although there have already been examples *of the divine vengeance* before them. Thy LORD is ſurely indued with indulgence towards men, notwithſtanding their iniquity; but thy LORD is alſo ſevere in puniſhing. The infidels ſay, Unleſs a ſign be ſent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe.* Thou art *commiſſioned to be* a preacher only, *and not a worker of miracles:* and unto every people *hath* a director *been appointed.* GOD knoweth what every female beareth *in her womb*; and what the wombs want or exceed *of their due time, or number of young.* With him is every thing *regulated* according to a *determined* meaſure. *He* knoweth that which is hidden, and that which is revealed. *He is* the great, the moſt high. He among you who concealeth *his* words, and he who proclaimeth them in public; he alſo who ſeeketh to hide himſelf in the night, and he who goeth forth openly in the day, is equal *in reſpect to the knowledge of GOD.* Each of them hath *angels* mutually ſucceeding each other, before him, and behind him; they watch him by the command of GOD [c]. Verily GOD will not change *his grace* which is in men, until they change the *diſpoſition* in their ſouls *by ſin.* When GOD willeth evil on a people, there ſhall be none to avert it; neither ſhall they have any protector beſide him. *It is* he who cauſeth the lightening to appear unto you, to *ſtrike* fear, and *to raiſe* hope [d], and who formeth the pregnant clouds. The thunder celebrateth his praiſe [e], and the angels *alſo*, for fear of him. He ſendeth his thunderbolts, and ſtriketh therewith whom he pleaſeth, while they diſpute concerning GOD [f]; for he is mighty in power. *It is* he *who* ought of right to be

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[b] *They will ask of thee to haſten evil rather than good;*] Provoking and daring thee to call down the divine vengeance on them for their impenitency.

[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 72.

[d] *To raiſe hope;*] Thunder and lightening being the ſign of approaching rain; a great bleſſing, in the eaſtern countries more eſpecially.

[e] *The thunder celebrateth his praiſe;*] Or cauſeth thoſe who hear it, to praiſe him. Some commentators tell us, that by the word *thunder*, in this place, is meant the angel who preſides over the clouds, and drives them forwards with twiſted ſheets of fire [4].

[f] *While they diſpute concerning* GOD.] This paſſage was revealed on the following occaſion. *Amer Ebn al Tofail*, and *Arbad Ebn Rabîah*, the brother of *Labîd*, went to *Mohammed* with an intent to kill him; and *Amer* began to diſpute with him concerning the chief points of his doctrine, while *Arbad*, taking a compaſs, went behind him to diſpatch him with his ſword: but the prophet perceiving his deſign, implored GOD's protection; whereupon *Arbad* was immediately ſtruck dead by thunder, and *Amer* was ſtruck with a peſtilential boil, of which he died in a ſhort time, in a miſerable condition [5].

Jallalo'ddin, however, tells another ſtory, ſaying that *Mohammed* having ſent one to invite a certain man to embrace his religion, the perſon put this queſtion to the miſſionary, *Who is this apoſtle, and what is* GOD? *is he of gold, or of ſilver, or of braſs?* Upon which a thunderbolt ſtruck off his ſkull, and killed him.

[1] *V.* CHARDIN, *Voy. de Perſe, T.* 2. *p.* 229.
[2] *See chap.* 5. *p.* 91.
[3] *Al* BEIDAWI.
[4] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.
[5] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* GOLII, *not. in Adagia Arab. adject. ad Gram. Erpenii, p.* 99.

ceded them? But the dwelling of the next life ſhall ſurely be better for thoſe who fear GOD. Will they not therefore underſtand? *Their predeceſſors were born with for a time*, until, when *our* apoſtles deſpaired *of their converſion*, and they thought that they were liars, our help came unto them, and we delivered whom we pleaſed; but our vengeance was not turned away from the wicked people. Verily in the hiſtories of *the prophets and their people* there is an inſtructive example unto thoſe who are indued with underſtanding. *The* KORAN is not a new invented fiction; but a confirmation of *thoſe ſcriptures* which *have been revealed* before it, and a diſtinct explication of every thing *neceſſary*, *in reſpect either to faith or practice*, and a direction and mercy unto people who believe.

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[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 72.

[d] *To raiſe hope;*] Thunder and lightening being the ſign of approaching rain; a great bleſſing, in the eaſtern countries more eſpecially.

[e] *The thunder celebrateth his praiſe;*] Or cauſeth thoſe who hear it, to praiſe him. Some commentators tell us, that by the word *thunder*, in this place, is meant the angel who preſides over the clouds, and drives them forwards with twiſted ſheets of fire [4].

[f] *While they diſpute concerning* GOD.] This paſſage was revealed on the following occaſion. *Amer Ebn al Tofail*, and *Arbad Ebn Rabîah*, the brother of *Labîd*, went to *Mohammed* with an intent to kill him; and *Amer* began to diſpute with him concerning the chief points of his doctrine, while *Arbad*, taking a compaſs, went behind him to diſpatch him with his ſword: but the prophet perceiving his deſign, implored GOD's protection; whereupon *Arbad* was immediately ſtruck dead by thunder, and *Amer* was ſtruck with a peſtilential boil, of which he died in a ſhort time, in a miſerable condition [5].

Jallalo'ddin, however, tells another ſtory, ſaying that *Mohammed* having ſent one to invite a certain man to embrace his religion, the perſon put this queſtion to the miſſionary, *Who is this apoſtle, and what is* GOD? *is he of gold, or of ſilver, or of braſs?* Upon which a thunderbolt ſtruck off his skull, and killed him.

[1] *V.* CHARDIN, *Voy. de Perſe, T.* 2. *p.* 229. [2] *See chap.* 5. *p.* 91. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* GOLII, *not. in Adagia Arab. adject. ad Gram. Erpenii, p.* 99.

invoked; and the *idols* which they invoke beſides him, ſhall not hear them at all; otherwiſe than as he *is heard*, who ſtretcheth forth his hands to the water that it may aſcend to his mouth, when it cannot aſcend *thither*: the ſupplication of the unbelievers is utterly erroneous. Whatſoever is in heaven and on earth worſhippeth GOD, voluntarily or of force[a]; and their ſhadows *alſo*, morning and evening[b]. Say, Who is the LORD of heaven and earth? Anſwer, GOD. Say, Have ye therefore taken *unto your ſelves* protectors beſide him, who are unable either to help, or to *defend* themſelves from hurt? Say, Shall the blind and the ſeeing be eſteemed equal? or ſhall darkneſs and light be accounted the ſame? or have they attributed companions unto GOD who have created as he hath created, ſo that their creation bear any reſemblance unto his? Say, GOD is the creator of all things; he is the one, the victorious GOD. He cauſeth water to deſcend from heaven, and the brooks flow according to their *reſpective* meaſure, and the floods bear the floating froth: and from *the metals* which they melt in the fire, ſeeking *to caſt* ornaments or veſſels *for uſe*, *there ariſeth* a ſcum like unto it. Thus GOD ſetteth forth truth and vanity. But the ſcum is thrown off, and that which is uſeful to mankind remaineth on the earth. Thus doth GOD put forth parables. Unto thoſe who obey their LORD *ſhall be given* the moſt excellent *reward*: but thoſe who obey him not, although they were poſſeſſed of whatever is in the whole earth and as much more, they would give it *all* for their ranſom. Theſe will be brought to a terrible account: their abode *ſhall be* hell; an unhappy couch *ſhall it be!* Shall he therefore, who knoweth that what hath been ſent down unto thee from thy LORD, is truth, be *rewarded* as he who is blind? The prudent only will conſider; who fulfil the covenant of GOD, and break not *their* contract; and who join that which GOD hath commanded to be joined[c], and *who* fear their LORD, and dread an ill account; and who perſevere out of a *ſincere* deſire to pleaſe their LORD, and obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and give alms out of what we have beſtowed on them, in ſecret and openly, and who turn away evil with good: the reward of theſe *ſhall be* paradiſe, gardens of eternal abode[d], which they ſhall enter, and *alſo* whoever ſhall have acted uprightly, of their fathers, and their wives, and their poſterity: and the angels ſhall go in unto them by every gate, *ſaying*, Peace be upon you, becauſe ye have endured with patience; how excellent a reward is paradiſe! But as for thoſe who violate the covenant of GOD, after the eſtabliſhment thereof, and *who* cut in ſunder

[a] *Whatever is in heaven and on earth worſhipeth* GOD, *voluntarily or of force*;] The infidels and devils themſelves being conſtrained to humble themſelves before him, tho' againſt their will, when they are delivered up to puniſhment.

[b] *And their ſhadows alſo, evening and morning*;] This is an alluſion to the increaſing and diminiſhing of the ſhadows, according to the height of the ſun; ſo that when they are the longeſt, which is in the morning and the evening, they appear proſtrate on the ground, in the poſture of adoration.

[c] *Who join that which* GOD *hath commanded to be joined*;] By believing in all the prophets without exception, and joining thereto the continual practice of their duty, both towards GOD and man [1].

[d] *Gardens of eternal abode*;] Literally, *gardens of* Eden. See chap. 9. p. 158.

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA.

ſunder that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth, on them ſhall a curſe *fall*, and they ſhall have a miſerable dwelling *in hell*. GOD giveth proviſion in abundance unto whom he pleaſeth, and is ſparing *unto whom he pleaſeth*. *Thoſe of MECCA* rejoice in the preſent life; although the preſent life, in reſpect of the future, is but a *precarious* proviſion. The infidels ſay, Unleſs a ſign be ſent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe*. Anſwer, Verily GOD will lead into error whom he pleaſeth, and will direct unto himſelf him who repenteth, *and* thoſe who believe, and whoſe hearts reſt ſecurely in the meditation of GOD; ſhall not *mens* hearts reſt ſecurely in the meditation of GOD? They who believe and do that which is right *ſhall enjoy* bleſſedneſs, and *partake of* a happy reſurrection. Thus have we ſent thee to a nation which *other* nations have preceded, *unto whom prophets have likewiſe been ſent*, that thou mayeſt rehearſe unto them that which we have revealed unto thee, even while they believe not in the merciful GOD. Say *unto them*, He is my LORD; there is no GOD but he: in him do I truſt, and unto him muſt I return. Though a KORAN *were revealed* by which mountains ſhould be removed, or the earth cleaved in ſunder, or the dead be cauſed to ſpeak [a], *it would be in vain*. But the matter *belongeth* wholly unto GOD. Do not therefore the believers know, that if GOD pleaſed, he would certainly direct all men? Adverſity ſhall not ceaſe to afflict the unbelievers for that which they have committed, or to ſit down near their habitations [b], until GOD's promiſe come [c]: for GOD is not contrary to the promiſe. Apoſtles before thee have been laughed to ſcorn; and I permitted the infidels to enjoy a long and happy life: but afterwards I puniſhed them; and how *ſevere* was the puniſhment which I *inflicted on them!* Who is it therefore that ſtandeth over every ſoul, *to obſerve* that which it committeth? They attribute companions unto GOD. Say, Name them: will ye declare unto him that which he knoweth not in the earth? or *will ye name them* in outward ſpeech only [d]? But the deceitful procedure of the infidels was prepared

[a] *Though a* Korân *ſhould be revealed, by which mountains ſhould be removed*, &c.] Theſe are miracles which the *Koreiſh* required of *Mohammed*; demanding that he would by the power of his *Korân*, either remove the mountains from about *Mecca*, that they might have delicious gardens in their room; or that he would oblige the wind to tranſport them with their merchandize to *Syria*; (according to which tradition the words here tranſlated, *or the earth cleaved in ſunder*, ſhould be rendered, *or the earth be travelled over* in an inſtant;) or elſe raiſe to life *Koſai Ebn Kelâb* [1], and others of their anceſtors, to bear witneſs to him: whereupon this paſſage was revealed.

[b] *Or to ſit down near their habitations*;] It is ſuppoſed by ſome, that theſe words are ſpoken to *Mohammed*, and then they muſt be tranſlated in the ſecond perſon, *Nor ſhalt thou ceaſe to ſit down*, &c. For they ſay this verſe relates to the idolaters of *Mecca*; who were afflicted with a ſeries of misfortunes for their ill uſage of their prophet, and were alſo continually annoyed and harraſſed by his parties, which frequently plundred their caravans and drove off their cattle; himſelf ſitting down with his whole army near the city in the expedition of *al Hodeibîya* [2].

[c] *Until* GOD's *promiſe come*;] i. e. 'Till death and the day of judgment overtake them; or, according to the expoſition in the preceding note, until the taking of *Mecca* [3].

[d] *In outward ſpeech only*;] That is, calling them the companions of GOD, without being able to aſſign any reaſon, or give any proof why they deſerve to be ſharers in the honour and worſhip due from mankind to him [4].

[1] *See chap.* 8. *p.* 142. *not.* 2. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.*

for them; and they are turned aſide from the *right* path: for he whom GOD ſhall cauſe to err, ſhall have no director. They ſhall ſuffer a puniſhment in this life; but the puniſhment of the next ſhall be more grievous: and there ſhall be none to protect them againſt GOD. *This is* the deſcription of paradiſe, which is promiſed to the pious. It is watered by rivers; its food is perpetual, and its ſhade *alſo:* this ſhall be the reward of thoſe who fear *GOD*. But the reward of the infidels ſhall be *hell* fire. Thoſe to whom we have given the ſcriptures, rejoice at what hath been revealed unto thee [a]. Yet *there are* ſome of the confederates who deny part thereof [b]. Say *unto them*, Verily I am commanded to worſhip GOD alone; and to give him no companion: upon him do I call, and unto him ſhall I return. To this purpoſe have we ſent down *the KORAN*, a *rule of* judgment, in the Arabic language. And verily if thou follow their deſires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, there ſhall be none to defend or protect thee againſt GOD. We have formerly ſent apoſtles before thee, and beſtowed on them wives and children [c]; and no apoſtle had *the power* to come with a ſign, unleſs by the permiſſion of GOD. Every age hath its book *of revelation:* GOD ſhall aboliſh and ſhall confirm *what he pleaſeth*. With him is the original of the book [d]. Moreover, whether we cauſe thee to ſee any part of that *puniſhment* wherewith we have threatened them, or whether we cauſe thee to die *before it be inflicted on them*, verily unto thee *belongeth* preaching *only*, but unto us inquiſition. Do they not ſee that we come into *their* land, and ſtraiten the borders thereof, *by the conqueſts of the true believers?* When GOD judgeth, there is none to reverſe his judgment; and he *will be* ſwift in taking an account. Their predeceſſors formerly deviſed ſubtle plots *againſt their prophets*; but GOD is maſter of every ſubtle device. He knoweth that which every ſoul deſerveth: and the infidels ſhall ſurely know, whoſe will be the reward of paradiſe. The unbelievers [e] will ſay, Thou art not ſent *of GOD*. Anſwer, GOD is a ſufficient witneſs between me and you, and he who underſtandeth the ſcriptures.

CHAP.

[a] *Thoſe to whom we have given the ſcriptures*, &c.] *viz.* The firſt proſelytes to *Mohammediſm* from *Judaiſm* and *Chriſtianity*; or the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* in general, who were pleaſed to find the *Korân* ſo conſonant to their own ſcriptures [1].

[b] *Some of the confederates*, &c.] That is, ſuch of them as had entred into a confederacy to oppoſe *Mohammed*; as did *Caab Ebn al Aſhraf*, and the *Jews* who followed him, and *al Seyid al Najrâni*, *al Akib*, and ſeveral other *Chriſtians*; who denied ſuch parts of the *Korân* as contradicted their corrupt doctrines and traditions [2].

[c] *And beſtowed on them wives and children*;] As we have on thee. This paſſage was revealed in anſwer to the reproaches which were caſt on *Mohammed*, on account of the great number of his wives. For the *Jews* ſaid, That if he was a true prophet, his care and attention would be employed about ſomething elſe than women and the getting of children [3]. It may be obſerved that it is a maxim of the *Jews* that nothing is more repugnant to prophecy, than carnality [4].

[d] *The original of the book*;] Literally, *the mother of the book*; by which is meant the *preſerved table*, from which all the written revelations which have been from time to time publiſhed to mankind, according to the ſeveral diſpenſations, are tranſcripts.

[e] *The unbelievers*;] The perſons intended in this paſſage, it is ſaid, were the *Jewiſh* doctors [5].

[1] *See chap.* 3. *p.* 59. [2] *Idem.* [3] JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA. [4] *V.* MAIMON. *More Nev. part.* 2. *c.* 36, *&c.* [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. XIV.

Intitled, ABRAHAM [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A. L. R [b]. *This* book have we ſent down unto thee, that thou mayeſt lead men forth from darkneſs into light, by the permiſſion of their LORD, into the glorious and laudable way. GOD *is he* unto whom *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and on earth: and woe be to the infidels, becauſe a grievous puniſhment *waiteth them*; who love the preſent life above that which is to come, and turn *men* aſide from the way of GOD, and ſeek to render it crooked: theſe are in an error far diſtant *from the truth*. We have ſent no apoſtle but with the language of his people, that he might declare *their duty* plainly unto them [c]: for GOD cauſeth to err whom he pleaſeth, and directeth whom he pleaſeth; and he is the mighty, the wiſe. We formerly ſent MOSES with our ſigns, *and commanded him ſaying*, Lead forth thy people from darkneſs into light, and remind them of the favours of GOD [d]: verily therein *are* ſigns unto every patient *and* grateful perſon. And *call to mind* when MOSES ſaid unto his people, Remember the favour of GOD towards you, when he delivered you from the people of PHARAOH: they grievouſly oppreſſed you; and they ſlew your male children, but let your females live [e]: therein was a great trial from your LORD. And when your LORD declared *by the mouth of MOSES, ſaying*, If ye be thankful, I will ſurely increaſe *my favours towards* you; but if ye be ungrateful, verily my puniſhment *ſhall be* ſevere. And MOSES ſaid, If ye be ungrateful, and all who are in the earth *likewiſe*; verily GOD needeth not *your thanks, though* he deſerveth the higheſt praiſe. Hath not the hiſtory of *the nations* your predeceſſors reached you; *namely*, of the people of NOAH, and of AD, and of THAMUD [f], and of thoſe who ſucceeded them; whoſe *number* none knoweth except GOD? Their apoſtles came unto them with evident *miracles*; but they clapped their hands to their mouths *out of indignation*,

[a] Mention is made of this patriarch towards the end of the chapter.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, *&c.*

[c] *That he might declare their duty plainly unto them*;] That ſo they might not only perfectly and readily underſtand thoſe revelations themſelves, but might alſo be able to tranſlate and interpret them unto others [1].

[d] *The favours of* GOD;] Literally, *the days of* GOD; which may alſo be tranſlated, *the battles of* GOD, (the *Arabs* uſing the word *day* to ſignify a remarkable engagement, as the *Italians* do *giornata*, and the *French*, *journée*,) or his wonderful acts manifeſted in the various ſucceſs of former nations in their wars [2].

[e] See chap. 7. p. 130, *&c.*

[f] See ibid. p. 122, *&c.*

[1] *Idem.*

[2] *Idem.*

nation, and ſaid, We do not believe *the meſſage* with which ye *pretend to* be ſent; and we are in a doubt concerning the *religion* to which ye invite us, *as juſtly to be* ſuſpected. Their apoſtles anſwered, Is there any doubt concerning GOD, the creator of heaven and earth? He inviteth you *to the true faith* that he may forgive you *part* of your ſins [a], and may reſpite *your puniſhment*, *by granting you ſpace to repent*, until an appointed time. They anſwered, Ye are but men, like unto us: ye ſeek to turn us aſide from *the gods* which our fathers worſhipped: wherefore bring us an evident demonſtration *by ſome miracle*, *that ye ſpeak truth*. Their apoſtles replied unto them, We are no other than men like unto you; but GOD is bountiful unto ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth: and it is not in our *power* to give you a miraculous demonſtration *of our miſſion*, unleſs by the permiſſion of GOD; in GOD therefore let the faithful truſt. And what *excuſe* have we *to alledge*, that we ſhould not put our truſt in GOD; ſince he hath directed us our paths? Wherefore we will certainly ſuffer with patience the *perſecution* wherewith ye ſhall afflict us: in GOD therefore let thoſe put their confidence who *ſeek in whom to* put their truſt. And thoſe who believed not, ſaid unto their apoſtles, We will ſurely expel you out of our land; or ye ſhall return unto our religion. And their LORD ſpake unto them by revelation, *ſaying*, We will ſurely deſtroy the wicked doers; and we will cauſe you to dwell in the earth, after them. This *ſhall be granted* unto him who ſhall dread *the appearance at* my tribunal, and ſhall fear my threatening. And they aſked aſſiſtance *of* GOD [b], and every rebellious perverſe perſon failed of ſucceſs. Hell *lyeth unſeen* before him, and he ſhall have filthy water [c] given him to drink: he ſhall ſup it up by little and little, and he ſhall not eaſily let it paſs his throat, *becauſe of its nauſeouſneſs*; death alſo ſhall come upon him from every quarter, yet he ſhall not die; and before him *ſhall there ſtand prepared* a grievous torment. *This is* the likeneſs of thoſe who believe not in their LORD. Their works are as aſhes, which the wind violently ſcattereth in a ſtormy day: they ſhall not be able to *obtain* any *ſolid advantage* from that which they have wrought. This is an error moſt diſtant *from truth*. Doſt thou not ſee that GOD hath created the heavens and the earth in wiſdom? If he pleaſe, he can deſtroy you, and produce a new creature *in your ſtead*: neither will this be difficult with GOD. And they ſhall all come forth into *the preſence of* GOD *at the laſt day*:

[a] *Part of your ſins*;] That is, ſuch of them as were committed directly againſt GOD, which are immediately cancelled by faith, or embracing *Iſlâm*; but not the crimes of injuſtice, and oppreſſion, which were committed againſt man [1]: for to obtain remiſſion of theſe laſt, beſides faith, repentance and reſtitution, according to a man's ability, are alſo neceſſary.

[b] *They asked aſſiſtance of* GOD.] The commentators are uncertain whether theſe were the prophets, who begged aſſiſtance againſt their enemies; or the infidels, who called for GOD's deciſion between themſelves and them; or both. And ſome ſuppoſe this verſe has no connexion with the preceding, but is ſpoken of the people of *Mecca*, who begged rain in a great drought with which they were afflicted at the prayer of their prophet, but could not obtain it [2].

[c] *Filthy water*;] Which will iſſue from the bodies of the damned, mixed with purulent matter and blood.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

day: and the weak among them ſhall ſay unto thoſe who behaved themſelves arrogantly [a], Verily we were your followers *on earth*; will ye not therefore avert from us *ſome part* of the divine vengeance? They *ſhall anſwer*, If GOD had directed us *aright*, *we had certainly directed you* [b]. It is equal unto us whether we bear *our torments* impatiently, or whether we endure *them* with patience: *for* we have no way to eſcape. And SATAN ſhall ſay, after judgment ſhall have been given, Verily GOD promiſed you a promiſe of truth: and I *alſo* made you a promiſe; but I deceived you. Yet I had not any power over you *to compel you*; but I called you only, and ye anſwered me: wherefore accuſe not me, but accuſe your ſelves [c]. I cannot aſſiſt you; neither can ye aſſiſt me. Verily I do *now* renounce your having aſſociated me *with GOD* heretofore [d]. A grievous puniſhment is *prepared* for the unjuſt. But they who ſhall have believed and wrought righteouſneſs, ſhall be introduced into gardens, wherein rivers flow; they ſhall remain therein *for ever*, by the permiſſion of their LORD; and their ſalutation therein *ſhall be*, Peace [e]! Doſt thou not ſee how GOD putteth forth a parable; *repreſenting* a good word, as a good tree, whoſe root is firmly fixed *in the earth*, and whoſe branches *reach* unto heaven; which bringeth forth its fruit in all ſeaſons, by the will of its LORD? GOD propoundeth parables unto men, that they may be inſtructed. And the likeneſs of an evil word is as an evil tree; which is torn up from the face of the earth, and hath no ſtability [f]. GOD ſhall confirm them who believe, by the ſtedfaſt word *of faith*, *both* in this life and in that which is to come [g]: but GOD ſhall lead the wicked into error; for GOD doth that which he pleaſeth. Haſt thou not conſidered thoſe who have changed the grace of GOD to infidelity [h], and cauſe

[a] *The weak ſhall ſay unto thoſe who behaved arrogantly*;] i. e. The more ſimple and inferior people ſhall ſay to their teachers and princes who ſeduced them to idolatry, and confirmed them in their obſtinate infidelity.

[b] *If* GOD *had directed us aright, we had certainly directed you*;] That is, We made the ſame choice for you, as we did for our ſelves; and had not GOD permitted us to fall into error, we had not ſeduced you.

[c] *Wherefore accuſe not me*, &c.] Lay not the blame on my temptations, but blame your own folly in obeying and truſting to me, who had openly profeſſed my ſelf your irreconcileable enemy.

[d] *I do now renounce your having aſſociated me with* GOD *heretofore*;] Or I do now declare my ſelf clear of your having obeyed me, preferably to GOD, and worſhipped idols at my inſtigation. Or the words may be tranſlated, *I believed not heretofore in that* Being *with whom ye did aſſociate me*; intimating his firſt diſobedience in refuſing to worſhip *Adam* at GOD's command [1].

[e] See chap. 10. p. 167.

[f] What is particularly intended in this paſſage by the *good word*, and the *evil word*, the expoſitors differ. But the firſt ſeems to mean the profeſſion of GOD's unity, the inviting others to the true religion, or the *Korân* it ſelf; and the latter, the acknowledging a plurality of gods, the ſeducing of others to idolatry, or the obſtinate oppoſition of GOD's prophets [2].

[g] *And in that which is to come*;] *Jallalo'ddin* ſuppoſes the ſepulchre to be here underſtood; in which place when the true believers come to be examined by the two angels concerning their faith, they will anſwer properly and without heſitation; which the infidels will not be able to do [3].

[h] *Haſt thou not conſidered thoſe who have changed the grace of* GOD *to infidelity*, &c.] That is, who requite his favours with diſobedience and incredulity. Or, whoſe ingratitude obliged GOD to deprive them of the bleſſings he had beſtowed on them; as he did the *Meccans*, who though GOD had placed them in the ſacred territory,

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 76.

cauſe their people to deſcend into the houſe of perdition, *namely*, *into* hell? They ſhall be thrown to burn therein; and an unhappy dwelling *ſhall it be*. They alſo ſet up idols as copartners with GOD, that they might cauſe *men* to ſtray from his path. Say *unto them*, Enjoy *the pleaſures of this life for a time*; but your departure *hence* ſhall be into *hell* fire. Speak unto my ſervants who have believed, that they be aſſiduous at prayer, and give alms out of that which we have beſtowed on them, *both* privately and in public; before the day cometh, wherein there ſhall be no buying nor ſelling, neither any friendſhip. It is GOD who hath created the heavens and the earth; and cauſeth water to deſcend from heaven, and by means thereof produceth fruits for your ſuſtenance: and by his command he obligeth [a] the ſhips to ſail in the ſea for your ſervice; and he alſo forceth the rivers to ſupply your uſes: he likewiſe compelleth the ſun and the moon, which diligently perform their courſes, to ſerve you; and hath ſubjected the day and the night to your ſervice. He giveth you of every thing which ye aſk him; and if ye *attempt to* reckon up the favours of GOD, ye ſhall not be able to compute the ſame. Surely man is unjuſt *and* ungrateful. *Remember* when ABRAHAM ſaid, O LORD, make this land [b] *a place* of ſecurity; and grant that I and my children [c] may avoid the worſhip of idols; for they, O LORD, have ſeduced a great number of men. Whoever therefore ſhall follow me, he *ſhall be* of me: and whoſoever ſhall diſobey me; verily thou *wilt be* gracious *and* merciful [d]. O LORD, I have cauſed *ſome* of my off-ſpring [e] to ſettle in an unfruitful valley, near thy holy houſe, O LORD, that they may be conſtant at prayer. Grant, therefore, that the hearts of ſome men [f] may be affected

ritory, and given them the cuſtody of the *Caaba*, and abundant proviſion of all neceſſaries and conveniences of life, and had alſo honoured them by the miſſion of *Mohammed*, yet in return for all this, became obſtinate unbelievers, and perſecuted his apoſtle; for which they were not only puniſhed by a famine of ſeven years, but alſo by the loſs and diſgrace they ſuſtained at *Bedr*; ſo that they who had before been celebrated for their proſperity, were now ſtripped of that, and become conſpicuous only for their infidelity [1]. If this be the drift of the paſſage, it could not have been revealed at *Mecca*, as the reſt of the chapter is agreed to be; wherefore ſome ſuppoſe this verſe and the next to have been revealed at *Medina*.

[a] *He obligeth*;] The word uſed here, and in the following ſentences, is *ſakhkhara*, which ſignifies *forcibly to preſs into any ſervice* [2].

[b] *This land*;] viz. The territory of *Mecca*. See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV.

[c] *And my children*;] This prayer, it ſeems, was not heard as to all his poſterity, particularly as to the deſcendants of *Iſmael*; tho' ſome pretend that theſe latter did not worſhip images, but only paid a ſuperſtitious veneration to certain ſtones, which they ſet up and compaſſed, as repreſentations of the *Caaba* [3].

[d] *Thou wilt be gracious and merciful*;] That is, by diſpoſing him to repentance. But *Jallalo'ddin* ſuppoſes theſe words were ſpoken by *Abraham* before he knew that GOD would not pardon idolatry.

[e] *Some of my offspring*;] i. e. *Iſmael* and his poſterity. The *Mohammedans* ſay, that *Hagar*, his mother, belonged to *Sarah*, who gave her to *Abraham*; and that, on her bearing him this ſon, *Sarah* became ſo jealous of her, that ſhe prevailed on her husband to turn them both out of doors; whereupon he ſent them to the territory of *Mecca*, where GOD cauſed the fountain of *Zemzem* to ſpring forth for their relief, in conſideration of which the *Jorhamites*, who were the maſters of the country, permitted them to ſettle among them [4].

[f] *The hearts of ſome men*, &c.] Had he ſaid the *hearts of men*, abſolutely, the *Perſians* and the *Romans* would alſo have treated them as friends; and both the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* would have made their pilgrimages to *Mecca* [5].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 19. *not. d.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 20, 21. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

fected with kindneſs toward them; and do thou beſtow on them *all ſorts* of fruits [a]; that they may give thanks. O LORD, thou knoweſt whatſoever we conceal, and whatſoever we publiſh; for nothing is hidden from GOD, either on earth, or in heaven. Praiſe be unto GOD, who hath given me, in *my* old age, ISMAEL and ISAAC: for my LORD is the hearer of ſupplication. O LORD, grant that I may be an obſerver of prayer, and *a part* of my poſterity *alſo* [b], O LORD; and receive my ſupplication. O LORD, forgive me, and my parents [c], and the faithful, on the day whereon an account ſhall be taken. Think not, *O prophet*, that GOD *is* regardleſs of what the ungodly do. He only deferreth their *puniſhment* unto the day whereon *mens* eyes ſhall be fixed: they ſhall haſten forward, *at the voice of the angel calling to judgment*, and ſhall lift up their heads; they ſhall not be able to turn their ſight *from the object whereon it ſhall be fixed*, and their hearts ſhall be void *of ſenſe, through exceſſive terror*. Wherefore do thou threaten men with the day, *whereon their* puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on them, and *whereon* thoſe who have acted unjuſtly ſhall ſay, O LORD, give us reſpite unto a term near at hand; *and* we will obey thy call, and we will follow *thy* apoſtles. *But it ſhall be anſwered unto them*, Did ye not ſwear heretofore, that no reverſe ſhould befal you [d]? yet ye dwelt in the dwellings of thoſe who had treated their own ſouls unjuſtly [e]; and it appeared plainly unto you how we had dealt with them [f]; and we propounded *their deſtruction as* examples unto you. They employ their utmoſt ſubtlety *to oppoſe the truth*; but their ſubtlety *is apparent* unto GOD, *who is able to fruſtrate their deſigns*; although their ſubtlety were *ſo great*, that the mountains might be moved thereby. Think not therefore, *O prophet*, that GOD will be contrary to his promiſe *of aſſiſtance, made* unto his apoſtles; for GOD *is* mighty, able to avenge. The day *will come, when* the earth ſhall be changed into another earth, and the heavens *into other heavens* [g]; and men ſhall come forth *from their graves to appear* before the only, the mighty GOD. And thou ſhalt ſee the wicked

[a] *Beſtow on them fruits*;] This part of the prayer was granted; *Mecca* being ſo plentifully ſupplied, that the fruits of ſpring, ſummer, and autumn, are to be found there at one and the ſame time [1].

[b] *And a part of my poſterity*;] For he knew by revelation that ſome of them would be infidels.

[c] *Forgive me, and my parents*;] *Abraham* put up this petition to GOD, before he knew that his parents were the enemies of GOD [2]. Some ſuppoſe his mother was a true believer, and therefore read it in the ſingular, *and my father*. Others fancy that by his *parents* the patriarch here means *Adam* and *Eve* [3].

[d] *That no reverſe ſhould befal you*;] That is, That ye ſhould not taſte of death, but continue in this world for ever; or that ye ſhould not after death be raiſed to judgment [4].

[e] *The dwellings of thoſe who had treated their own ſouls unjuſtly*;] viz. Of the *Adites* and *Thamudites*.

[f] *And it appeared plainly unto you how we had dealt with them*;] Not only by the hiſtories of thoſe people revealed in the *Korân*, but alſo by the monuments remaining of them (as the houſes of the *Thamudites*,) and the traditions preſerved among you of the terrible judgments which befel them.

[g] *When the earth ſhall be changed into another earth, and the heavens into other heavens*;] This the *Mohammedans* ſuppoſe will come to paſs at the laſt day; the earth becoming white and even, or, as ſome will have it, of ſilver; and the heavens of gold [5].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *See chap.* 9. *p.* 164. [3] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI [4] *Idem*, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, YAHYA. [5] *Idem. V. Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 86.

on that day bound together in fetters: their inner garments ſhall be of pitch, and fire ſhall cover their faces; that GOD may reward every ſoul, according to what it ſhall have deſerved; for GOD is ſwift in taking an account. This is a ſufficient admonition unto men, that they may be warned thereby, and that they may know that there is but one GOD; and that thoſe who are indued with underſtanding may conſider.

CHAP. XV.

Intitled, AL HEJR[a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

XIV. A L. R[b]. Theſe are the ſigns of the book, and of the perſpicuous KORAN. * The time may come when the unbelievers ſhall wiſh that they had been Moſlems[c]. Suffer them to eat, and to enjoy themſelves *in this world*; and let hope entertain them: but they ſhall hereafter know *their folly*. We have not deſtroyed any city, but a fixed term *of repentance was* appointed them. No nation ſhall be *puniſhed* before their time *ſhall be come*; neither ſhall they be reſpited *after*. *The MECCANS* ſay, O thou to whom the admonition[d] hath been ſent down, thou art certainly poſſeſſed with a devil: wouldeſt thou not have come unto us with *an attendance of* angels, if thou hadſt ſpoken truth? *Anſwer*, We ſend not down the angels, unleſs on a juſt occaſion[e]; nor ſhould they be then reſpited any longer. We have ſurely ſent down the KORAN; and we will certainly preſerve the ſame *from corruption*[f]. We have heretofore ſent *apoſtles* before thee, among the ancient ſects: and there came no apoſtle unto them, but they laughed him to ſcorn. In the ſame manner will we put it into the hearts of the wicked *MECCANS to ſcoff at their prophet*: they ſhall not believe on him; and the ſentence of the nations of old hath been executed heretofore. If we ſhould open a gate in the heaven above them, and they ſhould aſcend thereto[g] all the day long, they would ſurely ſay, Our eyes

[a] *Al Hejr* is a territory in the province of *Hejaz*, between *Medina* and *Syria*, where the tribe of *Thamûd* dwelt[1]; and is mentioned towards the end of the chapter.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, *&c.*

[c] *When the unbelievers ſhall wiſh that they had been* Moſlems;] viz. When they ſhall ſee the ſucceſs and proſperity of the true believers; or when they ſhall come to die; or at the reſurrection.

[d] *The admonition*;] i. e. The revelations which compoſe the *Korân*.

[e] *A juſt occaſion*;] When the divine wiſdom ſhall judge it proper to uſe their miniſtry, as in bearing his revelations to the prophets, and the executing his ſentence on wicked people; but not to humour you with their appearance in viſible ſhapes, which, ſhould your demand be complied with, would only increaſe your confuſion, and bring GOD's vengeance on you the ſooner.

[f] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 75.

[g] *And they ſhould aſcend thereto*;] i. e. The incredulous *Meccans* themſelves; or, as others rather think, the angels in viſible forms.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 7

eyes are only dazzled; or rather we are a people deluded by inchantments. We have placed *the twelve* ſigns in the heaven, and have ſet them out *in various figures*, for *the obſervation of* ſpectators: and we guard them from every devil [a] driven away with ſtones [b]; except him who liſteneth by ſtealth, at whom a viſible flame is darted [c]. We have alſo ſpread forth the earth, and thrown thereon ſtable *mountains*; and we have cauſed every kind of *vegetable* to ſpring forth in the ſame, according to a determinate weight: and we have provided therein neceſſaries of life for you, and for him whom ye do not ſuſtain [d]. There is no one thing but the ſtore-houſes thereof are in our hands; and we diſtribute not the ſame *otherwiſe* than in a determinate meaſure. We alſo ſend the winds driving the pregnant clouds, and we ſend down from heaven water, whereof we give you to drink, and which ye keep not in ſtore. Verily we give life, and we put to death; and we are the heirs *of all things* [e]. We know thoſe among you who go before; and we know thoſe who ſtay behind [f]. And thy LORD ſhall gather them together *at the laſt day*; for he *is* knowing *and* wiſe. We created man of dried clay, of black mud, formed into ſhape [g]: and we had before created the devil of ſubtile fire. And *remember* when thy LORD ſaid unto the angels, Verily I am about to créate man of dried clay, of black mud, wrought into ſhape; when therefore I ſhall have completely formed him, and ſhall have breathed of my ſpirit into him; do ye fall down and worſhip him. And all the angels worſhipped *ADAM* together, except EBLIS, *who* refuſed to be with thoſe who worſhipped *him*. *And GOD* ſaid *unto him*, O EBLIS, what *hindred* thee from being with thoſe who worſhipped *ADAM?* He anſwered, It is not fit that I ſhould worſhip man, whom thou haſt created of dried clay, of black mud, wrought into ſhape. *GOD* ſaid, Get thee therefore hence; for thou ſhalt be driven away with ſtones: and a curſe *ſhall be* on thee, until the day of judgment. *The devil* ſaid, O LORD, give me reſpite until the day of reſurrection. *GOD* anſwered, Verily thou ſhalt be *one* of thoſe

[a] *We guard them from every devil*, &c.] For the *Mohammedans* imagine that the devils endeavour to aſcend to the conſtellations, to pry into the actions, and overhear the diſcourſe of the inhabitants of heaven, and to tempt them. They alſo pretend that theſe evil ſpirits had the liberty of entring any of the heavens till the birth of JESUS, when they were excluded three of them; but that on the birth of *Mohammed* they were forbidden the other four [1].

[b] See chap. 3. p. 39. not. d.

[c] *At whom a viſible flame is darted*;] For when a ſtar ſeems to fall or ſhoot, the *Mohammedans* ſuppoſe the angels, who keep guard in the conſtellations, dart them at the devils who approach too near.

[d] *And for him whom ye do not ſuſtain*;] viz. Your family, ſervants, and ſlaves, whom ye wrongly imagine that ye feed your ſelves; tho' it is GOD who provides for them as well as you [2]: or, as ſome rather think, the animals, of whom men take no care [3].

[e] *The heirs of all things*;] i. e. Alone ſurviving, when all creatures ſhall be dead and annihilated.

[f] *We know thoſe among you who go before, and thoſe who ſtay behind*;] What theſe words particularly drive at, is uncertain. Some think them ſpoken of the different times of men's ſeveral entrance into this world, and their departure out of it; others of the reſpective forwardneſs and backwardneſs of *Mohammed*'s men in battle; and a third ſays, the paſſage was occaſioned by the different behaviour of *Mohammed*'s followers, on ſeeing a very beautiful woman at prayers behind the prophet; ſome of them going out of the *Moſque* before her, to avoid looking on her more nearly, and others ſtaying behind, on purpoſe to view her [4].

[g] See chap. 2. p. 4, &c.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*. [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.

who are reſpited until the day of the appointed time[a]. *The devil* replied, O LORD, becauſe thou haſt ſeduced me, I will ſurely tempt them *to diſobedience* in the earth; and I will ſeduce them all, except *ſuch* of them *as ſhall be* thy choſen ſervants. GOD ſaid, This is the right way with me[b]. Verily *as to* my ſervants, thou ſhalt have no power over them; but *over* thoſe only who ſhall be ſeduced, and who ſhall follow thee. And hell is ſurely denounced unto them all: it hath ſeven gates; unto every gate a diſtinct company of them *ſhall be aſſigned*[c]. But thoſe who fear GOD *ſhall dwell* in gardens, amidſt fountains. *The angels ſhall ſay unto them*, Enter ye therein in peace and ſecurity. And we will remove all grudges from their breaſts[d]; *they ſhall be as* brethren, ſitting over againſt one another[e] on couches: wearineſs ſhall not affect them therein, neither ſhall they be caſt out thence *for ever*. Declare unto my ſervants that I am the gracious, the merciful GOD; and that my puniſhment is a grievous puniſhment. And relate unto them *the hiſtory* of ABRAHAM's gueſts[f]. When they went in unto him, and ſaid, Peace *be unto thee*; he anſwered, Verily we are afraid of you[g]: *and* they replied, Fear not; we bring thee the promiſe of a wiſe ſon. He ſaid, Do ye bring me the promiſe *of a ſon* now old age hath overtaken me? what is it therefore that ye tell me? They ſaid, We have told thee the truth; be not therefore one of thoſe who deſpair. He anſwered, And who deſpaireth of the mercy of GOD, except thoſe who err? And he ſaid, What is your errand therefore, O meſſengers *of GOD?* They anſwered, Verily we are ſent to *deſtroy* a wicked people: but *as for* the family of LOT, we will ſave them all, except his wife; we have decreed that ſhe ſhall be *one* of thoſe who remain behind *to be deſtroyed with the infidels*. And when the meſſengers came to the family of LOT, he ſaid *unto them*, Verily ye are people *who are* unknown *to me*. They anſwered, But we are come unto thee to *execute* that *ſentence*, concerning which *your fellow citizens* doubted: we tell thee *a certain* truth; and we are *meſſengers of* veracity. Therefore lead forth thy family, in ſome time of the night; and do thou follow behind them, and let none of you turn back; but go whither ye are commanded[h]. And we gave him this command; becauſe the utmoſt remnant of thoſe *people* was to be cut off in the morning. And the inhabitants of the city came *unto LOT*, rejoicing at the news *of the arrival of ſome ſtrangers*. *And* he ſaid *unto them*, Verily theſe are

[a] See ibid. and chap. 7. p. 117.

[b] *This is the right way with me*;] viz. The ſaving of the elect, and the utter reprobation of the wicked, according to my eternal decree.

[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 92.

[d] *We will remove all grudges from their breaſts*;] That is, all hatred and ill will which they bore each other in their life time[1]; or, as ſome chooſe to expound it, all envy or heart-burning on account of the different degrees of honour and happineſs to which the bleſſed will be promoted, according to their reſpective merits.

[e] *Sitting over againſt one another*;] Never turning their backs to one another[2]; which might be conſtrued a ſign of contempt.

[f] See chap. 11. p. 182, &c.

[g] *We are afraid of you*;] What occaſioned *Abraham*'s apprehenſion was, either their ſudden entring without leave, or their coming at an unſeaſonable time; or elſe their not eating with him.

[h] *Whither ye are commanded*;] Which was into *Syria*; or into *Egypt*[3].

[1] *See chap. 7. p. 120. not. e.* [2] JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

are my guests: wherefore do not disgrace me *by abusing them*; but fear GOD, and put me not to shame. They answered, Have we not forbidden thee from *entertaining or protecting* any man? LOT replied, These *are* my daughters; *therefore rather make use of them*, if ye *be resolved to* do *what ye purpose*. As thou livest they wander in their folly [a]. Wherefore a terrible storm from heaven assailed them at sun-rise: and we turned *the city* upside down; and we rained on them stones of baked clay. Verily herein are signs unto *men* of sagacity: and those *cities were punished*, to *point out* a right way *for men to walk in*. Verily herein is a sign unto the true believers. The inhabitants of the wood *near* MIDIAN [b] were also ungodly: wherefore we took vengeance on them [c]. And both of them were *destroyed*, to serve as a manifest rule *for men to direct their actions by*. And the inhabitants of AL HEJR [d] likewise heretofore accused the messengers *of* GOD of imposture: and we produced our signs unto them, but they retired afar off from the same. And they hewed houses out of the mountains, to secure themselves. But a terrible noise from heaven assailed them in the morning: neither was what they had wrought of any advantage unto them. We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is *contained* between them, otherwise than in justice: and the hour *of judgment* shall surely come. Wherefore, *O* MOHAMMED, forgive *thy people* with a gracious forgiveness [e]. Verily thy LORD is the creator *of thee and of them*, and knoweth *what is most expedient*. We have already brought unto thee seven *verses* which are *frequently to be* repeated [f], and the glorious KORAN. Cast not thine eyes on the *good things* which we have bestowed on several of *the unbelievers*, *so as to covet the same* [g]; neither be thou grieved on their account. Behave thy self with meekness towards the true believers; and say, I am a public preacher. *If they believe not*, *we will inflict a like punishment on them*, as we have inflicted on the dividers [h], who distinguished the KORAN into *different* parts; for by thy LORD, we

[a] Some will have these words spoken by the angels to *Lot*; others, by GOD to *Mohammed*.

[b] *The inhabitants of the wood*;] To whom *Shoaib* was also sent, as well as to the inhabitants of *Midian*, ~~they being of the same tribe~~.

[c] *We took vengeance on them*;] Destroying them, for their incredulity and disobedience, by a hot suffocating wind [1].

[d] *The inhabitants of* al Hejr;] Who were the tribe of *Thamûd* [2].

[e] This verse, it is said, was abrogated by that of the sword.

[f] *Seven verses*, &c.] That is, the first chapter of the *Korân*, which consists of so many verses: tho' some suppose the seven long chapters [3] are here intended.

[g] *Cast not thine eyes on the good things which we have bestowed on several of the unbelievers*, &c.] That is, Do not envy or covet their worldly prosperity, since thou hast received, in the *Korân*, a blessing, in comparison whereof all that we have bestowed on them, ought to be contemned as of no value. *Al Beidâwi* mentions a tradition, that *Mohammed* meeting at *Adhriât* (a town of *Syria*) seven caravans, very richly laden, belonging to some *Jews* of the tribes of *Koreidha* and *al Nadîr*, his men had a great mind to plunder them, saying, That those riches would be of great service for the propagation of GOD's true religion. But the prophet represented to them, by this passage, that they had no reason to repine, GOD having given them the *seven verses*, which were infinitely more valuable than those seven caravans [+].

[h] *The dividers*;] Some interpret the original word, the *obstructers*, who hindred men from entring *Mecca*, to visit the temple, lest they should be persuaded to embrace *Islâm*: and this, it

[1] Jalal. [2] *See chap.* 7. *p.* 124, &c. *and Prel. Disc. p.* 7. [3] *See chap.* 9. *p.* 148. *not.* a. [+] *Al* BEIDAWI.

we will demand an account from them all, of that which they have wrought. Wherefore publiſh that which thou haſt been commanded, and withdraw from the idolaters. We will ſurely take thy part againſt the ſcoffers [a], who aſſociate with GOD another god; they ſhall ſurely know *their folly*. And now we well know that thou art deeply concerned on account of that which they ſay: but do thou celebrate the praiſe of thy LORD; and be *one* of thoſe who worſhip; and ſerve thy LORD, until death [b] ſhall overtake thee.

it is ſaid, was done by ten men, who were all ſlain at *Bedr*. Others tranſlate the word, *who bound themſelves by oath*; and ſuppoſe certain *Thamudites*, who ſwore to kill *Saleh* by night, are here meant. But the ſentence more probably relates to the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, who (ſay the *Mohammedans*) receive ſome part of the ſcriptures, and reject others; and alſo approved of ſome paſſages of the *Korân*, and diſapproved of others, according to their prejudices; or elſe to the unbelieving *Meccans*, ſome of whom called the *Korân* a piece of witchcraft; others, flights of divination; others, old ſtories; and others, a poetical compoſition [1].

[a] *We will take thy part againſt the ſcoffers.*] This paſſage, it is ſaid, was revealed on account of five noble *Koreiſh*, whoſe names were *al Walîd Ebn al Mogheira, al As Ebn Wayel, Oda Ebn Kais, al Aſwad Ebn Abd Yaghûth*, and *al Aſwad Ebn al Motalleb*. Theſe were inveterate enemies of *Mohammed*, continually perſecuting him, and turning him into ridicule; wherefore at length *Gabriel* came and told him that he was commanded to take his part againſt them; and on the angel's making a ſign towards them one after another, *al Walîd* paſſing by ſome arrows, one of them hitched in his garment, and he, out of pride, not ſtooping to take it off, but walking forward, the head of it cut a vein in his heel, and he bled to death; *al As* was killed with a thorn, which ſtuck into the ſole of his foot, and cauſed his leg to ſwell to a monſtrous ſize; *Oda* died with violent and perpetual ſneezing; *al Aſwad Ebn Abd Yaghûth* run his head againſt a thorny tree and killed himſelf; and *al Aſwad Ebn al Motalleb* was ſtruck blind [2].

[b] *Death;*] Literally, *That which is certain.*

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. XVI.

Intitled, The Bee [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THE ſentence of GOD will ſurely come *to be executed*; wherefore do not haſten it. Praiſe be unto him! and far be that from him which they aſſociate *with him*! He ſhall cauſe the angels to deſcend with a revelation by his command, unto ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth, *ſaying*, Preach that there is no GOD, except my ſelf; therefore fear me. He hath created the heavens and the earth to *manifeſt his* juſtice: far be that from him which they aſſociate *with him!* He hath created man of ſeed; and *yet* behold

[a] This inſect is mentioned about the middle of the chapter.

[b] Except the three laſt verſes.

behold, he is a profeſſed diſputer *againſt the reſurrection* [a]. He hath likewiſe created the cattle for you: from them ye have wherewith to keep your ſelves warm [b], and *other* advantages; and of them do ye *alſo* eat. And they are likewiſe a credit unto you [c], when ye drive *them* home *in the evening*, and when ye lead *them* forth to feed *in the morning*: and they carry your burthens to a *diſtant* country, at which ye could not *otherwiſe* arrive, unleſs with *great* difficulty to yourſelves; for your LORD *is* compaſſionate and merciful. And *he hath alſo created* horſes, and mules, and aſſes, that ye may ride thereon, and for an ornament *unto you*; and *he likewiſe* createth *other things* which ye know not. *It appertaineth* unto GOD, to inſtruct *men* in the *right* way; and *there is* who turneth aſide from the ſame: but if he had pleaſed, he would certainly have directed you all. It is he who ſendeth down from heaven *rain* water, whereof ye have to drink, and from which plants, whereon ye feed *your cattle*, *receive their nouriſhment*. *And* by means thereof he cauſeth corn, and olives, and palm-trees, and grapes, and all *kinds* of fruits to ſpring forth for you. Surely herein is a ſign *of the divine power and wiſdom* unto people who conſider. And he hath ſubjected the night and the day to your ſervice; and the ſun, and the moon, and the ſtars, which are compelled to ſerve by his command. Verily herein are ſigns unto people of underſtanding. And *he hath alſo given you dominion over* whatever he hath created for you in the earth, diſtinguiſhed by its different colour [d]. Surely herein is a ſign unto people who reflect. It is he who hath ſubjected the ſea *unto you*, that ye might eat fiſh [e] thereout, and take from thence ornaments [f] for you to wear: and thou ſeeſt the ſhips plowing *the waves* thereof, that ye may ſeek *to enrich your ſelves* of his abundance, *by commerce*; and that ye might give thanks. And he hath thrown upon the earth *mountains* firmly rooted, leſt it ſhould move with you [g], and *alſo* rivers, and paths, that ye might be directed: and *he hath likewiſe ordained* marks *whereby men may know their way*; and they are directed by the ſtars [h]. *Shall* GOD therefore who createth, *be*

[a] *Behold he is a profeſſed diſputer againſt the reſurrection*;] The perſon particularly intended in this place, was *Obba Ebn Khalf*, who came to *Mohammed* with a rotten bone, and asked him whether it was poſſible for GOD to reſtore it to life [1].

[b] *Ye have wherewith to keep your ſelves warm*;] viz. Their skins, wool, and hair, which ſerve you for cloathing.

[c] *A credit unto you*;] Being a grace to your court-yards, and a credit to you in the eyes of your neighbours [2].

[d] *Diſtinguiſhed by its different colour*;] That is, of every kind; the various colour of things being one of their chief diſtinctions [3].

[e] *Fiſh*;] Literally, *freſh fleſh*; by which fiſh is meant, as being naturally more freſh, and ſooner liable to corruption, than the fleſh of birds and beaſts. The expreſſion is thought to have been made uſe of here the rather, becauſe the production of ſuch freſh food from ſalt water, is an inſtance of GOD's power [4].

[f] *Ornaments*;] As pearls and coral.

[g] *Leſt it ſhould move with you*;] The *Mohammedans* ſuppoſe that the earth, when firſt created, was ſmooth and equal, and thereby liable to a circular motion as well as the celeſtial orbs; and that the angels asking, who could be able to ſtand on ſo tottering a frame, GOD fixed it the next morning by throwing the mountains on it.

[h] *And they are directed by the ſtars*;] Which are their guides, not only at ſea, but alſo on land, when they travel by night through the deſarts. The ſtars which they obſerve for this purpoſe, are either the *pleiades*, or ſome of thoſe near the pole.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.*

be as he who createth not? Do ye not therefore conſider? If ye *attempt to* reckon up the favours of GOD, ye ſhall not *be able to* compute their number: GOD *is* ſurely gracious, *and* merciful; and GOD knoweth that which ye conceal and that which ye publiſh. But the *idols* which ye invoke, beſides GOD, create nothing, but are themſelves created. *They are* dead, *and* not living; neither do they underſtand when they ſhall be raiſed [a]. Your GOD *is* one GOD. As to thoſe who believe not in the life to come, their hearts deny *the plaineſt evidence*, and they proudly reject *the truth*. There is no doubt but GOD knoweth that which they conceal and that which they diſcover: verily he loveth not the proud. And when it is ſaid unto them, What hath your LORD ſent down *unto MOHAMMED?* they anſwer, Fables of ancient *times*. *Thus are they given up to error*, that they may bear their own burthens without diminution on the day of reſurrection, and *alſo a part* of the burthens of thoſe whom they cauſed to err, without knowledge. *Will it* not *be an* evil *burthen* which they ſhall bear? Their predeceſſors deviſed plots heretofore; but GOD came unto their building, *to overthrow it* from the foundations: and the roof fell on them from above, and a puniſhment came upon them, from whence they did not expect [b]. Alſo on the day of reſurrection he will cover them with ſhame; and will ſay, Where are my companions, concerning whom ye diſputed? Thoſe unto whom knowledge ſhall have been given [c], ſhall anſwer, This day *ſhall* ſhame and miſery *fall* upon the unbelievers. They whom the angels ſhall cauſe to die, having dealt unjuſtly with their own ſouls, ſhall offer to make their peace [d] *in the article of death, ſaying*, We have done no evil. *But the angels ſhall reply*, Yea; verily GOD well knoweth that which ye have wrought: wherefore enter the gates of hell, therein to remain *for ever*; and miſerable ſhall be the abode of the proud. And it ſhall be ſaid unto thoſe who ſhall fear *GOD*, What hath your LORD ſent down? They ſhall anſwer, Good: unto thoſe who do right *ſhall be given* an excellent reward in this world; but the dwelling of the next life *ſhall be* better; and happy *ſhall be* the dwelling of the pious! *namely*, gardens of eternal abode [e], into which they ſhall enter; rivers ſhall flow beneath the ſame; therein *ſhall* they enjoy whatever they wiſh. Thus will GOD recompenſe the pious. Unto the righteous whom the angels ſhall cauſe to

[a] *When they ſhall be raiſed*;] i. e. At what time they or their worſhippers ſhall be raiſed to receive judgment.

[b] GOD *overthrew their building*, &c.] Some underſtand this paſſage figuratively, of God's diſappointing their wicked deſigns; but others ſuppoſe the words literally relate to the tower which *Nimrod* (whom the *Mohammedans* will have to be the ſon of *Canaan*, the ſon of *Ham*, and ſo the nephew of *Cuſh*, and not his ſon) built in *Babel*, and carried to an immenſe height, (five thouſand cubits, ſay ſome,) fooliſhly purpoſing thereby to aſcend to heaven and wage war with the inhabitants of that place; but GOD fruſtrated his attempt, utterly overthrowing the tower by a violent wind and earthquake [1].

[c] *Thoſe unto whom knowledge ſhall have been given*;] viz. The prophets, and the teachers and profeſſors of GOD's unity; or, the angels.

[d] *Shall offer to make their peace*;] Making their ſubmiſſion, and humbly excuſing their evil actions, as proceeding from ignorance, and not from obſtinacy or malice [2].

[e] *Gardens of eternal abode*;] Literally, *gardens of* Eden. See chap. 9. p. 158.

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod.* [2] *Idem Interp.*

to die, they ſhall ſay, Peace be upon you; enter ye into paradiſe, *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. Do *the unbelievers* expect *any other* than that the angels come unto them, *to part their ſouls from their bodies*; or that the ſentence of thy LORD come *to be executed on them?* So did they act who were before them; and GOD was not unjuſt towards them *in that he deſtroyed them*; but they dealt unjuſtly with their own ſouls: the evils of that which they committed, reached them; and the *divine judgment* which they ſcoffed at, fell upon them. The idolaters ſay, If GOD had pleaſed, we had not worſhipped any thing beſides him, neither *had* our fathers: neither had we forbidden any thing, without him [a]. So did they who were before them. But is the duty of the apoſtles *any other*, than public preaching? We have heretofore raiſed up in every nation an apoſtle *to admoniſh them, ſaying*, Worſhip GOD, and avoid TAGHUT [b]. And of them *there were* ſome whom GOD directed, and *there were* others of them who were decreed to go aſtray. Wherefore go through the earth, *O tribe of KOREISH*, and ſee what hath been the end of thoſe who accuſed *their apoſtles* of impoſture. If thou, *O prophet*, doſt earneſtly wiſh for their direction; verily GOD will not direct him whom he *hath reſolved to* lead into error; neither ſhall they have any helpers. And they ſwear moſt ſolemnly by GOD, *ſaying*, GOD will not raiſe the dead. Yea; the promiſe thereof is true: but the greater part of men know *it* not. *He will raiſe them* that he may clearly ſhew them the *truth* concerning which they *now* diſagree, and that the unbelievers may know that they are liars. Verily our ſpeech unto any thing, when we will the ſame, *is*, that we only ſay unto it, Be; and it is. *As for* thoſe who have fled their country for the ſake of GOD, after they had been unjuſtly perſecuted [c]; we will ſurely provide them an excellent habitation in this world, but the reward of the next life ſhall be greater; if they knew *it* [d]. They who perſevere patiently, and put their truſt in their LORD, *ſhall not fail of happineſs in this life and in that which is to come.* We have not ſent *any* before thee, *as our apoſtles*, other than men [e], unto whom we ſpake by revelation. Enquire therefore of thoſe who have the cuſtody of the ſcriptures, if ye know not *this to be truth. We ſent them* with evident *miracles*, and written revelations; and we have ſent

[a] *If* GOD *had pleaſed, we had not worſhipped any beſides him*, &c.] This they ſpoke in a ſcoffing manner, juſtifying their idolatry and ſuperſtitious abſtaining from certain cattle [1], by pretending, that had theſe things been diſagreeable to GOD, he would not have ſuffered them to be practiſed.

[b] *Taghut*;] See chap. 2. p. 31.

[c] *Who have fled their country after they had been unjuſtly perſecuted*;] Some ſuppoſe the prophet and the companions of his flight in general, are here intended: others ſuppoſe that thoſe are particularly meant in this place, who, after *Mohammed*'s departure, were impriſoned at *Mecca* on account of their having embraced his religion, and ſuffered great perſecution from the *Koreiſh*; as, *Belâl*, *Soheib*, *Khabbab*, *Ammâr*, *Abes*, *Abu'l Jandal*, and *Sohail* [2].

[d] *If they knew it*;] It is uncertain whether the pronoun *they* relates to the infidels, or to the true believers. If to the former, the conſequence would be, that they would be deſirous of attaining to the happineſs of the *Mohajcrîn*, by profeſſing the ſame faith; if to the latter, the knowledge of this is urged as a motive to patience and perſeverance [3].

[e] See chap. 7. p. 122. not. k. chap. 12. p. 199, &c.

[1] *See chap.* 6. *p.* 114, &c. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*

down unto thee this KORAN [a], that thou mayeſt declare unto mankind that which hath been ſent down unto them, and that they may conſider. Are they who have plotted evil againſt *their prophet* ſecure, that GOD will not cauſe the earth to cleave under them, or that a puniſhment will not come upon them, from whence they do not expect; or that he will not chaſtiſe them while they are buſied *in travelling from one place to another, and in traffick?* (for they ſhall not be able to elude *the power of* GOD,) or that he will not chaſtiſe them by a gradual deſtruction? But your LORD is truly gracious and merciful *in granting you reſpite.* Do they not conſider the things which GOD hath created; whoſe ſhadows are caſt on the right hand and on the left, worſhipping GOD [b], and become contracted? Whatever moveth both in heaven and on earth, worſhippeth GOD, and the angels *alſo*; and they are not elated with pride, *ſo as to diſdain his ſervice:* they fear their LORD, *who is exalted* above them, and perform that which they are commanded. GOD ſaid, Take not *unto yourſelves* two gods; for there is but one GOD: and revere me. Unto him *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and on earth; and unto him is obedience eternally *due.* Will ye therefore fear *any* beſides GOD? Whatever favours ye have received, are certainly from GOD; and when evil afflicteth you, unto him do ye make your ſupplication; yet when he taketh the evil from off you, behold, a part of you give a companion unto their LORD, to ſhew their ingratitude for *the favours* we have beſtowed on them. Delight your ſelves *in the enjoyments of this life:* but hereafter ſhall ye know *that ye cannot eſcape the divine vengeance.* And they ſet apart unto *idols* which have no knowledge [c], a part of the food which we have provided for them. By GOD, ye ſhall ſurely be called to account for that which ye have falſely deviſed. They attribute daughters unto GOD [d]; (far be it from him!) but unto themſelves *children of the ſex* which they deſire [e]. And when any of them is told the news of *the birth of* a female, his face becometh black [f], and he *is* deeply afflicted: he hideth himſelf from the people, becauſe of the ill tidings which have been told him; *conſidering within himſelf* whether he ſhall keep it with diſgrace, or whether he ſhall bury it in the duſt. Do they not make an ill judgment? Unto thoſe who believe not in the next life, the ſimilitude of evil *ought to be applied,* and unto GOD the moſt ſublime ſimilitude [g]: for he *is* mighty *and* wiſe. If GOD ſhould puniſh men for their iniquity,

[a] *This* Korân;] Literally, *this admonition* [1].

[b] See chap. 13. p. 202. not. b.

[c] *Idols which have no knowledge;*] Or, *which they know not;* fooliſhly imagining that they have power to help them, or intereſt with GOD to intercede for them.

As to the ancient *Arabs* ſetting apart a certain portion of the produce of their lands for their idols, and their ſuperſtitious abſtaining from the uſe of certain cattle, in honour to the ſame, ſee chap. 5. p. 96, and chap. 6. p. 113, and the notes there.

[d] See the Prelim. Diſc. p. 17. *Al Beidâwi* ſays, that the tribes of *Khozâah* and *Kenâna,* in particular, uſed to call the angels the daughters of GOD.

[e] *Of the ſex which they deſire;*] viz. Sons: for the birth of a daughter was looked on as a kind of misfortune among the *Arabs;* and they often uſed to put them to death by burying them alive [2].

[f] *His face becometh black;*] i. e. Clouded with confuſion and ſorrow.

[g] This paſſage condemns the *Meccans* injudicious

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. III. *p.* 57. [2] *See chap.* 81.

quity, he would not leave on the *earth* any moving thing: but he giveth them reſpite unto an appointed time; and when their time ſhall come, they ſhall not be reſpited an hour, neither ſhall *their puniſhment* be anticipated. They attribute unto GOD that which they diſlike themſelves [a], and their tongues utter a lie; *namely*, that the reward of *paradiſe* is for them. There is no doubt but that the fire *of hell is prepared* for them, and that they ſhall be ſent thither before *the reſt of the wicked.* By GOD, we have heretofore ſent *meſſengers* unto the nations before thee: but SATAN prepared their works for them; he *was* their patron in this world [b], and *in that which is to come* they ſhall ſuffer a grievous torment. We have not ſent down the book *of the* KORAN unto thee, *for any other purpoſe*, than that thou ſhouldeſt declare unto them that *truth* concerning which they diſagree; and for a direction and mercy unto people who believe. GOD ſendeth down water from heaven, and cauſeth the earth to revive after it hath been dead. Verily herein is a ſign *of the reſurrection* unto people who hearken. Ye have alſo in cattle an example of inſtruction: we give you to drink of that which is in their bellies, *a liquor* between digeſted dregs, and blood [c]; *namely* pure milk [d], which is ſwallowed with pleaſure by thoſe who drink *it*. And of the fruits of palm-trees, and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and alſo good nouriſhment [e]. Verily herein is a ſign unto people who underſtand. Thy LORD ſpake by inſpiration unto the bee, *ſaying*, Provide *thee* houſes [f] in the mountains, and in the trees, and of *thoſe materials* wherewith *men* build *hives for thee*: then eat of every *kind of* fruit, and walk in the beaten paths of thy LORD [g]. There proceedeth from their bellies a liquor of various colour [h];

ous and blaſphemous application of ſuch circumſtances to GOD as were unworthy of him, and not only derogatory to the perfections of the Deity, but even diſgraceful to man; while they arrogantly applied the more honourable circumſtances to themſelves.

[a] *They attribute unto* GOD *that which they diſlike themſelves*;] By giving him daughters, and aſſociates in power and honour; by diſregarding his meſſengers; and by ſetting apart the better ſhare of the preſents and offerings for their idols, and the worſe for him [1].

[b] *He was their patron in this world*,] or, *He is the patron of them* (viz. the *Koreiſh*) *this day*, &c.

[c] *A liquor between digeſted dregs, and blood*;] The milk conſiſting of certain particles of the blood, ſupplied from the finer parts of the aliment. *Ebn Abbas* ſays, that the groſſer parts of the food ſubſide into excrement, and that the finer parts are converted into milk, and the fineſt of all into blood.

[d] *Pure milk*;] Having neither the colour of the blood, nor the ſmell of the excrements.

[e] *And of the fruits of palm-trees and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and alſo good nouriſhment*;] Not only wine, which is forbidden, but alſo lawful food, as dates, raiſins, a kind of honey flowing from the dates, and vinegar.

Some have ſuppoſed that theſe words allow the moderate uſe of wine; but the contrary is the received opinion [2].

[f] *Houſes*;] So the apartments which the bee builds are here called, becauſe of their beautiful workmanſhip, and admirable contrivance, which no geometrician can excel [3].

[g] *And walk in the beaten paths of thy* LORD;] i. e. The ways through which, by GOD's power, the bitter flowers paſſing the bee's ſtomach become honey; or, the methods of making honey, which he has taught her by inſtinct; or elſe the ready way home from the diſtant places to which that inſect flies [4].

[h] *A liquor of various colour*;] viz. Honey; the colour of which is very different, occaſioned by the different plants on which the bees feed; ſome being white, ſome yellow, ſome red, and ſome black [5].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 25. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.*

wherein *is* a medicine for men [a]. Verily herein *is* a ſign unto people who conſider. GOD hath created you, and he will hereafter cauſe you to die: and ſome of you ſhall have his life prolonged to a decrepit age, ſo that he ſhall forget whatever he knew; for GOD *is* wiſe *and* powerful. GOD cauſeth ſome of you to excel others in worldly poſſeſſions: yet they who are cauſed to excel, do not give their wealth unto *the ſlaves* whom their right hands poſſeſs, that they *may become* equal *ſharers* therein [b]. Do they therefore deny the beneficence of GOD? GOD hath ordained you wives from among yourſelves [c], and of your wives hath granted you children and grand-children; and hath beſtowed on you good things for food. Will they therefore believe in that which is vain, and ungratefully deny the goodneſs of GOD? They worſhip, beſides GOD, *idols* which poſſeſs nothing wherewith to ſuſtain them, either in heaven, or on earth; and have no power. Wherefore liken not *any thing* unto GOD [d]: for GOD knoweth, but ye know not. GOD propoundeth as a parable a poſſeſſed ſlave, who hath power over nothing, and him on whom we have beſtowed a good proviſion from us, and who giveth alms thereout *both* ſecretly and openly [e]: ſhall theſe *two* be eſteemed equal? GOD forbid! But the greater part of them know *it* not. GOD alſo propoundeth as a parable two men; one of them born dumb, who is unable to *do or underſtand* any thing, but is a burthen unto his maſter; whitherſoever he ſhall ſend him, he ſhall not return with any good *ſucceſs*: ſhall this *man*, and he *who hath his ſpeech and underſtanding*, *and* who commandeth that which is juſt, and followeth the right way, be eſteemed equal [f]? Unto GOD *alone is* the ſecret of heaven and earth *known*. And the buſineſs of the *laſt* hour [g] ſhall be only as the

[a] *Wherein is a medicine for men*;] The ſame being not only good food, but a uſeful remedy in ſeveral diſtempers, particularly thoſe occaſioned by phlegm. There is a ſtory, that a man came once to *Mohammed*, and told him that his brother was afflicted with a violent pain in his belly: upon which the prophet bade him give him ſome honey. The fellow took his advice; but ſoon after coming again, told him that the medicine had done his brother no manner of ſervice: *Mohammed* anſwered, *Go and give him more honey, for* GOD *ſpeaks truth, and thy brother's belly lies.* And the doſe being repeated, the man, by GOD's mercy, was immediately cured [1].

[b] *They give not their wealth unto their ſlaves*, &c.] Theſe words reprove the idolatrous *Meccans*, who could admit created beings to a ſhare of the divine honour, tho' they ſuffered not their ſlaves to ſhare with themſelves in what GOD had beſtowed on them [2].

[c] *From among your ſelves*;] That is, of your own nations and tribes. Some think the formation of *Eve* from *Adam* is here intended.

[d] *Liken not any thing unto* GOD;] Or propound no ſimilitudes or compariſons between him and his creatures. One argument the *Meccans* employed in defence of their idolatry, it ſeems, was, that the worſhip of inferior deities did honour to GOD; in the ſame manner as the reſpect ſhewed to the ſervants of a prince, does honour to the prince himſelf [3].

[e] GOD *propoundeth as a parable a poſſeſſed ſlave*, &c.] The idols are here likened to a ſlave, who is ſo far from having any thing of his own, that he is himſelf in the poſſeſſion of another; whereas GOD is as a rich free man, who provideth for his family abundantly, and alſo aſſiſteth others who have need, both in public and in private [4].

[f] GOD *alſo propoundeth as a parable two men*, &c.] The idol is here again repreſented under the image of one who, by a defect in his ſenſes, is a uſeleſs burthen to the man who maintains him; and GOD, under that of a perſon completely qualified either to direct or to execute any uſeful undertaking. Some ſuppoſe the compariſon is intended of a true believer and an infidel.

[g] *The buſineſs of the laſt hour*;] That is, The reſurrection of the dead.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem* [4] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

the twinkling of an eye, or even more quick: for GOD is almighty. GOD hath brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers; ye knew nothing, and he gave you *the ſenſes of* hearing and ſeeing, and underſtandings, that ye might give thanks. Do they not behold the fowls which are enabled to fly in the open firmament of heaven? none ſupporteth them except GOD. Verily herein *are* ſigns unto people who believe. GOD hath alſo provided your houſes for habitations for you; and hath *alſo* provided you tents of the ſkins of cattle, which ye find light *to be removed* on the day of your departure *to new quarters*, and *eaſy to be pitched* on the day of your ſitting down *therein:* and of their wool, and their furr, and their hair *hath he ſupplied you with* furniture and houſehold-ſtuff for a ſeaſon. And GOD hath provided for you, of that which he hath created, conveniences to ſhade you *from the ſun* [a], and he hath *alſo* provided you places of retreat in the mountains [b], and he hath given you garments to defend you from the heat [c], and coats *of mail* to defend you in your wars. Thus doth he accompliſh his favour towards you, that ye may reſign your ſelves *unto him.* But if they turn back; verily thy duty is public preaching *only.* They acknowledge the goodneſs of GOD, and afterwards they deny the ſame [d]; but the greater part of them are unbelievers [e]. On a *certain* day we will raiſe a witneſs out of every nation [f]: then they who ſhall have been unbelievers ſhall not be ſuffered *to excuſe themſelves*, neither ſhall they be received into favour. And when they who ſhall have acted unjuſtly ſhall ſee the torment *prepared for them*; (it ſhall not be mitigated unto them, neither ſhall they be reſpited;) and when thoſe who ſhall have been guilty of idolatry ſhall ſee their falſe gods [g], they ſhall ſay, O LORD, theſe are our idols which we invoked, beſides thee. But they ſhall return an anſwer unto them, *ſaying*, Verily ye are liars [h]. And on that day ſhall *the wicked* offer ſubmiſſion unto GOD; and the *falſe deities* which they imagined ſhall abandon them. *As for* thoſe who ſhall have been infidels, and ſhall have turned aſide *others* from the way of GOD, we will add unto them puniſhment upon puniſhment, becauſe they have corrupted *others.* On a *certain* day we will raiſe up in every nation a witneſs againſt them, from among themſelves; and we will bring thee, O *MOHAMMED*, as a witneſs againſt theſe *ARABIANS.* We have ſent down unto thee the book *of the* *KORAN*,

[a] *Conveniencies to ſhade you from the ſun;*] As trees, houſes, tents, mountains, *&c.*

[b] *Places of retreat in the mountains;*] viz. Caves and grotto's, both natural and artificial.

[c] *To defend you from the heat;*] *Al Beidâwi* ſays, that one extream, and that the moſt inſupportable in *Arabia*, is here put for both; but *Jallalo'ddin* ſuppoſes that by *heat* we are in this place to underſtand *cold.*

[d] *They acknowledge the goodneſs of* GOD, *and afterwards they deny the ſame;*] Confeſſing GOD to be the author of all the bleſſings they enjoy; and yet directing their worſhip and thanks to their idols, by whoſe interceſſion they imagine bleſſings are obtained.

[e] *But the greater part of them are unbelievers;*] Abſolutely denying GOD's providence, either through ignorance, or perverſeneſs.

[f] See chap. 4. p. 66. not. e.

[g] *Their falſe gods;*] Literally, *Their companions.*

[h] *Ye are liars;*] For that we are not the companions of GOD, as ye imagined; neither did ye really ſerve us, but your own corrupt affections and luſts; nor yet were ye led into idolatry by us, but ye fell into it of your own accord [i].

[i] *Al* BEIDAWI.

KORAN, for an explication of every thing *neceſſary both as to faith and practice*, and a direction, and mercy, and good tidings unto the Moſlems. Verily GOD commandeth juſtice, and the doing of good, and the giving unto kindred *what ſhall be neceſſary*; and he forbiddeth wickedneſs, and iniquity, and oppreſſion: he admoniſheth you that ye may remember [a]. Perform *your* covenant with GOD [b], when ye enter into covenant *with him*; and violate not *your* oaths, after the ratification thereof; ſince ye have made GOD a witneſs over you. Verily GOD knoweth that which ye do. And be not like unto her who undoeth that which ſhe hath ſpun, untwiſting it after ſhe hath twiſted it ſtrongly [c]; taking your oaths between you deceitfully, becauſe one party is more numerous than *another* party [d]. Verily GOD only tempteth you therein; and he will make that manifeſt unto you, on the day of reſurrection, concerning which ye now diſagree. If GOD had pleaſed, he would ſurely have made you one people [e]: but he will lead into error whom he pleaſeth, and he will direct whom he pleaſeth; and ye ſhall ſurely give an account of that which ye have done. Therefore take not your oaths between you deceitfully, leſt *your* foot ſlip, after it hath been ſtedfaſtly fixed, and ye taſte evil *in this life*, for that ye have turned aſide from the way of GOD; and ye *ſuffer* a grievous puniſhment *in the life to come*. And ſell not the covenant of GOD for a ſmall price [f]; for with GOD is a better *recompenſe prepared* for you, if ye be *men* of underſtanding. That which *is* with you will fail; but that which *is* with GOD *is* permanent: and we will ſurely reward thoſe who ſhall perſevere, according to the utmoſt *merit* of their actions. Whoſo worketh righteouſneſs, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer, we will ſurely raiſe him to a happy life; and we will give them their reward, according to the utmoſt *merit* of their actions. When thou readeſt the KORAN, have recourſe unto GOD, *that he may preſerve thee* from SA-

[a] This verſe, which was the occaſion of the converſion of *Othmân Ebn Matûn*, the commentators ſay, containeth the whole, which it is a man's duty either to perform or to avoid; and is alone a ſufficient demonſtration of what is ſaid in the foregoing verſe. Under the three things here commanded, they underſtand the belief of GOD's unity, without inclining to atheiſm, on the one hand, or polytheiſm, on the other; obedience to the commands of GOD; and charity towards thoſe in diſtreſs. And under the three things forbidden, they comprehend all corrupt and carnal affections; all falſe doctrines and heretical opinions; and all injuſtice towards man [1].

[b] *Perform your covenant with* GOD;] By perſevering in his true religion. Some think that the oath of fidelity taken to *Mohammed* by his followers, is chiefly intended here.

[c] *Be not like her who undoeth that which ſhe hath ſpun*, &c.] Some ſuppoſe that a particular woman is meant in this paſſage, who uſed (like *Penelope*) to undo at night, the work that ſhe had done in the day. Her name, they ſay, was *Reita Bint Saad Ebn Teym*, of the tribe of *Koreiſh* [2].

[d] *Taking your oaths deceitfully, becauſe one party is more numerous than another*;] Of this inſincerity in their alliances the *Koreiſh* are accuſed; it being uſual with them, when they ſaw the enemies of their confederates to be ſuperior in force, to renounce their league with their old friends, and ſtrike up one with the others [3].

[e] *One people*;] Or, of one religion.

[f] *Sell not the covenant of* GOD *for a ſmall price*;] That is, Be not prevailed on to renounce your religion, or your engagements with your prophet, by any promiſes or gifts of the infidels. For, it ſeems, the *Koreiſh*, to tempt the poorer *Moſlems* to apoſtatize, made them offers, not very conſiderable indeed, but ſuch as they imagined might be worth their acceptance [4].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.*

SATAN driven away with ſtones [a]: he hath no power over thoſe who believe, and who put their confidence in their LORD; but his power is over thoſe only, who take him for their patron, and who give companions unto GOD. When we ſubſtitute *in the* KORAN an *abrogating* verſe in lieu of a verſe *abrogated*, (and GOD beſt knoweth *the fitneſs of* that which he revealeth,) the *infidels* ſay, Thou art only a forger *of theſe verſes:* but the greater part of them know not *truth from falſhood.* Say, The holy ſpirit [b] hath brought the ſame down from thy LORD with truth; that he may confirm thoſe who believe, and for a direction and good tidings unto the Moſlems. We *alſo* know that they ſay, Verily, a *certain* man teacheth him *to compoſe the* KORAN. The tongue of *the perſon* unto whom they incline, is a foreign *tongue*; but this, *wherein the* KORAN *is written*, is the perſpicuous Arabic tongue [c]. Moreover as for thoſe

[a] *When thou readeſt the* Korân, *have recourſe unto* GOD, &c.] *Mohammed* one day reading in the *Korân*, uttered a horrid blaſphemy, to the great ſcandal of thoſe who were preſent, as will be obſerved in another place [1]; to excuſe which he aſſured them that thoſe words were put into his mouth by the devil; and to prevent any ſuch accident for the future, he is here taught to beg GOD's protection before he entred on that duty [2]. Hence the *Mohammedans*, before they begin to read any part of this book, repeat theſe words, *I have recourſe unto* GOD *for aſſiſtance againſt Satan driven away with ſtones.*

[b] *The holy ſpirit*;] viz. *Gabriel.* See chap. 2. p. 12.

[c] *A certain man teacheth him*, &c.] This was a great objection made by the *Meccans* to the authority of the *Korân*; for when *Mohammed* inſiſted, as a proof of its divine original, that it was impoſſible a man ſo utterly unacquainted with learning as himſelf, could compoſe ſuch a book, they replied, that he had one or more aſſiſtants in the forgery; but as to the particular perſon or perſons, ſuſpected of this confederacy, the traditions differ. One ſays it was *Jabar*, a *Greek*, ſervant to *Amer Ebn al Hadrami*, who could read and write well [3]; another, that they were *Jabar* and *Yeſâr* two ſlaves, who followed the trade of ſword-cutlers at *Mecca*, and uſed to read the pentateuch and goſpel, and had often *Mohammed* for their auditor, when he paſſed that way [4]. Another tells us, it was one *Aïſh*, or *Yâïſh*, a domeſtic of *al Haweiteb Ebn Abd al Uzza*, who was a man of ſome learning, and had embraced *Mohammediſm* [5]. Another ſuppoſes it was one *Kais*, a *Chriſtian*, whoſe houſe *Mohammed* frequented [6]; another, that it was *Addâs*, a ſervant of *Otba Ebn Rabîa* [7]; and another, that it was *Salmân* the *Perſian* [8].

According to ſome *Chriſtian* writers [9], *Abdallah Ebn Salâm*, the *Jew* who was ſo intimate with *Mohammed*, (named by one, according to the *Hebrew* dialect, *Abdias Ben Salon*, and by another, *Abdala Celen*) was aſſiſting to him in the compiling his pretended revelations. This *Jew* Dr. *Prideaux* confounds with *Salmân* the *Perſian*, who was a very different man, as a late author [10] has obſerved before me; wherefore, and for that we may have occaſion to ſpeak of *Salmân* hereafter, it may be proper to add a brief extract of his ſtory as told by himſelf. He was of a good family of *Iſpahan*, and, in his younger years, left the religion of his country to embrace *Chriſtianity*; and travelling into *Syria*, was adviſed by a certain monk of *Amuria*, to go into *Arabia*, where a prophet was expected to ariſe about that time, who ſhould eſtabliſh the religion of *Abraham*; and whom he ſhould know, among other things, by the *ſeal of prophecy* between his ſhoulders. *Salmân* performed the journey, and meeting with *Mohammed* at *Koba*, where he reſted in his flight to *Medina*, ſoon found him to be the perſon he ſought, and profeſſed *Iſlâm* [11].

The general opinion of the *Chriſtians* however is, that the chief help *Mohammed* had in the contriving his *Korân*, was from a *Neſtorian* monk named *Sergius*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame perſon with the monk *Boheira*, with whom *Mohammed* in his younger years had ſome conference at *Boſra*, a city of *Syria Damaſcena*, where that

[1] *In not. ad cap.* 22. [2] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI, YAHYA, *&c.* [3] *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, *Al* BEIDAWI, YAHYA. [4] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI. *See* PRID. *Life of Mah. p.* 32. [5] *Idem.* [6] JALLALO'DDIN. [7] *Al* ZAMAKH. YAHYA. [8] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI. [9] RICARDI *Conſut. legis Saracenicæ. c.* 13. JOH. ANDREAS, *de conſuſ. ſectæ Mahometanæ, c.* 2. *See* PRID. *Life of Mah. p.* 33. 34. [10] GAGNIER *not. in Abulf. vit. Moh. p.* 74. [11] *Ex* EBN ISHAK. *V.* GAGNIER, *ibid.*

thoſe who believe not in the ſigns of GOD, GOD will not direct them, and they ſhall ſuffer a painful torment: verily they imagine a falſhood who believe not in the ſigns of GOD, and they are *really* the liars. Whoever denieth GOD, after he hath believed, except him who ſhall be compelled againſt his will, and whoſe heart continueth ſtedfaſt in the faith, *ſhall be ſeverely chaſtiſed* [a]: but whoever ſhall voluntarily profeſs infidelity, on thoſe ſhall

that monk reſided [1]. To confirm which ſuppoſition, a paſſage has been produced from an *Arab* writer [2], who ſays that *Boheira*'s name in the books of the *Chriſtians*, is *Sergius*; but this is only a conjecture; and another [3] tells us, his true name was *Saïd*, or *Felix*, and his ſurname *Bohaira*. But be that as it will, if *Boheira* and *Sergius* were the ſame man, I find not the leaſt intimation in the *Mohammedan* writers, that he ever quitted his monaſtery to go into *Arabia* (as is ſuppoſed by the *Chriſtians*); and his acquaintance with *Mohammed* at *Boſra*, was too early to favour the ſurmiſe of his aſſiſting him in the *Korân*, which was compoſed long after; tho' *Mohammed* might, from his diſcourſe, gain ſome knowledge of *Chriſtianity* and of the ſcriptures, which might be of uſe to him therein.

From the anſwer given in this paſſage of the *Korân*, to the objection of the infidels, *viz.* that the perſon ſuſpected by them to have a hand in the *Korân*, ſpoke a foreign language, and therefore could not, with any face of probability, be ſuppoſed to aſſiſt in a compoſition written in the *Arabic* tongue, and with ſo great elegance, it is plain this perſon was no *Arabian*. The word *Ajami*, which is here uſed, ſignifies any *foreign* or *barbarous* language in general; but the *Arabs* applying it more particularly to the *Perſian*, it has been thence concluded by ſome, that *Salmân* was the perſon; however, if it be true that he came not to *Mohammed* till after the *Hejra*, either he could not be the man here intended, or elſe this verſe muſt have been revealed at *Medina*, contrary to the common opinion.

[a] *Except him who ſhall be compelled againſt his will*, &c.] Theſe words were added for the ſake of *Ammâr Ebn Yaſer*, and ſome others, who being taken and tortured by the *Koreiſh*, renounced their faith out of fear, tho' their hearts agreed not with their mouths [4]. It ſeems *Ammâr* wanted the conſtancy of his father and mother, *Yâſer* and *Sommeya*, who underwent the like trial at the ſame time with their ſon, and reſolutely refuſing to recant, were both put to death, the infidels tying *Sommeya* between two camels, and ſtriking a lance thro' her privy parts [5]. When news was brought to *Mohammed*, that *Ammâr* had denied the faith, he ſaid, it could not be, for that *Ammâr* was full of faith from the crown of his head to the ſole of his foot, faith being mixed and incorporated with his very fleſh and blood; and when *Ammâr* himſelf came weeping to the prophet, he wiped his eyes, ſaying, *What fault was it of thine, if they forced thee?*

But tho' it be here ſaid, that thoſe who apoſtatize in appearance only, to avoid death or torments, may hope for pardon from GOD, yet it is unanimouſly agreed by the *Mohammedan* doctors, to be much more meritorious and pleaſing in the ſight of GOD, courageouſly and nobly to perſiſt in the true faith, and rather to ſuffer death it ſelf than renounce it, even in words. Nor did the *Mohammedan* religion want its martyrs, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word; of which I will here give two inſtances, beſides the above mentioned. One is that of *Khobaib Ebn Ada*, who being perfidiouſly ſold to the *Koreiſh*, was by them put to death in a cruel manner, by mutilation, and cutting off his fleſh piece-meal; and being asked, in the midſt of his tortures, whether he did not wiſh *Mohammed* was in his place, anſwered, *I would not wiſh to be with my family, my ſubſtance, and my children, on condition that* Mohammed *was only to be pricked with a thorn* [6]. The other is that of a man who was put to death by *Moſeilama*, on the following occaſion. That falſe prophet having taken two of *Mohammed*'s followers, asked one of them, what he ſaid of *Mohammed?* the man anſwered, That he was the apoſtle of GOD: *And what ſayeſt thou of me?* added *Moſeilama*; to which he replied, *Thou alſo art the apoſtle of* GOD; whereupon he was immediately diſmiſſed in ſafety. But the other, having returned the ſame anſwer to the former queſtion, refuſed to give any to the laſt, tho' required to do it three ſeveral times, but pretended to be deaf, and was therefore ſlain. It is related that *Moham-*

[1] *See* PRID. *ubi ſup. p.* 35, *&c.* GAGNIER, *ubi ſup. p.* 10, 11. MARRAC. *de Alcor. p.* 37. [2] *Al* MASUDI. [3] ABU'L HASAN *al* BECRI *in Koran.* [4] *Al* BEIDAWI, *Al* ZAMAKH. YAHYA. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] EBN SHOHNAH.

ſhall the indignation of GOD *fall*, and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. This *ſhall be their ſentence*, becauſe they have loved the preſent life above that which is to come, and for that GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. Theſe *are* they whoſe hearts, and hearing, and ſight GOD hath ſealed up; and theſe are the negligent: there is no doubt but that in the next life they ſhall periſh. Moreover thy LORD *will be favourable* unto thoſe who have fled their country, after having ſuffered perſecution [a], *and been compelled to deny the faith by violence*, and *who* have ſince fought *in defence of the true religion*, and have perſevered with patience; verily *unto theſe will* thy LORD *be* gracious and merciful, after *they ſhall have ſhewn their ſincerity*. On a certain day ſhall every ſoul come to plead for it ſelf [b], and every ſoul ſhall be repaid that which it ſhall have wrought; and they ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. GOD propoundeth as a parable a city [c] which was ſecure *and* quiet, unto which her proviſions came in abundance from every ſide; but ſhe ungratefully denied the favours of GOD: wherefore GOD cauſed her to taſte the extreme famine, and fear, becauſe of that which they had done. And now is an apoſtle come unto the *inhabitants of* MECCA from among themſelves; and they accuſe him of impoſture: wherefore a puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on them, while they are acting unjuſtly. Eat of what GOD hath given you for food, *that which is* lawful *and* good; and be thankful for the favours of GOD, if ye ſerve him. He hath only forbidden you that which dieth of it ſelf, and blood, and ſwine's fleſh, and that which hath been ſlain in the name of any, beſides GOD [d]. But unto him who ſhall be compelled by neceſſity *to eat of theſe things*, not luſting nor *wilfully* tranſgreſſing, GOD *will* ſurely *be* gracious *and* merciful. And ſay not that wherein your tongues utter a lie; This is lawful, and this is unlawful [e]; that ye may deviſe a lie concerning GOD: for they who deviſe a lie concerning GOD, ſhall not proſper. *They ſhall have* ſmall enjoyment *in this world*, and *in that which is to come* they ſhall ſuffer a grievous torment. Unto the Jews did we forbid that which we have told thee formerly [f]: and we did them no injury *in that reſpect*; but they injured

Mohammed, when the ſtory of theſe two men was told him, ſaid, *The firſt of them threw himſelf on* GOD's *mercy; but the latter profeſſed the truth; and he ſhall find his account in it* [1].

[a] *Thoſe who have fled their country, after having ſuffered perſecution*, &c.] As did *Ammâr*, who made one in both the flights. Some, reading the verb with different vowels, render the laſt words, *after having perſecuted* the true believers; and inſtance in *al Hadrami*, who obliged a ſervant of his to renounce *Mohammediſm*, by force, but afterwards, together with that ſervant, profeſſed the ſame faith, and fled for it [2].

[b] *Every ſoul ſhall come to plead for it ſelf;*] That is, Every perſon ſhall be ſollicitous for his own ſalvation, not concerning himſelf with the condition of another, but crying out, *My own ſoul, my own ſoul* [3]!

[c] GOD *propoundeth as a parable a city*, &c.] This example is applied to every city which having received great bleſſings from GOD, becometh inſolent and unthankful, and is therefore chaſtiſed by ſome ſignal judgment; or rather to *Mecca* in particular, on which the calamities threatened in this paſſage, *viz.* both famine and ſword, were inflicted [4].

[d] See chap. 5. p. 82.

[e] *And ſay not—This is lawful, and this is unlawful;*] Allowing what GOD hath forbidden, and ſuperſtitiouſly abſtaining from what he hath allowed. See chap. 6. p. 113, *&c.*

[f] *Formerly;*] viz. In the 6th chapter, p. 114.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.*

their own ſouls [a]. Moreover thy LORD *will be favourable* unto thoſe who do evil through ignorance; and afterwards repent and amend: verily *unto theſe will* thy LORD *be* gracious and merciful, after *their repentance.* ABRAHAM was a model of true religion, obedient unto GOD, orthodox, and was not an idolater [b]: *he was alſo* grateful for his benefits: *wherefore GOD* choſe him, and directed him into the right way. And we beſtowed on him good in this world; and in the next he ſhall ſurely be *one* of the righteous. We have alſo ſpoken unto thee, O *MOHAMMED*, by revelation, *ſaying*, Follow the religion of ABRAHAM, *who was* orthodox, and was no idolater. The ſabbath was only appointed unto thoſe who differed *with their prophet* concerning it [c]; and thy LORD will ſurely judge between them, on the day of reſurrection, as to that concerning which they differed. Invite *men* unto the way of thy LORD, by wiſdom, and mild exhortation; and diſpute with them in the moſt condeſcending *manner*: for thy LORD well knoweth him who ſtrayeth from his path, and he well knoweth thoſe who are *rightly* directed. If ye take vengeance *on any*, take a vengeance proportionable to the wrong which hath been done you [d]; but if ye ſuffer *wrong* patiently, verily this will be better for the patient [e]. Wherefore do thou bear *oppoſition* with patience; but thy patience ſhall not be *practicable*, unleſs with GOD's *aſſiſtance.* And be not thou grieved on account of the *unbelievers*; neither be thou troubled for that which they ſubtilly deviſe; for GOD is with thoſe who fear *him*, and are upright.

CHAP.

[a] *They injured their own ſouls*;] i. e. They were forbidden things which were in themſelves indifferent, as a puniſhment for their wickedneſs and rebellion.

[b] *And was not an idolater*;] This was to reprehend the idolatrous *Koreiſh*, who pretended that they profeſſed the religion of *Abraham.*

[c] *Who differed with their prophet concerning it.*] Theſe were the *Jews*; who being ordered by *Moſes* to ſet apart friday (the day now obſerved by the *Mohammedans*) for the exerciſe of divine worſhip, refuſed it, and choſe the ſabbath-day, becauſe on that day GOD reſted from his works of creation: for which reaſon they were commanded to keep the day they had choſen in the ſtricteſt manner [1].

[d] *If ye take vengeance*, &c.] This paſſage is ſuppoſed to have been revealed at *Medina*, on occaſion of *Hamza*, *Mohammed*'s uncle, being ſlain at the battle of *Obod.* For the infidels having abuſed his dead body, by taking out his bowels, and cutting off his ears and his noſe, when *Mohammed* ſaw it, he ſwore that if GOD granted him ſucceſs, he would retaliate thoſe cruelties on ſeventy of the *Koreiſh*; but he was by theſe words forbidden to execute what he had ſworn, and he accordingly made void his oath [2]. *Abu'lfeda* makes the number on which *Mohammed* ſwore to reek his vengeance, to be but thirty [3]: but it may be obſerved, by the way, that the tranſlator renders the paſſage in that author, GOD *hath revealed unto me that I ſhall retaliate*, &c. inſtead of, *If* GOD *grant me victory over the* Koreiſh, *I will retaliate*, &c. reading *Laïn adhharni*, for *adhſarni*; GOD, far from putting this deſign into the prophet's head by a revelation, expreſsly forbidding him to put it in execution.

[e] *The patient*;] Here, ſays *al Beidâwi*, the *Korân* principally points at *Mohammed*, who was of all men the the moſt conſpicuous for meekneſs and clemency.

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Iidem.* [3] ABU'LF. *Vit. Mob. p.* 68.

CHAP. XVII.

Intitled, The Night-Journey [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

*PRAISE be unto him, who tranſported his ſervant by night, from the XV.
ſacred temple *of MECCA* to the farther temple *of JERUSALEM* [c], the circuit of which we have bleſſed, that we might ſhew him *ſome* of our ſigns; for GOD *is* he who heareth, *and* ſeeth. And we gave unto MOSES the book *of the law*, and appointed the ſame *to be* a direction unto the children of ISRAEL, *commanding them, ſaying, Beware* that ye take not any other patron beſides me. O poſterity of thoſe whom we carried *in the ark* with NOAH [d]: verily he was a grateful ſervant. And we expreſsly declared unto the children of ISRAEL in the book *of the law, ſaying,* Ye will ſurely commit evil in the earth twice [e], and ye will be elated with great inſolence. And when the *puniſhment* threatened for the firſt of thoſe *tranſgreſſions* came *to be executed*, we ſent againſt you our ſervants [f], indued with exceeding ſtrength *in war*, and they

[a] The reaſon of this inſcription appears in the firſt words. Some intitle the chapter, *The children of* Iſrael.

[b] Some except eight verſes, beginning at theſe words, *It wanted little but that the infidels had ſeduced thee*, &c.

[c] *Who tranſported his ſervant by night, from the temple of* Mecca *to the temple of* Jeruſalem.] From whence he was carried through the ſeven heavens to the preſence of GOD, and brought back again to *Mecca* the ſame night.

This journey of *Mohammed* to heaven is ſo well known, that I may be pardoned if I omit the deſcription of it. The *Engliſh* reader may find it in Dr. *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet* [1], and the learned in *Abu'lfeda* [2], whoſe annotator has corrected ſeveral miſtakes in the relation of Dr. *Prideaux*, and in other writers.

It is a diſpute among the *Mohammedan* divines, whether their prophet's night-journey was really performed by him corporally, or whether it was only a dream or viſion. Some think the whole was no more than a viſion; and allege an expreſs tradition of *Moâwiyah* [3], one of *Mohammed*'s ſucceſſors, to that purpoſe. Others ſuppoſe he was carried bodily to *Jeruſalem*, but no farther; and that he aſcended thence to heaven in ſpirit only. But the received opinion is, that it was no viſion, but that he was actually tranſported in the body to his journey's end; and if any impoſſibility be objected, they think it a ſufficient anſwer to ſay, that it might eaſily be effected by an omnipotent agent [4].

[d] *O poſterity of thoſe*, &c.] The commentators are put to it to find out the connexion of theſe words with the foregoing. Some think the accuſative caſe is here put for the vocative, as I have tranſlated it: and others interpret the words thus, *Take not for your patrons, beſides me, the poſterity of thoſe*, &c. meaning, mortal men.

[e] *Ye will ſurely commit evil in the earth twice;*] Their firſt tranſgreſſion was their rejecting the deciſions of the law, their putting *Iſaiah* to death [5], and their impriſoning of *Jeremiah* [6]: and the ſecond, was their ſlaying of *Zachariah*, and *John* the Baptiſt, and their imagining the death of JESUS [7].

[f] *We ſent againſt you our ſervants*, &c.] Theſe were *Jalût*, or *Goliah*, and his forces [8]; or *Sennacherib* the *Aſſyrian*; or elſe *Nebuchadnezzar*, whom

[1] *Pag.* 43, *&c. See alſo* MORGAN's *Mahometiſm explained, vol.* 2. [2] *Vit. Moham. cap.* 19. [3] *V. Ibid. c.* 18. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Idem.* [6] JALALO'DDIN. [7] *Idem.* [8] JALALO'DDIN, YAHYA.

ſearched the inner apartments of *your* houſes; and the prediction became accompliſhed. Afterwards we gave you the victory over them [a], *in your turn*, and we granted you increaſe of wealth and children, and we made you a more numerous people, *ſaying*, If ye do well, ye will do well to your own ſouls; and if ye do evil, *ye will do it* unto the ſame. And when the *puniſhment* threatened for *your* latter *tranſgreſſion* came *to be executed*, *we ſent enemies againſt you* to afflict you [b], and to enter the temple, as they entred it the firſt time, and utterly to deſtroy that which they had conquered. Peradventure your LORD will have mercy on you *hereafter*: but if ye return *to tranſgreſs a third time*, we *alſo will* return *to chaſtiſe you* [c]; and we have appointed hell *to be* the priſon of the unbelievers. Verily this KORAN directeth unto *the way* which is moſt right, and declareth unto the faithful, who do good works, that they ſhall receive a great reward; and that for thoſe who believe not in the life to come, we have prepared a grievous puniſhment. Man prayeth for evil, as he prayeth for good [d]; for man is haſty [e]. We have ordained

whom the eaſtern writers call *Bakhtnaſr* (which was however only his ſurname, his true name being *Gudarz*, or *Raham*) the governour of *Babylon* under *Lohoraſp*, king of *Perſia* [1], who took *Jeruſalem*, and deſtroyed the temple.

[a] *Afterwards we gave you the victory over them*, &c.] By permitting *David* to kill *Goliah*; or by the miraculous defeat of *Sennacherib*'s army; or for that GOD put it into the heart of *Bahman* the ſon of *Iſfandiyar*, when he ſucceeded his grandfather *Lohoraſp*, to order *Kireſh*, or *Cyrus*, then governor of *Babylon*, to ſend home the *Jews* from their captivity, under the conduct of *Daniel*; which he accordingly did, and they prevailed againſt thoſe whom *Bakhtnaſr* had left in the land [2].

[b] *We ſent enemies againſt you to afflict you*;] Some imagine the army meant in this place was that of *Bakhtnaſr* [3]; but others ſay the *Perſians* conquered the *Jews* this ſecond time, by the arms of *Gudarz* (by whom they ſeem to intend *Antiochus Epiphanes*,) one of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* at *Babylon*. It is related that the general in this expedition, entring the temple, ſaw blood bubbling up on the great altar, and asking the reaſon of it, the *Jews* told him it was the blood of a ſacrifice which had not been accepted of GOD; to which he replied, that they had not told him the truth, and ordered a thouſand of them to be ſlain on the altar: but the blood not ceaſing, he told them, that if they would not confeſs the truth, he would not ſpare one of them; whereupon they acknowledged it was the blood of *John*: and the general ſaid, *Thus hath your* LORD *taken vengeance on you*; and then cried out, O John, *my* LORD *and thy* LORD *knoweth what hath befallen thy people for thy ſake*; *wherefore let thy blood ſtop, by* GOD's *permiſſion, leſt I leave not one of them alive*; upon which the blood immediately ſtopped [4].

Theſe are the explications of the commentators, wherein their ignorance in ancient hiſtory is ſufficiently manifeſt; tho' perhaps *Mohammed* himſelf, in this latter paſſage, intended the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romans*.

[c] *But if ye return to tranſgreſs a third time, we alſo will return to chaſtiſe you.*] And this came accordingly to paſs: for the *Jews* being again ſo wicked as to reject *Mohammed*, and conſpire againſt his life, GOD delivered them into his hands; and he exterminated the tribe of *Koreidha*, and ſlew the chiefs of that of *al Nadîr*, and obliged the reſt of the *Jewiſh* tribes to pay tribute [5].

[d] *Man prayeth for evil as he prayeth for good*;] Out of ignorance, miſtaking evil for good; or making wicked imprecations on himſelf and others, out of paſſion and impatience.

[e] *Man is haſty*;] Or inconſiderate, not weighing the conſequence of what he asks.

It is ſaid that the perſon here meant is *Adam*, who, when the breath of life was breathed into his noſtrils, and had reached ſo far as his navel, tho' the lower part of his body was, as yet, but a piece of clay, muſt needs try to riſe up, and got an ugly fall by the bargain. But others

[1] *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Iidem.* [3] YAHYA, JALLALO'DDIN.
[4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Idem.*

ordained the night and the day for two ſigns *of our power:* afterwards we blot out the ſign of the night, and we cauſe the ſign of the day to ſhine forth, that ye may endeavour to obtain plenty from your LORD *by doing your buſineſs therein*, and that ye may know the number of years, and the computation *of time*; and every thing *neceſſary* have we explained by a *perſpicuous* explication. The fate [a] of every man have we bound about his neck [b]; and we will produce unto him, on the day of reſurrection, a book *wherein his actions ſhall be recorded:* it ſhall be offered him open, *and the angels ſhall ſay unto him*, Read thy book; thine own ſoul will be a ſufficient accountant againſt thee, this day [c]. He who ſhall be *rightly* directed, ſhall be directed to *the advantage* only *of* his own ſoul; and he who ſhall err, ſhall err only againſt the ſame: neither ſhall any laden *ſoul* be charged with the burthen of another. We did not puniſh *any people*, until we had *firſt* ſent an apoſtle *to warn them.* And when we reſolved to deſtroy a city, we commanded the inhabitants thereof, who lived in affluence, *to obey our apoſtle*; but they acted corruptly therein: wherefore the ſentence was juſtly pronounced againſt *that city*; and we deſtroyed it with an utter deſtruction. And how many generations have we conſumed ſince NOAH? for thy LORD ſufficiently knoweth and ſeeth the ſins of his ſervants. Whoſoever chooſeth *this* tranſitory *life*, we will beſtow on him therein before hand that which we pleaſe; on him, *namely*, whom we pleaſe: afterwards will we appoint him hell *for his abode*; he ſhall be thrown into the ſame to be ſcorched, covered with ignominy, *and* utterly rejected *from mercy*. But whoſoever chooſeth the life to come, and directeth his endeavour towards the ſame, being alſo a true believer; the endeavour of theſe ſhall be acceptable *unto* GOD. On all will we beſtow *the bleſſings of this life*, both on theſe and on thoſe, of the gift of thy LORD; for the gift of thy LORD ſhall not be denied *unto any*. Behold, how we have cauſed ſome of them to ſurpaſs others *in wealth and dignity:* but the next life ſhall be more conſiderable in degrees *of honour*, and greater in excellence. Set not up another god with *the true* GOD, leſt thou ſit down in diſgrace, *and* deſtitute. Thy LORD hath commanded that ye worſhip none, beſides him; and *that ye ſhew* kindneſs unto *your* parents, whether the one of them, or both of them attain to old age with thee [d]. Wherefore ſay not unto them, Fy *on you!* neither reproach them, but

thers pretend the paſſage was revealed on the following occaſion. *Mohammed* committed a certain captive to the charge of his wife, *Sawda bint Zamáa*, who moved with compaſſion at the man's groans, unbound him, and let him eſcape: upon which the prophet, in the firſt motions of his anger, wiſhed her hand might fall off; but immediately compoſing himſelf, ſaid aloud, O GOD, *I am but a man; therefore turn my curſe into a bleſſing* [1].

[a] *The fate;*] Literally, *the bird*, which is here uſed to ſignify a man's *fortune* or *ſucceſs*; the *Arabs*, as well as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, taking omens from the flight of birds, which they ſuppoſed to portend good luck, if they flew from the left to the right, but if from the right to the left, the contrary; the like judgment they alſo made when certain beaſts paſſed before them.

[b] *Have we bound about his neck;*] Like a collar, which he cannot by any means get off See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 103.

[c] See ibid. p. 89.

[d] *With thee;*] That is, receiving their ſupport and maintenance from thee.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN.

but ſpeak reſpectfully unto them; and ſubmit to behave humbly [a] towards them, out of tender affection, and ſay, O LORD, have mercy on them both, as they nurſed me *when I was* little. Your LORD well knoweth that which is in your ſouls; whether ye be men of integrity: and he will be gracious unto thoſe who ſincerely return *unto him.* And give unto him who is of kin *to you* his due [b], and *alſo* unto the poor, and the traveller. And waſte not *thy ſubſtance* profuſely: for the profuſe are brethren of the devils [c]: and the devil was ungrateful unto his LORD. But if thou turn from them, in expectation of the mercy which thou hopeſt from thy LORD [d]; *at leaſt*, ſpeak kindly unto them. And let not thy hand be tied up to thy neck; neither open it with an unbounded expanſion [e], leſt thou become worthy of reprehenſion, and be reduced to poverty. Verily thy LORD will inlarge the ſtore of whom he pleaſeth, and will be ſparing *unto whom he pleaſeth*; for he knoweth and regardeth his ſervants. Kill not your children for fear of being brought to want; we will provide for them and for you: verily the killing them is a great ſin [f]. Draw not near unto fornication; for it is wickedneſs, and an evil way. Neither ſlay the ſoul which GOD hath forbidden *you to ſlay*, unleſs for a juſt cauſe [g]; and whoſoever ſhall be ſlain unjuſtly, we have given his heir power *to demand ſatisfaction* [h]; but let him not exceed the bounds *of moderation* in putting to death *the murtherer in too cruel a manner, or by revenging his friend's blood on any other than the perſon who killed him*; ſince he is aſſiſted *by this law* [i]. And meddle not with the ſubſtance of the orphan, unleſs it be to improve it, until he attain his age of ſtrength [k]: and perform *your* covenant; for the *performance of your* covenant ſhall be inquired into *hereafter*. And give full meaſure, when you meaſure *ought*; and weigh with a juſt balance. This will be better, and more eaſy for determining *every man's due* [l]. And follow not that whereof thou

[a] *Submit to behave humbly*, &c.] Literally, *Lower the wing of humility*, &c.

[b] *His due*;] That is, friendſhip and affection, and aſſiſtance in time of need.

[c] *The profuſe are the brethren of the devils*;] Prodigality, and ſquandering away one's ſubſtance in folly or luxury, being a very great ſin. The *Arabs* were particularly guilty of extravagance in killing camels, and diſtributing them by lot, meerly out of vanity and oſtentation; which they are forbidden by this paſſage, and commanded to beſtow what they could ſpare on their poor relations, and other indigent people [1].

[d] *If thou turn from them in expectation*, &c.] That is, If thy preſent circumſtances will not permit thee to aſſiſt others, defer thy charity till GOD ſhall grant thee better ability.

[e] *Let not thy hand be tied up, neither open it with an unbounded expanſion*;] i. e. Be neither niggardly nor profuſe, but obſerve the mean between the two extreams, wherein conſiſts true liberality [2].

[f] See chap. 6. p. 113, and 115. and chap. 81.

[g] *Unleſs for a juſt cauſe*;] The crimes for which a man may juſtly be put to death are theſe; apoſtacy, adultery, and murder [3].

[h] *We have given his heir power to demand ſatisfaction*;] It being at the election of the heir, or next of kin, either to take the life of the murderer, or to accept of a fine in lieu of it [4].

[i] *Since he is aſſiſted*, &c.] Some refer the pronoun *he* to the perſon ſlain, for the avenging whoſe death this law was made; ſome to the heir, who has a right granted him to demand ſatisfaction for his friend's blood [5]; and others to him who ſhall be ſlain by the heir, if he carry his vengeance too far [6].

[k] See chap. 4. p. 60, 61.

[l] *More eaſy for determining*, &c.] Or, *more advantageous in the end* [7].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *See chap. 2. p. 20, 21.* [5] YAHYA.
[6] *V. Al.* BEIDAWI. [7] *Idem, Al* ZAMAKH.

thou haſt no knowledge[a]; for the hearing, and the ſight, and the heart, every of theſe ſhall be examined *at the laſt day*. Walk not proudly in the land, for thou canſt not cleave the earth, neither ſhalt thou equal the mountains in ſtature. All this is evil, *and* abominable in the ſight of thy LORD. Theſe *precepts are a part* of the wiſdom which thy LORD hath revealed unto thee. Set not up any other god *as equal* unto GOD, leſt thou be caſt into hell, reproved *and* rejected. Hath your LORD preferably granted unto you ſons, and taken *for himſelf* daughters from among the angels[b]? Verily *in aſſerting this* ye utter a grievous ſaying. And now have we uſed various *arguments and repetitions* in this KORAN, that they may be warned; yet it only rendereth them more diſpoſed to fly *from the truth*. Say *unto the idolaters*, If there were *other* gods with him, as ye ſay, they would ſurely ſeek an occaſion *of making ſome attempt* againſt the poſſeſſor of the throne[c]: GOD forbid! and far, very far, be that from him which they utter! The ſeven heavens praiſe him, and the earth, and all who are therein: neither is there any thing which doth not celebrate his praiſe; but ye underſtand not their celebration *thereof:* he is gracious and merciful. When thou readeſt the KORAN, we place between thee and thoſe who believe not in the life to come, a dark vail; and we put coverings over their hearts, leſt they ſhould underſtand it, and in their ears thickneſs of hearing. And when thou makeſt mention, in *repeating* the KORAN, of thy LORD only[d], they turn their backs, flying *the doctrine of his unity*. We well know with what *deſign* they hearken, when they hearken unto thee, and when they privately diſcourſe together: when the ungodly ſay, Ye follow no other than a mad-man. Behold! what epithets they beſtow on thee. But they are deceived; neither can they *find* any *juſt* occaſion *to reproach thee*. They alſo ſay, After we ſhall have become bones and duſt, ſhall we ſurely be raiſed a new creature? Anſwer, Be ye ſtones, or iron, or ſome creature more improbable in your opinions *to be raiſed to life*. But they will ſay, Who ſhall reſtore us *to life?* Anſwer, He who created you the firſt time: and they will wag their heads at thee, ſaying, When *ſhall* this *be?* Anſwer, Peradventure it is nigh. On *that* day ſhall GOD call you *forth from your ſepulchres*, and ye ſhall obey, with celebration of his praiſe[e]; and ye ſhall think that ye tarried[f] but a little while. Speak unto my ſervants, that they ſpeak mildly *unto the unbelievers*, *leſt ye exaſperate them*; for SATAN ſoweth diſcord among them,

[a] *Follow not that whereof thou haſt no knowledge*;] i. e. Vain and uncertain opinions, which thou haſt not good reaſon to believe true, or at leaſt probable. Some interpret the words, *Accuſe not* another of a crime *whereof thou haſt no knowledge*; ſuppoſing they forbid the bearing falſe witneſs, or the ſpreading or giving credit to idle reports of others [1].

[b] See chap. 16. p. 218, 219.

[c] *They could make ſome attempt againſt the poſſeſſor of the throne*;] i. e. They would in all probability contend with GOD for ſuperiority, and endeavour to dethrone him, in the ſame manner as princes act with one another on earth.

[d] *Of thy* LORD *only*;] Not allowing their gods to be his aſſociates, nor praying their interceſſion with him.

[e] *Ye ſhall obey, with celebration of his praiſe*;] The dead, ſays *al Beidâwi*, at his call ſhall immediately riſe, and ſhaking the duſt off their heads, ſhall ſay, *Praiſe be unto thee, O* GOD.

[f] *That ye tarried*;] viz. In your graves; or, in the world.

[1] *Idem.*

them, and SATAN is a declared enemy unto man. Your LORD well knoweth you; if he pleaſeth, he will have mercy on you, or, if he pleaſeth, he will puniſh you [a]: and we have not ſent thee *to be* a ſteward over them. Thy LORD well knoweth all perſons in heaven and on earth [b]. We have beſtowed peculiar favours on ſome of the prophets, preferably to others; and we gave unto DAVID the pſalms [c]. Say, Call upon thoſe whom ye imagine *to be gods* beſides him; yet they will not be able to free you from harm, or to turn *it on others.* Thoſe whom ye invoke [d], do *themſelves* deſire *to be admitted to* a near conjunction with their LORD; *ſtriving* which of them ſhall approach neareſt *unto him:* they alſo hope for his mercy, and dread his puniſhment; for the puniſhment of thy LORD is terrible. There is no city but we will deſtroy the ſame before the day of reſurrection, or we will puniſh it with a grievous puniſhment. This is written in the book *of our eternal decrees.* Nothing hindred us from ſending *thee* with miracles, except that the former *nations* have charged them with impoſture. We gave unto *the tribe of* THAMUD, *at their demand,* the ſhe-camel viſible *to their ſight*; yet they dealt unjuſtly with her [e]: and we ſend not *a prophet* with miracles, but to ſtrike terror. *Remember* when we ſaid unto thee, Verily thy LORD encompaſſeth men *by his knowledge and power.* We have appointed the viſion which we ſhewed thee [f], and alſo the tree [g] curſed in the KORAN, only for an occaſion of diſpute unto men, and to ſtrike *them* with terror; but it ſhall cauſe them to

[a] *Your* LORD *well knoweth you,* &c.] Theſe words are deſigned as a pattern for the *Moſlems* to follow, in diſcourſing with the idolaters; by which they are taught to uſe ſoft and dubious expreſſions, and not to tell them directly that they are doomed to hell fire; which, beſides the preſumption in offering to determine the ſentence of others, would only make them more irreconcileable enemies [1].

[b] *Thy* LORD *well knoweth all perſons,* &c.] And may chooſe whom he pleaſes for his embaſſador. This is an anſwer to the objections of the *Koreiſh,* that *Mohammed* was the orphan pupil of *Abu Taleb,* and followed by a parcel of naked and hungry fellows [2].

[c] *The pſalms;*] Which were a greater honour to him than his kingdom; and wherein *Mohammed* and his people are foretold by theſe words, among others [3]; *The righteous ſhall inherit the earth* [4].

[d] *Thoſe whom ye invoke;*] viz. The angels and prophets, who are the ſervants of GOD as well as your ſelves.

[e] See chap. 7. p. 124, 125.

[f] *The viſion which we ſhewed thee,* &c.] *Mohammed*'s journey to heaven is generally agreed to be intended in this place; which occaſioned great heats and debates among his followers, till they were quieted by *Abu Becr*'s bearing teſtimony to the truth of it [5]. The word *viſion,* here uſed, is urged by thoſe who take this journey to have been no more than a dream, as a plain confirmation of their opinion. Some, however, ſuppoſe the viſion meant in this paſſage was not the night-journey, but the dream *Mohammed* ſaw at *al Hodeibiya,* wherein he ſeemed to make his entrance into *Mecca* [6]; or that at *Bedr* [7]; or elſe a viſion he had relating to the family of *Ommeya,* whom he ſaw mount his pulpit, and jump about in it like monkeys; upon which he ſaid, This is their portion in this world, which they have gained by their profeſſion of *Iſlâm* [8]. But if any of theſe latter expoſitions be true, the verſe muſt have been revealed at *Medina.*

[g] *The curſed tree;*] Called *al Zakkûm,* which ſprings from the bottom of hell [9].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *V.* MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 28, *&c.* PRID. *life of Mah. p.* 122. [4] *Pſal.* xxxvii. 28. *Al* BEID. [5] *V.* ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 39. *& not. ibid.* PRIDEAUX, *life of Mah. p.* 50. *and Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 47. [6] *See Kor. chap.* 48. [7] *See chap.* 8. *p.* 144. [8] *Al* BEIDAWI. [9] *See chap.* 37.

to tranſgreſs only the more enormouſly. And *remember* when we ſaid unto the angels, Worſhip ADAM; and they *all* worſhipped him except EBLIS, *who* ſaid, Shall I worſhip him whom thou haſt created *of* clay? *And* he ſaid, What thinkeſt thou, *as to* this *man* whom thou haſt honoured above me? verily, if thou grant me reſpite until the day of reſurrection, I will extirpate his off-ſpring, except a few. GOD anſwered, Be gone, *I grant thee reſpite:* but whoſoever of them ſhall follow thee, hell ſhall ſurely be your reward; an ample reward *for your demerits*[a]! And intice to vanity ſuch of them as thou canſt, by thy voice; and aſſault them on all ſides with thy horſemen and thy footmen[b]; and partake with them in *their* riches, and *their* children[c]; and make them promiſes; (but the devil ſhall make them no other than deceitful promiſes:) *as to* my ſervants, thou ſhalt have no power over them; for thy LORD is a ſufficient protector *of thoſe who truſt in him.* It is your LORD who driveth forward the ſhips for you in the ſea, that ye may ſeek *to enrich your ſelves* of his abundance *by commerce*; for he is merciful towards you. When a misfortune befalleth you at ſea, the *falſe deities* whom ye invoke are forgotten *by you*, except him *alone:* yet when he bringeth you ſafe to dry land, ye retire afar off *from him, and return to your idols*; for man is ungrateful[d]. Are ye therefore ſecure that he will not cauſe the dry land to ſwallow you up, or *that he will not* ſend againſt you a *whirlwind* driving the ſands *to overwhelm you?* then ſhall ye find none to protect you. Or are ye ſecure that he will not cauſe you again to commit your ſelves to *the ſea* another time, and ſend againſt you a tempeſtuous wind, and drown you; for that ye have been ungrateful? then ſhall ye find none to defend *you* againſt us, in that *diſtreſs.* And now have we honoured the children of ADAM *by ſundry peculiar privileges and endowments*; and we have given them conveniencies of carriage by land and by ſea, and have provided food for them of good things; and we have preferred them before many of *our creatures* which we have created, by granting *them great* prerogatives. On a *certain* day we will call all men *to judgment* with their *reſpective* leader[e]: and whoſoever ſhall have his book given him into his right hand, they ſhall read their book *with joy and ſatisfaction*[f]; and they ſhall not be wronged a hair[g]. And whoever hath been blind in this *life*, ſhall be alſo blind in the next, and ſhall wander more widely from the path *of ſalvation.* It wanted little but *the unbelievers* had tempted thee to ſwerve from *the inſtructions* which we had revealed unto thee, that thou ſhouldeſt deviſe concerning us a different

[a] See chap. 2. p. 4. and chap. 7. p. 117, *&c.*

[b] *With thy horſemen and with thy footmen*;] i. e. With all thy forces.

[c] *And partake with them in their riches and their children*;] Inſtigating them to get wealth by unlawful means, and to ſpend it in ſupporting vice and ſuperſtition; and tempting them to inceſtuous mixtures, and to give their children names in honour of their idols, as *Abd Yaghuth, Abd' al Uzza,* &c[1].

[d] See chap. 10. p. 168.

[e] *Their reſpective leader*;] Some interpret this of the prophet ſent to every people; others, of the heads of ſects; others, of the various religions profeſſed in the world; others, of the books which ſhall be given to every man at the reſurrection, containing a regiſter of their good and bad actions[2].

[f] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 89.

[g] See chap. 4. p. 67. not. [l]

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

thing [a]; and then would they have taken thee for *their* friend: and unleſs we had confirmed thee, thou hadſt certainly been very near inclining unto them a little. Then would we ſurely have cauſed thee to taſte the puniſhment of life, and the puniſhment of death [b]; and thou ſhouldeſt not have found any to protect thee againſt us. The *unbelievers* had likewiſe almoſt cauſed thee to depart the land, that they might have expelled thee thence [c]: but then ſhould they not have tarried *therein* after thee, except a little while [d]. *This is* the method of dealing *which we have preſcribed our ſelves* in reſpect to our apoſtles, whom we have already ſent before thee: and thou ſhalt not find any change in our *preſcribed* method. Regularly perform *thy* prayer at the declenſion of the ſun [e], at the firſt darkneſs of the night [f], and the prayer of day-break [g]; for the prayer of day-break is born witneſs unto *by the angels* [h]. And watch *ſome part* of the night in the ſame *exerciſe*, as a work of

[a] *It wanted little but the unbelievers had ſeduced thee*, &c.] Theſe are generally ſuppoſed to have been the tribe of *Thakîf*, the inhabitants of *al Tâyef*, who inſiſted on *Mohammed*'s granting them ſeveral very extraordinary privileges, as the terms of their ſubmiſſion to him; for they demanded that they might be free from the legal contribution of alms, and from obſerving the appointed times of prayer; that they might be allowed to keep their idol *Allât* for a certain time [1], and that their territory might be declared a place of ſecurity and not be violated, like that of *Mecca*, &c. And they added, that if the other *Arabs* asked him the reaſon of theſe conceſſions, he ſhould ſay, that GOD had commanded him ſo to do [2]. According to which explication it is plain this verſe muſt have been revealed long after the *Hejra*.

Some, however, will have the paſſage to have been revealed at *Mecca*, on occaſion of the *Koreiſh*; who told *Mohammed* they would not ſuffer him to kiſs the black ſtone in the wall of *Caaba*, unleſs he alſo viſited their idols, and touched them with his hand, to ſhew his reſpect. [3]

[b] *The puniſhment of life, and the puniſhment of death*;] i. e. Both of this life and the next. Some interpret the firſt of the puniſhment in the next world, and the latter of the torture of the ſepulchre [3].

[c] *The unbelievers had likewiſe almoſt cauſed thee to depart the land*, &c.] The commentators differ as to the place where this paſſage was delivered, and the occaſion of it. Some think it was revealed at *Mecca*, and that it refers to the violent enmity which the *Koreiſh* bore *Mohammed*, and their reſtleſs endeavours to make him leave *Mecca* [4]; as he was at length obliged to do. But as the perſons here ſpoken of ſeem not to have prevailed in their project, others ſuppoſe that the verſe was revealed at *Medina*, on the following occaſion. The *Jews*, envious of *Mohammed*'s good reception and ſtay there, told him, by way of counſel, that *Syria* was the land of the prophets, and that if he was really a prophet he ought to go thither. *Mohammed* ſeriouſly reflecting on what they had ſaid, began to think they had adviſed him well; and actually ſet out, and proceeded a day's journey in his way to *Syria*: whereupon GOD acquainted him with their deſign by the revelation of this verſe; and he returned to *Medina* [5].

[d] *Then ſhould they not have tarried therein after thee, except a little while.*] This was fulfilled, according to the former of the abovementioned explications, by the loſs of the *Koreiſh* at *Bedr*; and according to the latter, by the great ſlaughter of the *Jews* of *Koreidha* and *al Nadîr* [6].

[e] *At the declenſion of the ſun*;] i. e. At the time of noon prayer, when the ſun declines from the meridian; or, as ſome chooſe to tranſlate the words, *at the ſetting of the ſun*, which is the time of the firſt evening prayer.

[f] *At the firſt darkneſs of the night*;] The time of the laſt evening prayer.

[g] *The prayer of day-break*;] Literally, *the reading of the day-break*; whence ſome ſuppoſe the reading of the *Korân* at that time is here meant.

[h] *By the angels*;] viz. The guardian angels, who, according to ſome, are relieved at that time; or elſe the angels appointed to make the change of night into day, &c [7].

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 18. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. *V.* ABULF. *vit. Moham. p.* 126, &c. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *Idem.* [7] *Al* BEIDAWI.

of ſupererogation for thee; peradventure thy LORD will raiſe thee to an honourable ſtation [a]. And ſay, O LORD, cauſe me to enter with a favourable entry and cauſe me to come forth with a favourable coming forth [b]; and grant me from thee an aſſiſting power. And ſay, Truth is come, and falſhood is vaniſhed: for falſhood is of ſhort continuance [c]. We ſend down of the KORAN that which is a medicine and mercy unto the true believers, but it ſhall only increaſe the perdition of the unjuſt. When we beſtow favours on man, he retireth and withdraweth himſelf *ungratefully from us*: but when evil toucheth him, he deſpaireth *of our mercy*. Say, Every one acteth after his own manner [d]: but your LORD beſt knoweth who is moſt truly directed in *his* way. They will aſk thee concerning the ſpirit: anſwer, The ſpirit *was created* at the command of my LORD [f]: but ye have no knowledge given unto you, except a little [g]. If we pleaſed, we ſhould certainly take away that which we have revealed unto thee [h]; in ſuch caſe thou couldeſt not find any to aſſiſt thee therein againſt us, unleſs through mercy from thy LORD; for his favour towards thee hath been great. Say, Verily if men and ge-

[a] *An honourable ſtation;*] According to a tradition of *Abu Horeira*, the honourable ſtation here intended, is that of interceſſor for others [1].

[b] *Cauſe me to enter with a favourable entry and cauſe me to come forth with a favourable coming forth;*] That is, Grant that I may enter my grave with peace, and come forth from it, at the reſurrection, with honour and ſatisfaction. In which ſenſe this petition is the ſame with that of *Balaam*, *Let me dye the death of the righteous, and let my laſt end be like his* [2].

But as the perſon here ſpoken to is generally ſuppoſed to be *Mohammed*, the commentators ſay he was commanded to pray in theſe words for a ſafe departure from *Mecca*, and a good reception at *Medina*; or for a ſure refuge in the cave, where he hid himſelf when he fled from *Mecca* [3]; or (which is the more common opinion) for a victorious entrance into *Mecca*, and a ſafe return thence [4].

[c] *Say, Truth is come, and falſhood is vaniſhed,* &c.] Theſe words *Mohammed* repeated, when he entred the temple of *Mecca*, after the taking of that city, and cleanſed it of the idols; a great number of which are ſaid to have fallen down on his touching them with the end of the ſtick he held in his hand [5].

[d] *Every one acteth after his own manner;*] i. e. According to his judgment or opinion, be it true or falſe; or according to the bent of his mind, and the natural conſtitution of his body [6].

[e] *Concerning the ſpirit;*] Or the ſoul of man. Some interpret it of the angel *Gabriel*, or of the divine revelation [7].

[f] *The ſpirit was created at the command of my* LORD;] *viz.* by the word *Kun*, i. e. *Be*; conſiſting of an immaterial ſubſtance, and not generated, like the body. But, according to a different opinion, this paſſage ſhould be tranſlated, *The ſpirit is of thoſe things, the knowledge of which thy* LORD *hath reſerved to himſelf*. For it is ſaid that the *Jews* bid the *Koreiſh* ask *Mohammed* to relate the hiſtory of thoſe who ſlept in the cave [8], and of *Dhu'lkarnein* [9], and to give them an account of the ſoul of man; adding, that if he pretended to anſwer all the three queſtions, or could anſwer none of them, they might be ſure he was no prophet; but if he gave an anſwer to one or two of the queſtions and was ſilent as to the other, he was really a prophet. Accordingly when they propounded the queſtions to him, he told them the two hiſtories, but acknowledged his ignorance as to the origin of the human ſoul [10].

[g] *Ye have no knowledge given unto you, except a little;*] All your knowledge being acquired from the information of your ſenſes, which muſt neceſſarily fail you in ſpiritual ſpeculations, without the aſſiſtance of divine revelation [11].

[h] *We would certainly take away that which we have revealed;*] Viz. the *Korân*; by razing it both from the written copies, and the memories of men.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Numb.* xxiii. 10. [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 51. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *Idem. V.* GAGNIER, *Vie de Mahomet, tom.* 2. *p.* 127. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. [7] *Idem.* [8] *See the next chapter.* [9] *See ib.* [10] *Al* BEIDAWI. [11] *Idem.*

nii were purpoſely aſſembled, that they might produce *a book* like this KORAN, they could not produce *one* like unto it, although the one of them aſſiſted the other. And we have variouſly propounded unto men in this KORAN, every *kind of* figurative argument; but the greater part of men refuſe *to receive it*, merely out of infidelity. And they ſay, We will by no means believe on thee, until thou cauſe a ſpring of water to guſh forth for us out of the earth [a]; or thou have a garden of palm-trees and vines, and thou cauſe rivers to ſpring forth from the midſt thereof in abundance; or thou cauſe the heaven to fall down upon us, as thou haſt given out, in pieces; or thou bring down GOD and the angels to vouch *for thee*; or thou have a houſe of gold; or thou aſcend by a ladder to heaven: neither will we believe thy aſcending *thither alone* [b], until thou cauſe a book to deſcend unto us, *bearing witneſs of thee*, which we may read. Anſwer, My LORD be praiſed! Am I *other* than a man, *ſent as* an apoſtle? And nothing hindreth men from believing, when a direction is come unto them, except that they ſay, Hath GOD ſent a man *for his* apoſtle? Anſwer, If the angels had walked on earth *as* familiar inhabitants *thereof*, we had ſurely ſent down unto them from heaven an angel *for our* apoſtle. Say, GOD is a ſufficient witneſs between me and you: for he knoweth and regardeth his ſervants. Whom GOD ſhall direct, he ſhall be the *rightly* directed; and whom he ſhall cauſe to err, thou ſhalt find none to aſſiſt, beſides him. And we will gather them together on the day of reſurrection, *creeping* on their faces, blind, and dumb, and deaf [c]: their abode *ſhall be* hell; ſo often as *the fire thereof* ſhall be extinguiſhed, we will rekindle a burning flame to *torment* them [d]. This ſhall be their reward, becauſe they diſbelieve in our ſigns, and ſay, When we ſhall have been *reduced to* bones and duſt, ſhall we ſurely be raiſed new creatures? Do they not perceive that GOD, who created the heavens and the earth, *is* able to create *other bodies*, like *their preſent?* And he hath appointed them a limited term [e]; there is no doubt thereof: but the ungodly reject *the truth*, merely out of unbelief. Say, If ye poſſeſſed the treaſures of the mercy of my LORD, ye would ſurely refrain *from uſing them*, for fear of ſpending *them* [f]; for man is covetous. We heretofore gave unto MOSES *the power of working* nine evident ſigns [g]. And do thou aſk the children of ISRAEL *as to the ſtory of Mo-*

[a] *Until thou cauſe a ſpring of water to guſh forth*, &c.] This and the following miracles were demanded of *Mohammed* by the *Koreiſh*, as proofs of his miſſion.

[b] *Thy aſcending thither alone*;] As thou pretendeſt to have done in thy night-journey; but of which no man was witneſs.

[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 85.

[d] *So often as the fire ſhall be extinguiſhed, we will rekindle it to torment them*;] i. e. When the fire ſhall go out or abate for want of fuel, after the conſumption of the skins and fleſh of the damned, we will add freſh vigour to the flames by giving them new bodies [1].

[e] *A limited term*;] Of life, or reſurrection.

[f] *For fear of ſpending them*;] That is, leſt they ſhould be exhauſted.

[g] *Nine ſigns*;] Theſe were, the changing his rod into a ſerpent, the making his hand white and ſhining, the producing locuſts, lice, frogs, and blood, the dividing of the red-ſea, the bringing water out of the rock, and the ſhaking of mount *Sinai* over the children of *Iſrael*. In lieu of the three laſt ſome reckon the inundation of the *Nile*,

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See chap.* 4. *p.* 68.

MOSES[a]; when he came unto them, and PHARAOH ſaid unto him, Verily I eſteem thee, O MOSES, *to be* deluded by ſorcery. *MOSES* anſwered, Thou well knoweſt that none hath ſent down theſe evident ſigns except the LORD of heaven and earth; and I ſurely eſteem thee, O PHARAOH, a loſt *man*. Wherefore *PHARAOH* ſought to drive them out of the land; but we drowned him, and all thoſe who were with him. And we ſaid unto the children of ISRAEL, after *his deſtruction*, Dwell ye in the land: and when the promiſe of the next life ſhall come *to be fulfilled*, we will bring you *both* promiſcuouſly *to judgment*. We have ſent down *the KORAN* with truth, and it hath deſcended with truth: and we have not ſent thee *otherwiſe* than *to be* a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer *of threats*. And we have divided the KORAN, *revealing it by parcels*, that thou mighteſt read it unto men with deliberation; and we have ſent it down, cauſing *it* to deſcend *as occaſion required*[b]. Say, Whether ye believe therein, or do not believe, verily thoſe who have been favoured with the knowledge *of the ſcriptures which were revealed* before it, when the ſame is rehearſed unto them, fall down on *their* faces[c], worſhipping, and ſay, Our LORD be praiſed, for that the promiſe of our LORD is ſurely fulfilled! And they fall down on *their* faces, weeping; and *the hearing thereof* increaſeth their humility. Say, Call upon GOD, or call on the Merciful: by which ſoever *of the two names* ye invoke *him, it is equal*; for he hath moſt excellent names[d]. Pronounce not thy prayer aloud, neither pronounce it with two low a voice[e], but follow a *middle* way between theſe: and ſay, Praiſe *be* unto GOD, who hath not begotten any child; who hath no partner in the kingdom, nor hath any to protect him from contempt: and magnify him by proclaiming his greatneſs.

CHAP.

Nile, the blaſting of the corn, and ſcarcity of the fruits of the earth [1]. Theſe words, however, are interpreted by others, not of *nine miracles*, but of *nine commandments*, which *Moſes* gave his people, and were thus numbred up by *Mohammed* himſelf to a *Jew*, who asked him the queſtion, *viz.* That they ſhould not be guilty of idolatry, nor ſteal, nor commit adultery or murder, nor practice ſorcery or uſury, nor accuſe an innocent man to take away his life, or a modeſt woman of whoredom, nor deſert the army; to which he added the obſerving of the ſabbath, as a tenth commandment, but which peculiarly regarded the *Jews*: upon which anſwer, it is ſaid, the *Jew* kiſſed the prophet's hands and feet [2].

[a] *Do thou ask the children of* Iſrael, *&c.*] Some think theſe words are directed to *Moſes*, who is hereby commanded to *demand the children of* Iſrael *of* Pharaoh, that he might let them go with him.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 64, 65.

[c] *On their faces*;] Literally, *on their chins*.

[d] *Call on* GOD, *or the Merciful*, &c.] The infidels hearing *Mohammed* ſay, *O* GOD, and *O Merciful*, imagined *the Merciful* was the name of a deity different from GOD, and that he preached the worſhip of two; which occaſioned this paſſage. See chap. 7. p. 136.

[e] *Pronounce not thy prayer aloud, nor with too low a voice*, &c.] Neither ſo loud, that the infidels may overhear thee, and thence take occaſion to blaſpheme and ſcoff; nor ſo ſoftly as not to be heard by the aſſiſtants. Some ſuppoſe that by the word *prayer*, in this place, is meant the reading of the *Korân*.

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. XVIII.

Intitled, The Cave[a]; *revealed at* MECCA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

PRAISE be unto GOD, who hath ſent down unto his ſervant the book *of the* KORAN, and hath not inſerted therein any crookedneſs; *but hath made it* a ſtrait *rule:* that he ſhould threaten a grievous puniſhment *unto the unbelievers*, from his preſence; and ſhould bear good tidings unto the faithful, who work righteouſneſs, that they ſhall receive an excellent reward, *namely*, *paradiſe*, wherein they ſhall remain for ever: and that he ſhould warn thoſe who ſay, GOD hath begotten iſſue; of which matter they have no knowledge, neither *had* their fathers. A grievous ſaying *it is*, which proceedeth from their mouths: they ſpeak no other than a lie. Peradventure thou wilt kill thy ſelf with grief after them, *out of thy earneſt zeal for their converſion*, if they believe not in this new revelation *of the* KORAN. Verily we have ordained whatſoever is on the earth for the ornament thereof, that we might make trial of *men*, *and ſee* which of them excelleth in works: and we will ſurely reduce whatever is thereon, to dry duſt. Doſt thou conſider that the companions of the cave[c], and AL RAKIM[d], were *one* of our ſigns, *and* a *great* miracle? When the young men took refuge in the cave, they ſaid, O LORD, grant us mercy from before thee, and diſpoſe our buſineſs for us to a right *iſſue*. Wherefore we ſtruck their ears *with deafneſs*, *ſo that they ſlept without diſturbance* in the cave for a *great* number of years: then we awaked

[a] The chapter is thus inſcribed becauſe it makes mention of the cave wherein the ſeven ſleepers concealed themſelves.

[b] Some except one verſe, which begins thus, *Behave thyſelf with conſtancy*, &c.

[c] *The companions of the cave*;] Theſe were certain *Chriſtian* youths, of a good family in *Epheſus*, who, to avoid the perſecution of the emperor *Decius*, by the *Arab* writers called *Decianus*, hid themſelves in a cave, where they ſlept for a great number of years [1].

This apocryphal ſtory (for *Baronius* [2] treats it as no better, and Father *Marracci* [3] acknowledges it to be partly falſe, or at leaſt doubtful, tho' he calls *Hottinger a monſter of impiety*, and *the off-ſcum of heretics*, for terming it a fable [4],) was borrowed by *Mohammed* from the *Chriſtian* traditions [5], but has been embelliſhed by him and his followers with ſeveral additional circumſtances [6].

[d] *Al Rakim*:] What is meant by this word the commentators cannot agree. Some will have it to be the name of the mountain, or the valley, wherein the cave was; ſome ſay it was the name of their dog; and others (who ſeem to come neareſt the true ſignification) that it was

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[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c. p.* 425. *& in Prodr. part.* 4. *p.* 103. TURON. & SIMEON. METAPHRAST. [2] *In Martyrol. ad* 27. *Julii.* [3] *In Alcor.* [4] HOTTING. *Hiſt. Orient. p.* 40. [5] *V.* GREG. [6] *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. p.* 189.

awaked them, that we might know which of the two parties [a] was more exact in computing the ſpace which they had remained *there*. We will relate unto thee their hiſtory with truth. Verily they were young men who had believed in their LORD; and we had abundantly directed them: and we fortified their hearts with conſtancy when they ſtood *before the tyrant*; and they ſaid, Our LORD is the LORD of heaven and earth: we will by no means call on any god beſides him; *for* then ſhould we ſurely utter an extravagance. Theſe our *fellow* people have taken *other* gods, beſides him; although they bring no demonſtrative argument for them: and who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth a lie concerning GOD? And *they ſaid the one to the other*, When ye ſhall ſeparate yourſelves from them, and *from the deities* which they worſhip, except GOD [b], fly into the cave: your LORD will pour his mercy on you abundantly, and will diſpoſe your buſineſs for you to advantage. And thou mighteſt have ſeen the ſun, when it had riſen, to decline from their cave towards the right hand; and when it went down, to leave them on the left hand [c]: and they were in the ſpacious part of *the cave* [d]. This *was one* of the ſigns of GOD. Whomſoever GOD ſhall direct, he *ſhall be rightly* directed; and whomſoever he ſhall cauſe to err, thou ſhalt not find any to defend *or* to direct. And thou wouldſt have judged them to have been awake [e], while they were ſleeping; and we cauſed them to turn themſelves to the right hand, and to the left [f]. And their dog [g] ſtretched forth his fore-legs in the mouth of the

a braſs plate, or ſtone table placed near the mouth of the cave, on which the names of the young men were written.

There are ſome, however, who take the *companions of al Rakîm* to be different from the ſeven ſleepers: for they ſay the former were three men who were driven by ill weather into a cave for ſhelter, and were ſhut in there by the falling down of a vaſt ſtone, which ſtopped the cave's mouth; but on their begging GOD's mercy, and their relating each of them a meritorious action which they hoped might intitle them to it, were miraculouſly delivered by the rock's rending in ſunder to give them paſſage [1].

[a] *The two parties*;] *viz.* Of the ſleepers themſelves, or others, who were divided in opinion as to the length of their ſtay in the cave.

[b] *Except* GOD;] For they, like other idolaters, worſhipped the true GOD and idols alſo [2].

[c] *The ſun declined from their cave*, &c.] Leſt it ſhould be offenſive to them, the cave opening towards the ſouth [3].

[d] *In the ſpacious part of the cave*] i. e. In the midſt of it, where they were incommoded neither by the heat of the ſun nor the cloſeneſs of the cave [4].

[e] *Thou wouldeſt have judged them to have been awake*;] Becauſe of their having their eyes open, or their frequent turning themſelves from one ſide to the other [5].

[f] *And they turned themſelves*, &c.] Leſt their lying ſo long on the ground ſhould conſume their fleſh [6].

[g] *Their dog*;] This dog had followed them as they paſſed by him when they fled to the cave, and they drove him away; whereupon GOD cauſed him to ſpeak, and he ſaid, *I love thoſe who are dear unto* GOD; *go to ſleep therefore, and I will guard you.* But ſome ſay, it was a dog belonging to a ſhepherd who followed them, and that the dog followed the ſhepherd; which opinion is ſupported by reading, as ſome do, *câlebohom, their dog's maſter*, inſtead of *calbohom*, their dog [7]. *Jallalo'ddin* adds, that the dog behaved as his maſters did, in turning himſelf, in ſleeping, and in waking.

The *Mohammedans* have a great reſpect for this dog, and allow him a place in paradiſe with ſome other favourite brutes: and they have a ſort of proverb which they uſe in ſpeaking of a covetous perſon, *that he would not throw a bone to the dog of the ſeven ſleepers*: nay it is ſaid that they have the

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, *ex trad. Noomân Ebn Baſhir.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem* [5] *Idem.* [6] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [7] *Idem.*

the cave: if thou hadſt come ſuddenly upon them, verily thou wouldeſt have turned thy back and fled from them, and thou wouldeſt have been filled with fear *at the ſight* of them [a]. And ſo we awaked them from *their* ſleep, that they might aſk queſtions of one another. One of them ſpake and ſaid, How long have ye tarried *here?* They anſwered, We have tarried a day, or part of a day. *The others* ſaid, Your LORD beſt knoweth the *time* ye have tarried [b]: and now ſend one of you with this your money into the city [c], and let him ſee which of its *inhabitants* hath the beſt and cheapeſt food, and let him bring you proviſion from him; and let him behave circumſpectly, and not diſcover you to any one. Verily, if they come up againſt you, they will ſtone you, or force you to return to their religion; and then ſhall ye not proſper for ever. And ſo we made *their people* acquainted with *what had happened to* them; that they might know that the promiſe of GOD is true, and that there is no doubt of the *laſt* hour [d]; when they diſputed among themſelves concerning their matter [e]. And they ſaid, Erect a building over them: their LORD beſt knoweth *their condition.* Thoſe who prevailed in their affair anſwered, We will ſurely build a chappel over them [f]. *Some* ſay, *The ſleepers were* three; *and* their dog *was* the fourth [g]: and *others* ſay, *They*

the ſuperſtition to write his name, which they ſuppoſe to be *Katmîr*, (tho' ſome, as is obſerved above, think he was called *al Rakîm*) on their letters which go far, or which paſs the ſea, as a protection, or kind of taliſman, to preſerve them from miſcarriage [1].

[a] *Thou wouldeſt have been filled with fear at the ſight of them;*] For that GOD had given them terrible countenances; or elſe becauſe of the largeneſs of their bodies, or the horror of the place.

It is related that the *Khalif Moâwiyah*, in an expedition he made againſt *Natolia*, paſſed by the cave of the ſeven ſleepers, and would needs ſend ſomebody into it, notwithſtanding *Ebn Abbâs* remonſtrated to him the danger of it, ſaying, That a better man than him, (meaning the prophet) had been forbidden to enter it, and repeated this verſe; but the men the *Khaliff*, ſent in had no ſooner entred the cave, than they were ſtruck dead by a burning wind [2].

[b] *Your* LORD *beſt knoweth the time ye have tarried;*] As they entred the cave in the morning, and waked about noon, they at firſt imagined they had ſlept half a day, or a day and a half at moſt; but when they found their nails and hair grown very long, they uſed theſe words [3].

[c] *Into the city;*] Which ſome commentators ſuppoſe was *Tarſus*.

[d] *That there is no doubt of the laſt hour;*] The long ſleep of theſe young men, and their waking after ſo many years, being a repreſentation of the ſtate of thoſe who die, and are afterwards raiſed to life.

[e] *Concerning their matter;*] i. e. Concerning the reſurrection; ſome ſaying that the ſouls only ſhould be raiſed, others, that they ſhould be raiſed with the body: or, concerning the ſleepers, after they were really dead; one ſaying, that they were dead, and another, that they were only aſleep: or elſe concerning the erecting a building over them, as it follows in the next words; ſome adviſing a dwelling-houſe to be built there, and others a temple [4].

[f] *Thoſe who prevailed ſaid, We will build a chappel over them;*] When the young man who was ſent into the city, went to pay for the proviſion he had bought, his money was ſo old, being the coin of *Decianus*, that they imagined he had found a treaſure, and carried him before the prince, who was a *Chriſtian*, and having heard his ſtory, ſent ſome with him to the cave, who ſaw and ſpoke to the others: after which they fell aſleep again and died; and the prince ordered them to be buried in the ſame place, and built a chappel over them.

[g] *Some ſay, They were three,* &c.] This was the opinion of *al Seyid*, a *Jacobite Chriſtian* of *Najrân*.

[1] LA ROQUE, *Voy. de l'Arabie heur. p.* 74. *V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi ſup.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.*

They were five; and their dog *was* the ſixth [a]; gueſſing at a ſecret matter: and *others* ſay, *They were* ſeven; and their dog *was* the eighth [b]. Say, My LORD beſt knoweth their number: none ſhall know them, except a few. Wherefore diſpute not concerning them, unleſs with a clear diſputation, *according to what hath been revealed unto thee:* and aſk not any of *the Chriſtians* concerning them. Say not of any matter, I will ſurely do this to morrow; unleſs *thou add*, If GOD pleaſe [c]. And remember thy LORD, when thou forgetteſt [d], and ſay, My LORD is able to direct me with eaſe, that I may draw near unto *the truth of* this *matter* rightly. And they remained in their cave three hundred years, and nine *years* over [e]. Say, GOD beſt knoweth how long they continued *there:* unto him *are* the ſecrets of heaven and earth *known*; do thou make him to ſee and to hear [f]. The *inhabitants thereof* have no protector beſides him; neither doth he ſuffer any one to have a ſhare in *the eſtabliſhment or knowledge of* his decree. Read that which hath been revealed unto thee, of the book of thy LORD, *without preſuming to make any change therein* [g]: there is none who hath power to change his words; and thou ſhalt not find any to fly to, beſides him, *if thou attempt it.* Behave thy ſelf with conſtancy towards thoſe who call upon their LORD morning and evening, and who ſeek his favour; and let not thine eyes be turned away from them, ſeeking the pomp of this life [h]; neither obey him whoſe heart we have cauſed to neglect the remembrance of us [i], and who followeth his luſts, and

[a] *Others ſay they were five,* &c.] Which was the opinion of certain *Chriſtians,* and particularly of a *Neſtorian* prelate.

[b] *Others ſay, They were ſeven,* &c.] And this is the true opinion [1].

[c] *Say not of any thing, I will do this to morrow; unleſs thou add, If* GOD *pleaſe;*] It is ſaid, that when the *Koreiſh,* by the direction of the *Jews,* put the three queſtions abovementioned to *Mohammed,* he bid them come to him the next day, and he would give them an anſwer, but added not, *if it pleaſe* GOD; for which reaſon he had the mortification to wait above ten days, before any revelation was vouchſafed him concerning thoſe matters, ſo that the *Koreiſh* triumphed, and bitterly reproached him as a liar: but at length *Gabriel* brought him directions what he ſhould ſay; with this admonition however, that he ſhould not be ſo confident for the future [2].

[d] *Remember thy* LORD, &c.] i. e. Give the glory to him, and ask pardon for thy omiſſion, in caſe thou forget to ſay, *If it pleaſe* GOD.

[e] *Three hundred and nine years;*] *Jallâlo'ddin* ſuppoſes the whole ſpace was three hundred ſolar years, and that the odd nine are added to reduce them to lunar years.

Some think theſe words are introduced as ſpoken by the *Chriſtians,* who differed among themſelves about the time; one ſaying it was three hundred years, and another, three hundred and nine years [3]. The interval between the reign of *Decius,* and that of *Theodoſius* the younger, in whoſe time the ſleepers are ſaid to have awaked, will not allow them to have ſlept quite two hundred years; tho' *Mohammed* is ſomewhat excuſable, ſince the number aſſigned by *Simeon Metaphraſtes* [4] is three hundred and ſeventy two years.

[f] *Do thou make him to ſee, and to hear;*] This is an ironical expreſſion, intimating the folly and madneſs of man's preſuming to inſtruct GOD [5].

[g] *Read that which hath been revealed unto thee, without making any change therein;*] As the unbelievers would perſuade thee to do [6].

[h] *Let not thine eyes be turned away from them,* &c.] That is, Deſpiſe not the poor believers, becauſe of their meanneſs, nor honour the rich becauſe of their wealth and grandeur.

[i] *Whoſe heart we have cauſed to neglect the remembrance of us;*] The perſon more particularly intended here, it is ſaid, was *Ommeya Ebn Khalf,* who deſired *Mohammed* to diſcard his indigent companions, out of reſpect to the *Koreiſh.* See chap. 6. p. 103.

[1] *Idem,* JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Ubi ſup.* [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *Idem.*

leaveth *the truth* behind him. And ſay, The truth *is* from your LORD; wherefore let him who will, believe, and let him who will, be incredulous. We have ſurely prepared for the unjuſt *hell* fire, the flame and ſmoke whereof ſhall ſurround them like a pavilion: and if they beg relief, they ſhall be relieved with water like molten braſs, which ſhall ſcald *their* faces; O how miſerable a potion, and how unhappy a couch! As to thoſe who believe, and do good works, we will not ſuffer the reward of him who ſhall work righteouſneſs to periſh: for them *are prepared* gardens of eternal abode [a], which ſhall be watered by rivers; they ſhall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and ſhall be clothed in green garments of fine ſilk and brocades; repoſing themſelves therein on thrones. O how happy a reward, and how eaſy a couch! And propound unto them as a parable two men [b]: on the one of whom we had beſtowed two vineyards, and had ſurrounded them with palm-trees, and had cauſed corn *to grow* between them. Each of the gardens brought forth its fruit *every ſeaſon*, and failed not at all; and we cauſed a river to flow in the midſt thereof: and he had great abundance. And he ſaid unto his companion by way of debate, I am ſuperior to thee in wealth, and have a more powerful family. And he went into his garden [c], being guilty of injuſtice againſt his own ſoul, *and* ſaid, I do not think that this *garden* will decay for ever; neither do I think that the *laſt* hour will come: and although I ſhould return unto my LORD, verily I ſhall find a better *garden* than this in exchange [d]. *And* his companion ſaid unto him, by way of debate, Doſt thou not believe in him who created thee of the duſt, and afterwards of ſeed; and then faſhioned thee into a perfect man? But *as for me*, GOD is my LORD; and I will not aſſociate any *other deity* with my LORD. And when thou entereſt thy garden, wilt thou not ſay, What GOD pleaſeth *ſhall come to paſs*; there is no power but in GOD *alone?* Although thou ſeeſt me to be inferior to thee in wealth and *number of* children, my LORD is well able to beſtow on me a better *gift* than thy garden, and to ſhoot *his* arrows againſt the ſame from heaven, ſo that it ſhall become barren duſt; or its water may ſink deep *into the earth*, that thou canſt not draw thereof. And his poſſeſſions were incompaſſed *with deſtruction, as his companion had forewarned him:* wherefore he began to turn down the

[a] *Gardens of eternal abode;*] Literally of *Eden.* See chap. 9. p. 158.

[b] *Two men;*] Tho' theſe ſeem to be general characters only, deſigned to repreſent the different end of the wicked, and of the good; yet it is ſuppoſed, by ſome, that two particular perſons are here meant. One ſays they were two *Iſraelites* and brothers, who had a conſiderable ſum left them by their father, which they divided between them; and that one of them, being an unbeliever, bought large fields and poſſeſſions with his portion, while the other, who was a true believer, diſpoſed of his to pious uſes; but that in the end, the former was ruined, and the latter proſpered. Another thinks they were two men of the tribe of *Makhzûm:* the one named *al Aſwad Ebn Abd'al Aſhadd*, an infidel; and the other *Abu Salma Ebn Abd'allah*, the husband of *Omm Salma*, (whom the prophet married after his death,) and a true believer [1].

[c] *And he went into his garden;*] Carrying his companion with him, out of oſtentation, and to mortify him with the view of his large poſſeſſions [2].

[d] *I ſhall find a better garden in exchange;*] Vainly imagining that his proſperity was not ſo much the free gift of GOD, as due to his merit [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

the palms of his hands *out of ſorrow and regret* for that which he had expended thereon; for *the vines thereof* were fallen down on their trails: and he ſaid, Would to GOD that I had not aſſociated any *other deity* with my LORD! And he had no party to aſſiſt him, beſides GOD, neither was he able to defend himſelf *againſt his vengeance*. In ſuch caſe protection *belongeth* of right unto GOD *alone*; he is the beſt rewarder, and the beſt giver of ſucceſs. And propound to them a ſimilitude of the preſent life. *It is* like water which we ſend down from heaven; and the herb of the earth is mixed therewith, and *after it hath been green and flouriſhing*, in the morning it becometh dry ſtubble, which the winds ſcatter abroad: and GOD is able to do all things. Wealth and children *are* the ornament of this preſent life: but good *works*, which are permanent, *are* better in the ſight of thy LORD, with reſpect to the reward, and better with reſpect to hope. On a *certain* day we will cauſe the mountains to paſs away [a], and thou ſhalt ſee the earth appearing plain *and even*; and we will gather *mankind* together, and we will not leave any one of them behind. And they ſhall be ſet before thy LORD in *diſtinct* order, *and he ſhall ſay unto them*, Now are ye come unto us *naked*, as we created you the firſt time: but ye thought that we ſhould not perform *our* promiſe unto you. And the book *wherein every one's actions are recorded* ſhall be put *into his hand*; and thou ſhalt ſee the wicked in great terror, becauſe of that which *is written* therein, and they ſhall ſay, Alas for us! what *meaneth* this book? it omitteth neither a ſmall *action* nor a great *one*, but it comprizeth the ſame; and they ſhall find that which they have wrought, preſent *before their eyes*: and thy LORD will not deal unjuſtly with any one. *Remember* when we ſaid unto the angels, Worſhip ye ADAM: and they *all* worſhipped *him*, except EBLIS [b], *who* was *one* of the genii [c], and departed from the command of his LORD. Will ye therefore take him and his offſpring for *your* patrons beſides me, notwithſtanding they are your enemies? Miſerable *ſhall ſuch* a change *be* to the ungodly! I called not them to be preſent at the creation of the heavens and of the earth, nor at the creation of themſelves, neither did I take *thoſe* ſeducers for *my* aſſiſtants. On a *certain* day, GOD ſhall ſay *unto the idolaters*, Call thoſe whom ye imagined *to be* my companions, *to protect you*: and they ſhall call them, but they ſhall not anſwer them; and we will place a valley of deſtruction between them [d]: and the wicked ſhall ſee *hell* fire; and they ſhall know that they ſhall be thrown into the ſame, and they ſhall find no way to avoid it. And now have we variouſly propounded unto men, in this KORAN, a parable of every

[a] *The mountains ſhall paſs away*;] For being torn up by the roots, they ſhall fly in the air, and be reduced to atoms [1].

[b] See chap. 2. p. 4, and ch. 7. p. 117, *&c.*

[c] *Who was one of the genii*;] Hence ſome imagine the *genii* are a ſpecies of angels: others ſuppoſe the devil to have been originally a *genius*, which was the occaſion of his rebellion, and call him *the father of the genii*, whom he begat after his fall [2]; it being a conſtant opinion, among the *Mohammedans*, that the angels are impeccable, and do not propagate their ſpecies [3].

[d] *A valley of deſtruction between them*;] i. e. Between the idolaters and their falſe gods. Some ſuppoſe the meaning is no more than that GOD will ſet them at variance and diviſion.

[1] *Idem. See Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 82. [2] JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.* [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 71, *&c.*

kind; but man cavilleth at moſt things *therein.* Yet nothing hindreth men from believing, now a direction is come unto them, and from aſking pardon of their LORD, excepting that *they wait until* the puniſhment of *their* predeceſſors come *to be inflicted* on them, or that the chaſtiſement *of the next life* come upon them publickly. We ſend not *our* meſſengers, but to bear good tidings, and to denounce threats. Thoſe who believe not, diſpute with vain *arguments*, that they may thereby render the truth of no effect: and they hold my ſigns, and the admonitions which have been made them, in deriſion. And who is more unjuſt than he who hath been acquainted with the ſigns of his LORD, and retireth afar off from the ſame, and forgetteth that which his hands have formerly committed? Verily we have caſt vails over their hearts, leſt they ſhould underſtand *the* KORAN, and into their ears thickneſs of hearing: if thou invite them to the *true* direction, yet will they not therefore be directed for ever. Thy LORD *is* gracious, indued with mercy; if he would have puniſhed them for that which they have committed, he would doubtleſs have haſtened their puniſhment: but a threat *hath been denounced* againſt them[a], and they ſhall find no refuge, beſides him. And thoſe *former* cities[b] did we deſtroy, when they acted unjuſtly; and we gave them previous warning of their deſtruction. And *remember* when MOSES ſaid unto his ſervant *JOSHUA, the ſon of NUN*, I will not ceaſe *to go forward*, until I come to the place where the two ſeas meet; or I will travel for a long ſpace of time[c]. But when they were arrived at the meeting of the two *ſeas*[d], they forgot their fiſh, *which they had taken with them*[e]; and *the fiſh* took its way freely[f] in the ſea. And when they had paſſed beyond *that*

[a] *A threat hath been denounced againſt them*;] viz. Of their calamity at *Bedr*, (for the *Koreiſh* are the infidels here intended,) or their puniſhment at the reſurrection [1].

[b] *Thoſe former cities*;] That is, the towns of the *Adites*, *Thamudites*, *Sodomites*, &c.

[c] *For a long ſpace of time*;] The original word properly ſignifies the ſpace of eighty years and upwards. To explain this long paſſage the commentators tell the following ſtory. They ſay that *Moſes* once preaching to the people, they admired his knowledge and eloquence ſo much, that they asked him, whether he knew any man in the world who was wiſer than himſelf; to which he anſwered in the negative: whereupon GOD, in a revelation, having reprehended him for his vanity (tho' ſome pretend that *Moſes* asked GOD the queſtion of his own accord), acquainted him that his ſervant *al Khedr* was more knowing than he; and, at *Moſes*'s requeſt, told him he might find that perſon at a certain rock, where the two ſeas met; directing him to take a fiſh with him in a basket, and that where he miſſed the fiſh, that was the place. Accordingly *Moſes* ſet out, with his ſervant *Joſhua*, in ſearch of *al Khedr*; which expedition is here deſcribed [2].

[d] *The meeting of the two ſeas*;] viz. Thoſe of *Perſia* and *Greece*. Some fancy that the meeting of *Moſes* and *al Khedr* is here intended, as of two *ſeas* of knowledge [3].

[e] *They forgot their fiſh*, &c.] *Moſes* forgot to inquire concerning it, and *Joſhua* forgot to tell him when he miſſed it. It is ſaid that when they came to the rock, *Moſes* falling aſleep, the fiſh, which was roaſted, leaped out of the basket into the ſea; ſome add, that *Joſhua* making the ablution at the fountain of life, (of which immediately), ſome of the water happened to be ſprinkled on the fiſh, which immediately reſtored it to life [4].

[f] *The fiſh took its way freely in the ſea*;] The word here tranſlated *freely*, ſignifying alſo a pipe or arched canal for conveyance of water, ſome have imagined that the water of the ſea was miraculouſly kept from touching the body of the fiſh, which paſſed through it as under an arch [5].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem, Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, *Al* BOKHARI, *in Sonn.*, *&c.* [3] *Idem.*
[4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.*

that place, *Moses* ſaid unto his ſervant, Bring us our dinner; for now are we fatigued with this our journey. *His ſervant* anſwered, Doſt thou know *what has befallen me?* When we took up our lodging at the rock, verily I forgot the fiſh: and none made me to forget it, except SATAN, that I ſhould not remind *thee* of it. And *the fiſh* took its way in the ſea, in a wonderful manner. *Moses* ſaid, This is what we ſought after. And they both went back, returning by the way they came. And *coming to the rock* they found one of our ſervants [a], unto whom we had granted mercy from us, and whom we had taught wiſdom from before us. *And* Moses ſaid unto him, Shall I follow thee, that thou mayeſt teach me *part* of that which thou haſt been taught, for a direction *unto me?* He anſwered, Verily thou canſt not bear with me: for how canſt thou patiently ſuffer thoſe things, the knowledge whereof thou doſt not comprehend? *Moses* replied, Thou ſhalt find me patient, if GOD pleaſe; neither will I be diſobedient unto thee in any thing. He ſaid, If thou follow me therefore, aſk me not concerning any thing, until I ſhall declare the meaning thereof unto thee. So they both went on *by the ſea ſhore*, until they went up into a ſhip; *and* he made a hole therein [b]. *And Moses* ſaid *unto him*, Haſt thou made a hole therein, that thou mighteſt drown thoſe who are on board? now haſt thou done a ſtrange thing. He anſwered, Did I not tell thee that thou couldeſt not bear with me? *Moses* ſaid, Rebuke me not, becauſe I did forget; and impoſe not on me a difficulty in what I am commanded. Wherefore they *left the ſhip and* proceeded, until they met with a youth; and he ſlew him [c]. *Moses* ſaid, Haſt thou ſlain an innocent perſon, without *his having killed* another? now haſt thou committed an unjuſt action. * He anſwered, Did I not tell thee XVI.
that thou couldeſt not bear with me? *Moses* ſaid, If I aſk thee concerning any thing hereafter, ſuffer me not to accompany thee: now haſt thou received an excuſe from me. They went forwards therefore, until they came to the inhabitants of a *certain* city [d]: *and* they aſked food of the inhabitants thereof; but they refuſed to receive them. And they found therein a wall, which was ready to fall down; and he ſet it upright [e]. *Whereupon Moses* ſaid *unto him*, If thou wouldeſt, thou mighteſt doubtleſs have received a reward

[a] *One of our ſervants*;] This perſon, according to the general opinion, was the prophet *al Khedr*; whom the *Mohammedans* uſually confound with *Phineas*, *Elias*, and St. *George*, ſaying that his ſoul paſſed by a metempſychoſis ſucceſſively through all three. Some, however, ſay his true name was *Balya Ebn Malcân*, and that he lived in the time of *Afridûn*, one of the ancient kings of *Perſia*, and that he preceded *Dhu'lkarnein*, and lived to the time of *Moſes*. They ſuppoſe *al Khedr*, having found out the fountain of life and drank thereof, became immortal; and that he had therefore this name, from his *flouriſhing* and continual youth [1].

Part of theſe fictions they took from the *Jews*, ſome of whom alſo fancy *Phineas* was *Elias* [2].

[b] *He made a hole in the ſhip*;] For *al Khedr* took an ax, and knocked out two of her planks [3].

[c] *He ſlew him*] By twiſting his neck round, or daſhing his head againſt a wall, or elſe by throwing him down and cutting his throat [4].

[d] *A certain city*;] This city was *Antioch*; or, as ſome rather think, *Obollah*, near *Baſra*, or elſe *Bâjirwân* in *Armenia* [5].

[e] *He ſet it upright*;] By only ſtroking it with his hand; tho' others ſay he threw it down and rebuilt it [6].

[1] *Idem*. *V*. D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Khedher*, SEPTEMCASTRENS. *de Turcar. moribus*, BUSBEQ. *Epiſt*. 1. *p*. 93, &c. HOTTING. *Hiſt. Orient*. *p*. 58, &c. 99, &c. 292, &c. [2] R. LEVI BEN GERSON *in append. l*. 1. *Reg*. 1. 27. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem*. [5] *Idem*. [6] *Idem*.

ward for it. He anſwered, This ſhall be a ſeparation between me and thee: *but* I will *firſt* declare unto thee the ſignification of that which thou couldeſt not bear with patience. The veſſel belonged to certain poor men [a], who did their buſineſs in the ſea: and I was minded to render it unſerviceable, becauſe there was a king [b] behind them, who took every *ſound* ſhip by force. As to the youth, his parents were true believers; and we feared leſt he, *being an unbeliever*, ſhould oblige them to ſuffer *his* perverſeneſs and ingratitude: wherefore we deſired that their LORD might give them a more righteous *child* in exchange for him, and one more affectionate *towards them* [c]. And the wall belonged to two orphan youths [d] in the city, and under it was a treaſure *hidden which belonged* to them; and their father was a righteous man: and thy LORD was pleaſed that they ſhould attain their full age, and take forth their treaſure, through the mercy of thy LORD. And I did not *what thou haſt ſeen* of mine own will, *but by GOD's direction.* This is the interpretation of that which thou couldeſt not bear with patience. The *Jews* will aſk thee concerning DHU'LKARNEIN [e]. Anſwer, I will rehearſe unto you an account of him. We made him powerful in the earth, and we gave him means to *accompliſh* every thing *he pleaſed.* And he followed *his* way, until he came to the place where the ſun ſetteth; *and* he found it to ſet in a ſpring of black mud [f]; and he found near the ſame a certain people [g]. And we ſaid, O DHU'LKARNEIN, either puniſh *this*

[a] *Certain poor men*;] They were ten brothers, five of whom were paſt their labour by reaſon of their age [1].

[b] *A king*;] Named *Jaland Ebn Karkar*, or *Minwâr Ebn Jaland al Azdi* [2].

[c] *That their* LORD *might give them a more righteous child*, &c.] It is ſaid that they had afterwards a daughter, who was the wife and the mother of a prophet; and that her ſon converted a whole nation [3].

[d] *Two orphans*;] Their names were *Aſram* and *Sarim* [4].

[e] *Dhu'lkarnein.*] Or, *The two-horned.* The generality of the commentators [5] ſuppoſe the perſon here meant to be *Alexander* the Great, or, as they call him, *Iſcander al Rûmi*, king of *Perſia* and *Greece*; but there are very different opinions as to the reaſon of this ſurname. Some think it was given him becauſe he was king of the *Eaſt* and of the *Weſt*, or becauſe he had made expeditions to both thoſe extream parts of the earth; or elſe becauſe he had two horns on his diadem, or two curls of hair, like horns, on his forehead; or, which is moſt probable, by reaſon of his great valour. Several modern writers [6] rather ſuppoſe the ſurname was occaſioned by his being repreſented in his coins and ſtatues with horns, as the ſon of *Jupiter Ammon*; or elſe by his being compared by the prophet *Daniel* to a he-goat [7]; tho' he is there repreſented with but one horn [8].

There are ſome good writers, however, who believe the prince intended in this paſſage of the *Korân*, was not *Alexander* the *Grecian*, but another great conqueror, who bore the ſame name and ſurname, and was much more ancient than he, being contemporary with *Abraham*, and one of the kings of *Perſia* of the firſt race [9]; or, as others ſuppoſe, a king of *Yaman*, named *Aſaab Ebn al Râyeſh* [10].

They all agree he was a true believer, but whether he was a prophet or no, is a diſputed point.

[f] *He found the ſun to ſet in a ſpring of black mud*;] That is, it ſeemed ſo to him, when he came to the ocean, and ſaw nothing but water [11].

[g] *A certain people*;] An unbelieving nation, who were cloathed in the ſkins of wild beaſts, and lived upon what the ſea caſt on ſhore [12].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem*, *Al* ZAMAKSHARI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA. [6] SCALIGER, *de Emend. temp.* L'EMPEREUR, *not. in Jachiad. Dan.* viii. 5. GOL. *in Alfrag. p.* 58, &c. [7] SCHICKARD. *Tarikh reg. Perſ. p.* 73. [8] *See Dan.* viii. [9] ABUI FEDA, KHONDEMIR, *Tarikh Montakhab*, &c. *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Eſcander.* [10] *Ex trad.* EBN ABBAS. *V.* POC. *Spec. p.* 58. [11] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [12] *Iidem.*

this people, or uſe gentleneſs towards them [a]. He anſwered, Whoſoever *of them* ſhall commit injuſtice, we will ſurely puniſh him *in this world*; afterwards ſhall he return unto his LORD, and he ſhall puniſh him with a ſevere puniſhment. But whoſoever believeth, and doth that which is right, ſhall receive the moſt excellent reward, and we will give him in command that which is eaſy. Then he continued *his* way, until he came to the place where the ſun riſeth [b]; *and* he found it to riſe on certain people, unto whom we had not given any thing wherewith to ſhelter themſelves therefrom [c]. Thus *it was*; and we comprehended with our knowledge the *forces* which were with him. And he proſecuted *his* journey *from ſouth to north*, until he came between the two mountains [d]; beneath which he found certain people, who could ſcarce underſtand what was ſaid [e]. *And* they ſaid, O DHU'LKARNEIN, verily GOG and MAGOG waſte the land [f]; ſhall we therefore pay thee tribute, on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them? He anſwered, The *power* wherewith my LORD hath ſtrengthened me, is better *than your tribute:* but aſſiſt me ſtrenuouſly, and I will ſet a ſtrong wall between you and them. Bring me iron in large peices, until it fill up *the ſpace* between the two ſides *of theſe mountains. And* he ſaid *to the workmen*, Blow *with your bellows*, until it make *the iron red hot as* fire. *And* he ſaid *further*, Bring me molten braſs, that I may pour upon it. Wherefore, *when this wall was finiſhed*, *GOG and MAGOG* could not ſcale it, neither could

[a] *Either puniſh them or uſe them with gentleneſs*;] For GOD gave *Dhu'lkarnein* his choice, either to deſtroy them for their infidelity, or to inſtruct them in the true faith; or, according to others, either to put them to the ſword, or to take them captives: but the words which follow confirm the former interpretation, by which it appears he choſe to invite them to the true religion, and to puniſh only the diſobedient and incredulous.

[b] *The place where the ſun riſeth*;] i. e. That part of the habitable world on which the ſun firſt riſes.

[c] *And he found it to riſe on a certain people*, &c.] Who had neither cloaths nor houſes, their country not bearing any buildings, but dwelt in holes under ground, into which they retreated from the heat of the ſun [1]. *Jallalo'ddin* ſays they were the *Zenj*, a black nation lying ſouth-weſt of *Ethiopia*. They ſeem to be the *Troglodytes* of the ancients.

[d] *The two mountains*;] Between which *Dhu'lkarnein* built the famous rampart, mentioned immediately, againſt the irruptions of *Gog* and *Magog*. Theſe mountains are ſituate in *Armenia* and *Adherbijân*, or, according to others, much more northwards, on the confines of *Turkeſtân* [2]. The relation of a journey taken to this rampart, by one who was ſent on purpoſe to view it by the *Khalîf al Wathec*, may be ſeen in *D'Herbelot* [3].

[e] *Who could ſcarce underſtand what was ſaid*;] By reaſon of the ſtrangeneſs of their ſpeech and their flowneſs of apprehenſion; wherefore they were obliged to make uſe of an interpreter [4].

[f] Gog *and* Magog *waſte the land*;] The *Arabs* call them *Yajûj* and *Majûj*, and ſay they are two nations or tribes deſcended from *Japhet* the ſon of *Noah*, or, as others write, *Gog* are a tribe of the *Turks*, and *Magog* of thoſe of *Gilân* [5], the *Geli* and *Gelæ* of *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* [6].

It is ſaid theſe barbarous people made their irruptions into the neighbouring countries in the ſpring, and deſtroyed and carried off all the fruits of the earth; and ſome pretend they were man-eaters [7].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Bibl. Orient. Art. Jagiouge.* [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.
[5] *Idem. V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi ſupra.* [6] *V.* GOL. *in Alfrag.* p. 207. [7] *Al* BEIDAWI

could they dig through it [a]. *And DHU'LKARNEIN* ſaid, This *is* a mercy from my LORD: but when the prediction of my LORD ſhall come *to be fulfilled* [b], he ſhall reduce *the wall* to duſt; and the prediction of my LORD is true. On that day we will ſuffer ſome of them to preſs tumultuouſly like waves on others [c]; and the trumpet ſhall be founded, and we will gather them in a body together. And we will ſet hell, on that day, before the unbelievers; whoſe eyes have been veiled from my remembrance, and who could not hear *my words*. Do the unbelievers think *that I will not puniſh them*, for that they take my ſervants for *their* protectors beſides me? Verily we have prepared hell for the abode of the infidels. Say, Shall we declare unto you thoſe whoſe works are vain, whoſe endeavour in the preſent life hath been wrongly directed, and who think they do the work which is right? Theſe are they who believe not in the ſigns of their LORD, or that they ſhall be aſſembled before him; wherefore their works are vain, and we will not allow them any weight on the day of reſurrection. This *ſhall be* their reward, *namely*, hell; for that they have diſbelieved, and have held my ſigns and my apoſtles in deriſion. But *as for* thoſe who believe and do good works, they ſhall have the gardens of paradiſe for their abode; they ſhall remain therein for ever; they ſhall wiſh for no change therein. Say, If the ſea were ink to *write* the words of my LORD, verily the ſea would fail, before the words of my LORD would fail; although we added *another ſea* like unto it as a farther ſupply. Say, Verily I am only a man as ye are. It is revealed unto me that your GOD is one only GOD: let him therefore who hopeth to meet his LORD, work a righteous work; and let him not make any other to partake in the worſhip of his LORD.

[a] The commentators ſay the wall was built in this manner. They dug till they found water, and having laid the foundation of ſtone and melted braſs, they built the ſuperſtructure of large pieces of iron, between which they laid wood and coals, till they equalled the height of the mountains; and then ſetting fire to the combuſtibles, by the help of large bellows, they made the iron red hot, and over it poured melted braſs, which filling up the vacancies between the pieces of iron, rendred the whole work as firm as a rock. Some tell us that the whole was built of ſtones joined by cramps of iron, on which they poured melted braſs to faſten them [1].

[b] *When the prediction of my* LORD *ſhall come to be fulfilled*, &c.] That is, when the time ſhall come for *Gog* and *Magog* to break forth from their confinement; which ſhall happen ſometime before the reſurrection [2].

[c] *To preſs tumultuouſly like waves*, &c.] Theſe words repreſent either the violent irruption of *Gog* and *Magog*, or the tumultuous aſſembly of all creatures, men, genii, and brutes, at the reſurrection [3].

[1] *Idem*, &c. [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 81. [3] *See ib. p.* 87.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Intitled, MARY[a]; *revealed at* MECCA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

C. H. Y. A. S[c]. A commemoration of the mercy of thy LORD *towards* his ſervant ZACHARIAS[d]. When he called upon his LORD, invoking *him* in ſecret, *and* ſaid, O LORD, verily my bones are weakened, and my head is become white with hoarineſs, and I have never been unſucceſsful in my prayers to thee, O LORD. But now I fear my nephews, who are to ſucceed after me[e], for my wife is barren: wherefore give me a ſucceſſor *of my own body* from before thee; who may be my heir, and may be an heir of the family of JACOB[f]; and grant, O LORD, that he may be acceptable *unto thee. And the angel anſwered him,* O ZACHARIAS, verily we bring thee tidings of a ſon, whoſe name *ſhall be* JOHN; we have not cauſed any to bear the ſame name before him[g]. *ZACHARIAS* ſaid, LORD, how ſhall I have a ſon, ſeeing my wife is barren, and I am now arrived at a great age[h], *and am* decrepit? *The angel* ſaid, So *ſhall it be:* thy LORD ſaith, This is eaſy with me; ſince I created thee heretofore, when thou waſt nothing. *ZACHARIAS* anſwered, O LORD, give me a ſign. *The angel* replied, Thy ſign *ſhall be*, that thou ſhalt not ſpeak to men for three nights, *although thou be* in perfect health. And he

[a] Several circumſtances relating to the virgin *Mary* being mentioned in this chapter, her name was pitched upon for the title.

[b] Except the verſe of *Adoration.*

[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, 60.

[d] See chap. 3. p. 39, *&c.*

[e] *I fear my nephews,* &c.] Theſe were his brother's ſons, who were very wicked men, and *Zacharias* was apprehenſive, leſt, after his death, inſtead of confirming the people in the true religion, they ſhould ſeduce them to idolatry [1]. And ſome commentators imagine that he made this prayer in private, leſt his nephews ſhould overhear him.

[f] *And may be an heir of the family of* Jacob;] viz. In holineſs and knowledge; or in the government and ſuperintendence of the *Iſraelites.* There are ſome who ſuppoſe it is not the patriarch who is here meant, but another *Jacob*, the brother of *Zacharias*, or of *Imrân Ebn Mâthân*, of the race of *Solomon* [2].

[g] *We have not cauſed any to bear that name before him;*] For he was the firſt who bore the name of *John*, or *Yahya* (as the *Arabs* pronounce it;) which fancy ſeems to be occaſioned by the words of St. *Luke* miſunderſtood, *that none of* Zacharias's *kindred was called by that name* [3]: for otherwiſe *John*, or, as it is written in *Hebrew*, *Johanan*, was a common name among the *Jews.*

Some expoſitors avoid this objection, by obſerving that the original word *ſamiyyan* ſignifies, not only one who *is actually called by the ſame name*, but alſo one who by reaſon of his poſſeſſing the like qualities and privileges, *deſerves*, or *may pretend to the ſame name.*

[h] *I am arrived at a great age,* &c.] The *Mohammedan* traditions greatly differ as to the age of *Zacharias* at this time; we have mentioned one already [4]: *Jallalo'ddin* ſays, he was an hundred and twenty, and his wife ninety eight; and the *Sonna* takes notice of ſeveral other opinions.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Iidem.* [3] *Luke* i. 61. [4] *Pag.* 40. *not.* c.

went forth unto his people, from the chamber, and he made ſigns unto them [a], *as if he ſhould ſay*, Praiſe ye GOD in the morning and in the evening. *And we ſaid unto his ſon*, O JOHN, receive the book *of the law*, with a reſolution *to ſtudy and obſerve it*. And we beſtowed on him wiſdom, *when he was yet* a child, and mercy from us, and purity *of life* [b]; and he was a devout perſon, and dutiful towards his parents, and was not proud *or* rebellious. Peace be on him the day whereon he was born, and the day whereon he ſhall die, and the day whereon he ſhall be raiſed to life. And remember in the book *of the* KORAN *the ſtory of* MARY; when ſhe retired from her family to a place towards the eaſt [c], and took a veil *to conceal herſelf* from them; and we ſent our ſpirit GABRIEL unto her, and he appeared unto her *in the ſhape of* a perfect man [d]. She ſaid, I fly for refuge unto the merciful GOD, *that he may defend me* from thee: if thou feareſt *him*, *thou wilt not approach me*. He anſwered, Verily I am the meſſenger of thy LORD, *and am ſent* to give thee a holy ſon. She ſaid, How ſhall I have a ſon, ſeeing a man hath not touched me, and I am no harlot? GABRIEL replied, So *ſhall it be*: thy LORD ſaith, This is eaſy with me; and *we will perform it*, that we may ordain him for a ſign unto men, and a mercy from us: for it is a thing which is decreed. Wherefore ſhe conceived him [e]: and ſhe retired aſide with him *in her womb* to a diſtant place [f]; and the pains of childbirth came upon her near the trunk of a palm-tree [g]. She ſaid, Would to GOD

[a] *He made ſigns unto them*;] Some ſay he wrote the following words on the ground.

[b] *And purity of life*;] Or, as the word alſo ſignifies, *The love of alms-deeds*.

[c] *To a place towards the eaſt*;] viz. To the eaſtern part of the temple; or to a private chamber in the houſe, which opened to the eaſt: whence, ſays *al Beidâwi*, the *Chriſtians* pray towards that quarter.

There is a tradition, that when the virgin was grown to years of puberty, ſhe uſed to leave her apartment in the temple, and retire to *Zacharias*'s houſe to her aunt, when her courſes came upon her; and ſo ſoon as ſhe was clean, ſhe returned again to the temple: and that at the time of the angel's viſiting her, ſhe was at her aunt's on the like occaſion, and was ſitting to waſh herſelf, in an open place, behind a veil to prevent her being ſeen [1]. But others more prudently ſuppoſe the deſign of her retirement was to pray [2].

[d] *In the ſhape of a man*;] Like a full-grown but beardleſs youth. *Al Beidâwi*, not contented with having given one good reaſon why he appeared in that form, *viz.* to moderate her ſurprize, that ſhe might hear his meſſage with leſs ſhyneſs, adds, that perhaps it might be to raiſe an emotion in her, and aſſiſt her conception.

[e] *She conceived*;] For *Gabriel* blew into the boſom of her ſhift, which he opened with his fingers [3], and his breath reaching her womb, cauſed the conception [4]. The age of the virgin *Mary* at the time of her conception was thirteen, or, as others ſay, ten; and ſhe went ſix, ſeven, eight, or nine months with him, according to different traditions; tho' ſome ſay the child was conceived at its full growth of nine months, and that ſhe was delivered of him within an hour after [5].

[f] *To a diſtant place*;] To conceal her delivery, ſhe went out of the city by night, to a certain mountain.

[g] *Her pains came upon her near the trunk of a palm-tree*;] The palm to which ſhe fled, that ſhe might lean on it in her travail, was a withered trunk, without any head or verdure, and this happened in the winter ſeaſon; notwithſtanding which it miraculouſly ſupplied her with fruits for her refreſhment [6]; as is mentioned immediately.

It has been obſerved, that the *Mohammedan* account of the delivery of the virgin *Mary*, very

[1] YAHYA, *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Al* ZAMAKH. [3] YAHYA. [4] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, YAHYA. [6] *Idem*, *Al* ZAMAKH.

GOD I had died before this, and had become a *thing* forgotten, and loſt in oblivion! And he who was beneath her called to her [a], *ſaying*, Be not grieved: now hath GOD provided a rivulet under thee; and do thou ſhake the body of the palm-tree, and it ſhall let fall ripe dates upon thee, ready gathered [b]. And eat, and drink, and calm thy mind [c]. Moreover if thou ſee any man, *and he queſtion thee*, ſay, Verily I have vowed a faſt unto the Merciful; wherefore I will by no means ſpeak to a man this day [d]. So ſhe brought *the child* to her people, carrying him *in her arms. And* they ſaid *unto her*, O MARY, now haſt thou done a ſtrange thing: O ſiſter of AARON [e], thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot. But ſhe made ſigns unto *the child to anſwer them*; *and* they ſaid, How ſhall we ſpeak to him, who is an infant in the cradle? *Whereupon the child* ſaid, Verily I am the ſervant of GOD [f]; he hath given me the book *of the goſpel*, and hath appointed me a prophet. And he hath made me bleſſed, whereſoever I ſhall be; and hath commanded me *to obſerve* prayer, and *to give* alms, ſo long as I ſhall live; and *he hath made me* dutiful towards my mother, and hath not made me proud, *or* unhappy. And peace *be* on me the day whereon I was born, and the day whereon I ſhall die, and the day whereon I ſhall be raiſed to life. This *was* JESUS the ſon of MARY; the Word of truth [g], concerning whom they doubt. It is not *meet* for GOD, that he ſhould have any ſon: GOD forbid! When he

ry much reſembles that of *Latona*, as deſcribed by the poets [1], not only in this circumſtance of their laying hold on a palm-tree [2], (tho' ſome ſay *Latona* embraced an olive-tree, or an olive and a palm, or elſe two laurels,) but alſo in that of their infants ſpeaking; which *Apollo* is fabled to have done in the womb [3].

[a] *He who was beneath her*;] This ſome imagine to have been the child himſelf; but others ſuppoſe it was *Gabriel*, who ſtood ſomewhat lower than ſhe did [+]. According to a different reading this paſſage may be rendered, *And he called to her from beneath her*, &c. And ſome refer the pronoun, tranſlated *her*, to the palm-tree; and then it ſhould be *beneath it*, &c.

[b] *Shake the palm-tree and it ſhall let fall ripe dates*, &c.] And accordingly ſhe had no ſooner ſpoken it than the dry trunk revived, and ſhot forth green leaves, and a head loaden with ripe fruit.

[c] *Calm thy mind*;] Literally, *thine eye*.

[d] *I have vowed a faſt*, &c.] During which ſhe was not to ſpeak to any body, unleſs to acquaint them with the reaſon of her ſilence: and ſome ſuppoſe ſhe did that by ſigns.

[e] *O ſiſter of* Aaron;] Several *Chriſtian* writers think the *Korân* ſtands convicted of a manifeſt falſhood in this particular, but I am afraid the *Mohammedans* may avoid the charge [5]; as they do by ſeveral anſwers. Some ſay the virgin *Mary* had really a brother named *Aaron*, who had the ſame father, but a different mother; others ſuppoſe *Aaron* the brother of *Moſes* is here meant, but ſay *Mary* is called *his ſiſter*, either becauſe ſhe was of the *Levitical* race, (as by her being related to *Elizabeth*, it ſhould ſeem ſhe was,) or by way of compariſon; others ſay that it was a different perſon of that name who was contemporary with her, and conſpicuous for his good or bad qualities, and that they likened her to him either by way of commendation, or of reproach [6], *&c.*

[f] *Whereupon the child ſaid, I am the ſervant of* GOD;] Theſe were the firſt words which were put into the mouth of JESUS, to obviate the imagination of his partaking of the divine nature, or having a right to the worſhip of mankind, on account of his miraculous ſpeaking ſo ſoon after his birth [7].

[g] *The word of truth*;] This expreſſion may either be refered to JESUS, as *the Word of* GOD; or to the account juſt given of him.

[1] *V.* SIKII *not. in Evang. Infant. p.* 9, 21, *&c.* [2] HOMER. *Hymn. in Apoll.* CALLIMACH. *Hymn. in Delum.* [3] CALLIMACH. *ibid.* *See Kor. chap.* 3. *p.* 41. [+] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *See chap.* 3. *p.* 38. [6] *Al* ZAMAKH. *al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, *&c.* [7] *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c.*

decreeth a thing, he only ſaith unto it, Be; and it is. And verily GOD is my LORD, and your LORD; wherefore ſerve him: this is the right way. Yet the ſectaries differ among themſelves *concerning* JESUS; but wo be unto thoſe who are unbelievers, becauſe of *their* appearance at the great day. Do thou cauſe them to hear, and do thou cauſe *them* to ſee [a], *on* the day *whereon* they ſhall come unto us *to be judged:* but the ungodly are this day in a manifeſt error. And do thou forewarn them of the day of ſighing, when the matter ſhall be determined, while they are *now ſunk* in negligence and do not believe. Verily we will inherit the earth, and whatever *creatures* are therein [b]; and unto us ſhall they *all* return. And remember ABRAHAM in the book *of the KORAN*; for he was one of great veracity, *and* a prophet. When he ſaid unto his father [c], O my father, why doſt thou worſhip that which heareth not, neither ſeeth, nor profiteth thee at all? O my father, verily *a degree* of knowledge hath been beſtowed on me, which hath not been beſtowed on thee: wherefore follow me; I will lead thee into an even way. O my father, ſerve not SATAN; for SATAN was rebellious unto the Merciful. O my father, verily I fear leſt a puniſhment be inflicted on thee from the Merciful, and thou become a companion of SATAN. *His father* anſwered, Doſt thou reject my gods, O ABRAHAM? If thou forbear not, I will ſurely ſtone thee: wherefore leave me for a long time. *ABRAHAM* replied, Peace *be* on thee: I will aſk pardon for thee of my LORD; for he is gracious unto me. And I will ſeparate my ſelf from you, and from the *idols* which ye invoke beſides GOD; and I will call upon my LORD: it may be that I ſhall not be unſucceſsful in calling on my LORD, *as ye are in calling upon them.* And when he had ſeparated himſelf from them, and from the *idols* which they worſhipped beſides GOD [d], we gave him ISAAC and JACOB; and we made each of them a prophet; and we beſtowed on them, through our mercy, *the gift of prophecy, and children, and wealth*; and we cauſed them to deſerve the higheſt commendations [e]. And remember MOSES in the book *of the KORAN:* for he was ſincerely upright, and was an apoſtle *and* a prophet. And we called unto him from the right ſide of mount *SINAI*, and cauſed him to draw near, *and* to diſcourſe privately *with us* [f]. And we gave him, through our mercy, his brother AARON, a prophet, *for his aſſiſtant.* Remember alſo ISMAEL in the

Do thou cauſe them to hear, and to ſee, &c.] Theſe words are variouſly expounded: ſome taking them to expreſs admiration [1] at the quickneſs of thoſe ſenſes in the wicked, at the day of judgment, when they ſhall plainly perceive the torments prepared for them, tho' they have been deaf and blind in this life; and others ſuppoſing the words contain a threat to the unbelievers, of what they ſhall then hear and ſee; or elſe a command to *Mohammed* to lay before them the terrors of that day [2].

[b] *We will inherit the earth,* &c.] i. e. Alone ſurviving, when all creatures ſhall be dead and annihilated. See chap. 15. p. 211.

[c] See chap. 6. p. 106, *&c.*

[d] *When he had ſeparated himſelf from them;*] By flying to *Harrân*, and thence to *Paleſtine.*

[e] *We cauſed them to deſerve the higheſt commendations;*] Literally, *We granted them a lofty tongue of truth.*

[f] *And to diſcourſe privately with us;*] Or, as ſome expound it, *And we raiſed him on high;* for, ſay they, he was raiſed to ſo great an elevation, that he heard the creaking of the pen writing on the table of GOD's decrees [3].

[1] *See chap.* 18. *p.* 241. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*

the *ſame* book: for he was true to *his* promiſe [a]; and was an apoſtle, *and* a prophet. And he commanded his family *to obſerve* prayer, and *to give* alms; and he was acceptable unto his LORD. And remember EDRIS [b] in the *ſame* book; for he was a juſt perſon, *and* a prophet: and we exalted him to a high place [c]. Theſe are they unto whom GOD hath been bounteous, of the prophets of the poſterity of ADAM, and of thoſe whom we carried *in the ark* with NOAH; and of the poſterity of ABRAHAM, and of ISRAEL, and of thoſe whom we have directed and choſen. When the ſigns of the Merciful were read unto them, they fell down, worſhipping, and wept: but a ſucceeding generation have come after them, who neglect prayer, and follow *their* luſts; and they ſhall ſurely fall into evil: except him who repenteth, and believeth, and doth that which is right; theſe ſhall enter paradiſe, and they ſhall not in the leaſt be wronged: gardens of perpetual abode *ſhall be their reward*, which the Merciful hath promiſed unto his ſervants, as an object of faith; for his promiſe will ſurely come *to be fulfilled*. Therein ſhall they hear no vain diſcourſe, but peace [d]; and their proviſion ſhall be prepared for them therein morning and evening. This is paradiſe, which we will give for an inheritance unto ſuch of our ſervants as ſhall be pious. We deſcend not *from heaven*, unleſs by the command of thy LORD: unto him *belongeth* whatſoever is before us, and whatſoever is behind us, and whatſoever is in the intermediate ſpace; neither is thy LORD forgetful *of thee* [e]. *He is* the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatſoever is between them: wherefore worſhip him, and be conſtant in his worſhip. Doſt thou know any named like him [f]? Man ſaith,

[a] *He was true to his promiſe*;] Being celebrated on that account; and particularly for his behaving with that reſignation and conſtancy which he had promiſed his father, on his receiving GOD's command to ſacrifice him [1]: for the *Mohammedans* ſay it was *Iſmael*, and not *Iſaac*, whom he was commanded to offer.

[b] *Edris*;] Or *Enoch*, the great-grandfather of *Noah*, who had that ſurname from his great *knowledge*; for he was favoured with no leſs than thirty books of divine revelations, and was the firſt who wrote with a pen, and ſtudied the ſciences of aſtronomy and arithmetic, *&c* [2].

The learned *Bartolocci* endeavours to ſhew, from the teſtimonies of the ancient *Jews*, that *Enoch*, ſurnamed *Edris*, was a very different perſon from the *Enoch* of *Moſes*, and many ages younger [3].

[c] *And we exalted him to a high place*;] Some underſtand by this the honour of the prophetic office, and his familiarity with GOD; but others ſuppoſe his tranſlation is here meant: for they ſay that he was taken up by GOD into heaven at the age of three hundred and fifty, having firſt ſuffered death, and been reſtored to life; and that he is now alive in one of the ſeven heavens, or in paradiſe [4].

[d] *Peace*;] i. e. Words of peace and comfort; or the ſalutations of the angels [5], *&c*.

[e] *We deſcend not from heaven, unleſs at the command of thy* LORD, &c.] Theſe are generally ſuppoſed to have been the words of the angel *Gabriel*, in anſwer to *Mohammed*'s complaint for his long delay of fifteen, or, according to another tradition, of forty days, before he brought him inſtructions what ſolution he ſhould give to the queſtions which had been asked him concerning the ſleepers, *Dhu'lkarnein*, and the ſpirit [6].

Others, however, are of opinion that they are the words which the godly will uſe at their entrance into paradiſe; and that their meaning is, *We take up our abode here at the command and through the mercy of* GOD *alone, who ruleth all things, paſt, future, and preſent; and who is not forgetful of the works of his ſervants* [7].

[f] *Doſt thou know any named like him?*] That is, Deſerving, or having a right to the name and attributes of GOD.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.* [3] BARTOL. *Bibl. Rabb. part* 2. *p.* 845.
[4] *Idem*, ABULFEDA. [5] *See chap.* 10. *p.* 167. [6] *See before, p.* 241. [7] *Al* BEIDAWI.

ſaith [a], After I ſhall have been dead, ſhall I really be brought forth alive *from the grave?* Doth not man remember that we created him heretofore, when he was nothing? But by thy LORD we will ſurely aſſemble them and the devils *to judgment* [b]; then will we ſet them round about hell on their knees: afterwards we will draw forth from every ſect ſuch of them as *ſhall have been* a more obſtinate rebel againſt the Merciful [c]; and we beſt know which of them are more worthy to be burned therein [d]. There ſhall be none of you but ſhall approach near the ſame [e]: *this* is an eſtabliſhed decree with thy LORD. Afterwards we will deliver thoſe who ſhall have been pious, but we will leave the ungodly therein on their knees. When our manifeſt ſigns are read unto them, the infidels ſay unto the true believers, Which of the two parties *is* in the more eligible condition, and *formeth* the more excellent aſſembly [f]? But how many generations have we deſtroyed before them, which excelled them in wealth, and in outward appearance? Say, Whoſoever is in error, the Merciful will grant him a long and proſperous life; until they ſee that with which they are threatned, whether it be the puniſhment *of this life*, or *that of* the *laſt* hour; and hereafter they ſhall know who is in the worſe condition, and the weaker in forces. GOD ſhall more fully direct thoſe who receive direction; and the good works which remain *for ever*, are better in the ſight of thy LORD *than worldly poſſeſſions*, in reſpect to the reward, and more eligible in reſpect to the future recompence. Haſt thou ſeen him who believeth not in our ſigns, and ſaith, I ſhall ſurely have riches and children beſtowed on me [g]? Is he acquainted with the ſecrets *of futurity*; or hath he received a covenant from the Merciful *that it ſhall be ſo?* By no means. We will ſurely

[a] *Man ſaith;*] Some ſuppoſe a particular perſon is here meant, namely, *Obba Ebn Khalf* [1].

[b] *We will aſſemble them and the devils;*] It is ſaid that every infidel will appear, at the day of judgment, chained to the devil who ſeduced him [2].

[c] *We will ſeparate from every ſect him who ſhall have been a more obſtinate rebel againſt the Merciful.*] Hence, ſays *al Beidâwi*, it appears that GOD will pardon ſome of the rebellious people. But perhaps the diſtinguiſhing the unbelievers into different claſſes, in order to conſign them to different places and degrees of torment, is here meant.

[d] *We beſt know which are more worthy to be burned in hell;*] viz. The more obſtinate and perverſe, and eſpecially the heads of ſects, who will ſuffer a double puniſhment for their own errors and their ſeducing of others.

[e] *There is none of you but ſhall approach the ſame;*] For the true believers muſt alſo paſs by or through hell, but the fire will be damped, and the flames abated, ſo as not to hurt them, tho' it will lay hold on the others. Some, however, ſuppoſe that the words intend no more than the paſſage over the narrow bridge, which is laid over hell [3].

[f] *Which of the two parties,* &c.] viz. Of us, or of you. When the *Koreiſh* were unable to produce a compoſition to equal the *Korân*, they began to glory in their wealth and nobility, valuing themſelves highly on that account, and deſpiſing the followers of *Mohammed*.

[g] *Haſt thou ſeen him who believeth not,* &c.] This paſſage was revealed on account of *al As Ebn Wayel*, who being indebted to *Khabbâb*, when he demanded the money, refuſed to pay it, unleſs he would deny *Mohammed*; to which propoſal *Khabbâb* anſwered, that he would never deny that prophet, neither alive, nor dead, nor when he ſhould be raiſed to life at the laſt day; therefore replied *al As*, when thou art raiſed again, come to me, for I ſhall then have abundance of riches, and children, and I will pay you [4].

[1] *See chap.* 16. *p.* 215. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem. See the Prel. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 91.
[4] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

ſurely write down that which he ſaith; and increaſing we will increaſe his puniſhment: and we will be his heir as to that which he ſpeaketh of [a], and *on the laſt day* he ſhall appear before us alone *and naked.* They have taken *other* gods, beſides GOD, that they may be a glory unto them. By no means. Hereafter ſhall they deny their worſhip [b]; and they ſhall become adverſaries [c] unto them. Doſt thou not ſee that we ſend the devils againſt the infidels, to incite them *to ſin* by *their* inſtigations? Wherefore be not in haſt *to call down deſtruction* upon them; for we number unto them a *determined* number *of days of reſpite.* On a certain day we will aſſemble the pious before the Merciful *in an honourable manner*, as embaſſadors come *into the preſence of a prince*; but we will drive the wicked into hell, *as cattle are driven* to water: they ſhall obtain no interceſſion, except he only who hath received a covenant from the Merciful [d]. They ſay, The Merciful hath begotten iſſue. Now have ye uttered an impious thing: it wanteth little but that on occaſion thereof the heavens be rent, and the earth cleave in ſunder, and the mountains be overthrown and fall, for that they attribute children unto the Merciful; whereas it becometh not GOD to beget children. Verily there is none in heaven or on earth, but ſhall approach the Merciful *as his* ſervant. He encompaſſeth them *by his knowledge and power*, and numbereth them with an *exact* computation: and they ſhall all come unto him on the day of reſurrection, deſtitute *both of helpers and followers.* But as for thoſe who believe and do good works, the Merciful will beſtow on them love [e]. Verily we have rendred the *KORAN* eaſy for thy tongue, that thou mayeſt thereby declare *our* promiſes unto the pious, and mayeſt thereby denounce threats unto contentious people. And how many generations have we deſtroyed before them? Doſt thou find one of them *remaining?* Or doſt thou hear *ſo much as* a whiſper concerning them?

CHAP.

[a] *We will inherit what he ſpeaketh of*;] i. e. He ſhall be obliged to leave all his wealth and his children behind him at his death.

[b] *Hereafter ſhall they deny their worſhip*, &c.] viz. At the reſurrection; when the idolaters ſhall diſclaim their idols, and the idols their worſhippers, and ſhall mutually accuſe one another [1].

[c] *Adverſaries*;] Or, *the contrary*; that is to ſay, a *diſgrace* inſtead of an *honour.*

[d] *They ſhall obtain no interceſſion, except he only who hath received a covenant from the Merciful*;] That is, except he who ſhall be a ſubject properly diſpoſed to receive that favour, by having profeſſed *Iſlâm.* Or, the words may alſo be tranſlated, according to another expoſition, *They ſhall not obtain the interceſſion* of any, *except* the interceſſion *of him*, &c. Or elſe, *None ſhall be able to make interceſſion* for others, *except he who ſhall have received a covenant* (or *permiſſion*) *from* GOD; i. e. who ſhall be qualified for that office by faith, and good works, according to GOD's promiſe, or ſhall have ſpecial leave given him by GOD for that purpoſe [2].

[e] *Love*;] viz. The love of GOD and all the inhabitants of heaven. Some ſuppoſe this verſe was revealed to comfort the *Muſlems* who were hated and deſpiſed at *Mecca*, on account of their faith, by the promiſe of their gaining the love and eſteem of mankind in a ſhort time.

[1] *See chap.* 6. *p.* 101. *chap.* 10. *p.* 169, &c.

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See chap.* 2. *p.* 30, &c.

CHAP. XX.

Intitled, T. H [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

T. H. We have not ſent down the KORAN unto thee, that thou ſhouldeſt be unhappy [b]; but for an admonition unto him who feareth *GOD:* being ſent down from him who created the earth, and the lofty heavens. The Merciful ſitteth on *his* throne: unto him *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and on earth, and whatſoever is between them, and whatſoever is under the earth. If thou pronounce *thy prayers* with a loud voice, *know that it is not neceſſary in reſpect to GOD*; for he knoweth that which is ſecret, and what is yet more hidden. GOD! there is no god but he: he hath moſt excellent names [c]. Haſt thou been informed of the hiſtory of MOSES [d]? When he ſaw fire, and ſaid unto his family, Tarry ye *here*; for I perceive fire: peradventure I may bring you a brand thereout, or may find a direction *in our way* by the fire [e]. And when he was come near unto it, *a voice* called unto him, *ſaying*, O MOSES! verily I am thy LORD: wherefore put off thy ſhoes [f]; for

[a] The ſignification of theſe letters, which being prefixed to the chapter are therefore taken for the title, is uncertain [1]. Some however imagine they ſtand for *Ya rajol*, i. e. *O man!* which interpretation, ſeeming not eaſily to be accounted for from the *Arabic*, is by a certain tradition deduced from the *Ethiopic* [2]: or for *Ta*, i. e. *tread*; telling us that *Mohammed*, being employed in watching and prayer the night this paſſage was revealed, ſtood on one foot only, but was hereby commanded to eaſe himſelf by ſetting both feet to the ground. Others fancy the firſt letter ſtands for *Tûba*, *beatitude*; and the latter for *Hawiyat*, the name of the lower apartment of hell. *Tah* is alſo an interjection commanding ſilence, and may properly enough be uſed in this place.

[b] *We have not ſent down the* Korân *unto thee, that thou ſhouldeſt be unhappy*;] Either by reaſon of thy zealous ſollicitude for the converſion of the infidels, or thy fatiguing thy ſelf by watching and other religious exerciſes; for, it ſeems, the *Koreiſh* urged the extraordinary fatigues he underwent in thoſe reſpects, as the conſequence of his having left their religion [3].

[c] See chap. 7. p. 136. and chap. 17. p. 237.

[d] The relation of the ſtory of *Moſes*, which takes up the greateſt part of this chapter, was deſigned to incourage *Mohammed*, by his example, to diſcharge the prophetic office with firmneſs of mind, as being aſſured of receiving the like aſſiſtance from GOD: for it is ſaid this chapter was one of the firſt that were revealed [4].

[e] *When he ſaw fire*, &c.] The commentators ſay, that *Moſes*, having obtained leave of *Shoaib*, or *Jethro*, his father-in-law, to viſit his mother, departed with his family from *Midian* towards *Egypt*; but coming to the valley of *Towa*, wherein mount *Sinai* ſtands, his wife fell in labour, and was delivered of a ſon, in a very dark and ſnowy night; he had alſo loſt his way, and his cattle were ſcattered from him; when on a ſudden he ſaw a fire by the ſide of a mountain, which on his nearer approach he found burning in a green buſh [5].

[f] *Put off thy ſhoes*;] This was a mark of humility and reſpect: tho' ſome fancy there was ſome uncleanneſs in the ſhoes themſelves, becauſe they were made of the skin of an aſs not dreſſed [6].

[1] *See the Prel. Diſc.* §. III. *p.* 59, *&c.* [2] MOHAM. EBN ABD *al* BAKI, *ex trad. Acrimæ Ebn Abi Sofian.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.* [6] *Idem.*

for thou art in the ſacred valley TOWA. And I have choſen thee; therefore hearken with attention unto that which is revealed *unto thee.* Verily I am GOD; there is no god beſide me: wherefore worſhip me, and perform *thy* prayer in remembrance of me. Verily the hour cometh: I will ſurely manifeſt the ſame, that every ſoul may receive its reward for that which it hath deliberately done. Let not him who believeth not therein, and who followeth his luſt, prevent thee from *believing in* the ſame, leſt thou periſh. Now what *is* that in thy right hand, O MOSES? He anſwered, It is my rod whereon I lean, and with which I beat down leaves for my flock; and I have other uſes for it [a]. *GOD* ſaid *unto him*, Caſt it down, O MOSES. And he caſt it down, and behold, it *became* a ſerpent [b], which ran about. *GOD* ſaid, Take hold on it, and fear not [c]: we will reduce it to its former condition. And put thy *right* hand under thy *left* arm: it ſhall come forth white [d], without any hurt. *This ſhall be* another ſign: that we may ſhew thee *ſome* of our greateſt ſigns. Go unto PHARAOH: for he is exceedingly impious. *MOSES* anſwered, LORD, enlarge my breaſt, and make what thou haſt commanded me eaſy unto me: and looſe the knot of my tongue, that they may underſtand my ſpeech [e]. And give me a counſellor [f] of my family, *namely*, AARON my brother. Gird up my loins by him, and make him my colleague in the buſineſs: that we may praiſe thee greatly, and may remember thee often; for thou regardeſt us. *GOD* replied, Now haſt thou obtained thy requeſt, O MOSES: and we have heretofore been gracious unto thee, another time; when we revealed unto thy mother that which was revealed *unto her* [g], *ſaying*, Put him into the ark, and caſt him into the river, and the river ſhall throw him on the ſhore; *and* my enemy and his enemy ſhall take him *and bring him up* [h]; and I beſtowed on thee

[a] *And I have other uſes for it;*] As to drive away wild beaſts from my flock, to carry my bottle of water on, to ſtick up and hang my upper garment on to ſhade me from the ſun; and ſeveral other uſes enumerated by the commentators.

[b] *It became a ſerpent;*] Which was at firſt no bigger than the rod, but afterwards ſwelled to a prodigious ſize [1].

[c] *Take hold on it, and fear not;*] When *Moſes* ſaw the ſerpent move about with great nimbleneſs, and ſwallow ſtones and trees, he was greatly terrified, and fled from it; but recovering his courage at theſe words of GOD, he had the boldneſs to take the ſerpent by the jaws [2].

[d] See chap. 7. p. 128.

[e] *Looſe the knot of my tongue*, &c.] For *Moſes* had an impediment in his ſpeech, which was occaſioned by the following accident. *Pharaoh* one day carrying him in his arms, when a child, he ſuddenly laid hold of his beard, and plucked it in a very rough manner, which put *Pharaoh* into ſuch a paſſion, that he ordered him to be put to death: but *Aſia*, his wife, repreſenting to him that he was but a child, who could not diſtinguiſh between a burning coal and a ruby, he ordered the experiment to be made; and a live coal and a ruby being ſet before *Moſes*, he took the coal and put it into his mouth, and burnt his tongue: and thereupon he was pardoned. This is a *Jewiſh* ſtory a little altered [3].

[f] *A counſellor;*] The *Arabic* word is *Wazîr*, which ſignifies one who has the chief adminiſtration of affairs under a prince.

[g] *When we revealed unto thy mother*, &c.] The commentators are not agreed by what means this revelation was made; whether by private inſpiration, by a dream, by a prophet, or by an angel.

[h] *Put him into the ark*, &c.] The commentators ſay, that his mother accordingly made an ark of the *papyrus*, and pitched it, and put in ſome cotton; and having laid the child therein,

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *V. Shalſh. Hakkab. p.* 11.

love from me [a], that thou mighteſt be bred up under my eye. When thy ſiſter went and ſaid, Shall I bring you unto one who will nurſe *the child* [b]? *So* we returned thee unto thy mother, that her mind might be ſet at eaſe, and that ſhe might not be afflicted. And thou ſleweſt a ſoul, and we delivered thee from trouble [c]; and we proved thee by *ſeveral* trials [d]: and *afterwards* thou didſt dwell ſome years [e] among the inhabitants of MADIAN. Then thou cameſt *hither* according to *our* decree, O MOSES; and I have choſen thee for my ſelf: *wherefore* go thou and thy brother [f] with my ſigns; and be not negligent in remembring me. Go ye unto PHARAOH, for he is exceſſively impious: and ſpeak mildly unto him; peradventure he will conſider, or will fear *our threats*. They anſwered, O LORD, verily we fear leſt he be precipitately violent againſt us, or leſt he tranſgreſs *more exorbitantly*. GOD replied, Fear not; for I am with you: I will hear and will ſee. Go ye therefore unto him, and ſay, Verily we are the meſſengers of thy LORD: wherefore ſend the children of ISRAEL with us, and do not afflict them. Now are we come unto thee with a ſign from thy LORD: and peace be upon him who ſhall follow the *true* direction. Verily it hath been revealed unto us, that a puniſhment *ſhall be inflicted* on him who ſhall charge *us* with impoſture, and ſhall turn back. *And when they had delivered their meſſage*, PHARAOH ſaid, Who is your LORD, O MOSES? He anſwered, Our LORD is he who giveth all things: he hath created them, and directeth them *by his providence*. PHARAOH ſaid, What therefore is the condition of the former generations [g]? *Moſes* anſwered, The knowledge thereof is with my LORD, in the book *of his decrees*:

in, committed it to the river, a branch of which went into *Pharaoh*'s garden: that the ſtream carried the ark thither into a fiſhpond, at the head of which *Pharaoh* was then ſitting, with his wife *Aſia*, the daughter of *Mozâhem*; and that the king, having commanded it to be taken up and opened, and finding in it a beautiful child, took a fancy to it, and ordered it to be brought up [1].

Some writers mention a miraculous preſervation of *Moſes* before he was put into the ark; and tell us, that his mother having hid him from *Pharaoh*'s officers in an oven, his ſiſter, in her mother's abſence, kindled a large fire in the oven to heat it, not knowing the child was there, but that he was afterwards taken out unhurt [2].

[a] *I beſtowed on thee love from me*;] That is, I inſpired the love of thee into the hearts of thoſe who ſaw thee, and particularly into the heart of *Pharaoh*.

[b] *When thy ſiſter went*, &c.] The *Mohammedans* pretend that ſeveral nurſes were brought, but the child refuſed to take the breaſt of any, till his ſiſter *Miriam*, who went to learn news of him, told them ſhe would find a nurſe, and brought his mother [3].

[c] *Thou ſleweſt a ſoul, and we delivered thee from trouble*;] *Moſes* killed an *Egyptian*, in defence of an *Iſraelite*, and eſcaped the danger of being puniſhed for it, by flying to *Midian*, which was eight days journey diſtant from *Meſr* [4].

The *Jews* pretend he was actually impriſoned for the fact, and condemned to be beheaded, but that, when he ſhould have ſuffered, his neck became as hard as ivory, and the ſword rebounded on the executioner [5].

[d] *We proved thee by various trials*;] For he was obliged to abandon his country and his friends, and to travel ſeveral days, in great terror and want of neceſſary proviſions, to ſeek a refuge among ſtrangers; and was afterwards forced to ſerve for hire, to gain a livelihood.

[e] *Some years*;] i. e. Ten [6].

[f] *Go thou and thy brother*;] *Aaron* being by this time come out to meet his brother, either by divine inſpiration, or having notice of his deſign to return to *Egypt* [7].

[g] *What is the condition of the former generations?*] viz. As to happineſs or miſery after death.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] ABULFEDA, *&c.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Shalſh. Hakkab. p.* 11. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. [7] *Idem.*

crees: my LORD erreth not, neither doth he forget. *It is he* who hath ſpread the earth as a bed for you, and hath made you paths therein; and who ſendeth down rain from heaven, whereby we cauſe various kinds of vegetables to ſpring forth; *ſaying*, Eat *of part*, and feed your cattle *with other part thereof.* Verily herein are ſigns unto thoſe who are indued with underſtanding. Out of *the ground* have we created you; and to the ſame will we cauſe you to return, and we will bring you forth from thence another time. And we ſhewed *PHARAOH* all our ſigns *which we had impowered MOSES to perform:* but he accuſed *him* of impoſture, and refuſed *to believe*; *and* he ſaid, Art thou come unto us that thou mayeſt diſpoſſeſs us of our land by thy inchantments, O MOSES? Verily we will meet thee with the like inchantments: wherefore fix an appointment between us and thee; we will not fail it, neither ſhalt thou, in an equal place. *MOSES* anſwered, Let your appointment be on the day of *your* ſolemn feaſt [a]; and let the people be aſſembled in open day. And PHARAOH turned away *from MOSES*, and gathered together *the moſt expert magicians*, *to execute* his ſtratagem; and then came *to the appointment.* MOSES ſaid unto them, Wo be unto you! do not deviſe a lie againſt GOD [b], leſt he utterly deſtroy you by ſome judgment: for he ſhall not proſper who deviſeth lies. *And the magicians* diſputed concerning their affair among themſelves, and diſcourſed in private: and they ſaid, Theſe two are certainly magicians: they ſeek to diſpoſſeſs you of your land by their ſorcery; and to lead away *with them* your chiefeſt and moſt conſiderable men. Wherefore collect *all* your cunning, and then come in order: for he ſhall proſper this day, who ſhall be ſuperior. They ſaid, O MOSES, whether wilt thou caſt down *thy rod firſt*, or ſhall we be the firſt who caſt down *our rods?* He anſwered, Do ye caſt down *your rods firſt.* And behold, their cords and their rods appeared unto him, by their inchantment, to run about *like ſerpents* [c]: wherefore MOSES conceived fear in his heart. *But* we ſaid *unto him*, Fear not; for thou ſhalt be ſuperior: therefore caſt down *the rod* which is in thy right hand; and it ſhall ſwallow up *the ſeeming ſerpents* which they have made: for what they have made is only the deceipt of an inchanter; and an inchanter ſhall not proſper, whitherſoever he cometh. And the magicians, *when they ſaw the miracle which MOSES performed*, fell down and worſhipped, ſaying, We believe in the LORD of AARON and of MOSES. *PHARAOH* ſaid *unto them*, Do ye believe in him before I give you permiſſion? Verily this is your maſter, who hath taught you magic. But I will ſurely cut off your hands and your feet on the oppoſite ſides; and I will crucify you on trunks of palm-trees [d]: and ye ſhall know which of us is more ſevere in puniſhing, and can longer protract *your pains.* They anſwered,

[a] *The day of the ſolemn feaſt*;] Which was probably the firſt day of their new year.

[b] *Do not deviſe a lie againſt* GOD;] By ſaying the miracles performed in his name are the effects of magic.

[c] *Their cords and their rods ſeemed unto him, by their inchantments, to run about like ſerpents*;] They rubbed them over with quickſilver, which being wrought upon by the heat of the ſun, cauſed them to move [1]. See chap 7. p. 128.

[d] See ibid.

[1] *Idem.*

ed, We will by no means have greater regard unto thee, than unto thoſe evident miracles which have been ſhewn us, or than unto him who hath created us. Pronounce therefore that ſentence *againſt us* which thou art about to pronounce: for thou canſt only give ſentence *as to* this preſent life. Verily we believe in our LORD, that he may forgive us our ſins, and the ſorcery which thou haſt forced us to *exerciſe*: for GOD is better *to reward*, and more able to prolong *puniſhment than thou*. Verily whoſoever ſhall appear before his LORD *on the day of judgment*, polluted with crimes, ſhall have hell *for his reward*; he ſhall not die therein, neither ſhall he live. But whoever ſhall appear before him, *having been* a true believer, *and* ſhall have worked righteouſneſs, for theſe *are prepared* the higheſt degrees *of happineſs*; *namely*, gardens of perpetual abode [a], which ſhall be watered by rivers; they ſhall remain therein for ever: and this ſhall be the reward of him who ſhall be pure. And we ſpake by revelation unto MOSES, *ſaying*, Go forth with my ſervants *out of EGYPT* by night; and ſmite *the waters with thy rod, and make* them a dry path through the ſea [b]: be not apprehenſive of *PHARAOH*'s overtaking *thee*; neither be thou afraid. And *when MOSES had done ſo*, PHARAOH followed them with his forces; and *the waters* of the ſea which overwhelmed them, overwhelmed them. And PHARAOH cauſed his people to err, neither did he direct *them aright*. Thus, O children of ISRAEL, we delivered you from your enemy; and we appointed you the right ſide of mount *SINAI to diſcourſe with MOSES and to give him the law*; and we cauſed manna and quails to deſcend upon you [c], *ſaying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food; and tranſgreſs not therein [d], leſt my indignation fall on you: and on whomſoever my indignation ſhall fall, he ſhall go down headlong *into perdition*. But I *will be* gracious unto him who ſhall repent and believe, and ſhall do that which is right; and *who* ſhall be rightly directed. What hath cauſed thee to haſten from thy people, O MOSES, *to receive the law* [e]? He anſwered, Theſe *follow cloſe* on my footſteps; but I have haſtened unto thee, O LORD, that thou mighteſt be well pleaſed *with me*. GOD ſaid, We have already made a trial of thy people, ſince *thy departure* [f]; and AL SAMERI [g] hath ſeduced them *to idolatry*. Wherefore MOSES returned unto his

[a] *Gardens of perpetual abode*;] Literally, *gardens of* Eden; See chap. 9. p. 158.

[b] *A dry path through the ſea*;] The expoſitors add, that the ſea was divided into twelve ſeparate paths, one for each tribe [1]: a fable borrowed from the *Jews* [2].

[c] See chap. 2. p. 7.

[d] *Tranſgreſs not therein*;] By ingratitude, exceſs, or inſolent behaviour.

[e] *What hath cauſed thee to haſten from thy people*, &c.] For *Moſes*, it ſeems, outwent the ſeventy elders, who had been choſen, in obedience to the divine command, to accompany him to the mount [3], and appeared before GOD while they were at ſome, tho' no great, diſtance behind him.

[f] *Since thy departure*;] They continued in the worſhip of the true GOD for the firſt twenty days of *Moſes*'s abſence, which, by taking the nights alſo into their reckoning, they computed to be forty, and at their expiration concluded they had ſtaid the full time which *Moſes* had commanded them, and ſo fell into the worſhip of the golden calf [4].

[g] *Al Sâmeri*;] This was not his proper name, but he had this appellation becauſe he was of a certain

[1] *Idem*, ABULFED. *in Hiſt.* [2] *V.* R. ELIEZER, *Pirke*, *c.* 42. [3] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 7. *chap.* 7. *p.* 133, *&c.* [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.

his people [a] in great wrath, and exceedingly afflicted. *And* he ſaid, O my people, had not your LORD promiſed you a moſt excellent promiſe [b]? Did the time *of my abſence* ſeem long unto you? Or did ye deſire that indignation from your LORD ſhould fall on you, and therefore failed to keep the promiſe which ye made me? They anſwered, We have not failed in what we promiſed thee of our own authority; but we were made to carry in *ſeveral* loads of *gold and ſilver, of* the ornaments of the people [c], and we caſt them *into the fire*; and in like manner AL SAMERI alſo caſt in *what he had collected*, and he produced unto them a corporeal calf [d], which lowed. And *AL SAMERI and his companions* ſaid, This is your god, and the god of MOSES; but he hath forgotten *him, and is gone to ſeek ſome other*. Did they not therefore ſee that *their idol* returned them no anſwer, and was not able to cauſe them either hurt or profit? And AARON had ſaid unto them before, O my people, verily ye are only proved by this *calf*; for your LORD is the Merciful: wherefore follow me, and obey my command. They anſwered, We will by no means ceaſe to be devoted to its *worſhip*, until MOSES return unto us. *And when MOSES was returned*, he ſaid, O AARON, what hindred thee, when thou ſaweſt that they went aſtray, that thou didſt not follow me [e]? Haſt thou therefore been diſobedient to my command? *AARON* anſwered, O ſon of my mother, drag *me* not by my beard, nor by *the hair of* my head. Verily I feared leſt thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Thou haſt made a diviſion among the children

certain tribe among the *Jews* called *Samaritans*, (wherein the *Mohammedans* ſtrangely betray their ignorance in hiſtory;) tho' ſome ſay he was a proſelyte, but a hypocritical one, and originally of *Kirmân*, or ſome other country. His true name was *Moſes*, or *Mûſa, Ebn Dhafar* [1].

Selden is of opinion that this perſon was no other than *Aaron* himſelf, (who was really the maker of the calf,) and that he is here called *al Sâmeri*, from the *Hebrew* verb *ſhamar*, to *keep* [2]; becauſe he was *the Keeper* or *Guardian* of the children of *Iſrael* during his brother's abſence in the mount; which is a very ingenious conjecture, not abſolutely inconſiſtent with the text of the *Korân*, (tho' *Mohammed* ſeems to have miſtaken *al Sâmeri* for the name of a different perſon) and offers a much more probable origin of that appellation, than to derive it, as the *Mohammedans* do, from the *Samaritans*, who were not formed into a people, nor bore that name till many ages after.

[a] Moſes *returned unto his people*;] viz. After he had completed his forty days ſtay in the mount, and had received the law [3].

[b] *A moſt excellent promiſe*;] i. e. The law, containing a light and certain direction to guide you in the right way.

[c] *The ornaments of the people*;] Theſe ornaments were rings, bracelets, and the like, which the *Iſraelites* had borrowed of the *Egyptians*, under pretence of decking themſelves out for ſome feaſt, and had not returned to them; or, as ſome think, what they had ſtripped from the dead bodies of the *Egyptians*, caſt on ſhore by the ſea: and *al Sâmeri*, conceiving them unlawful to be kept, and the occaſion of much wickedneſs, perſuaded *Aaron* to let him collect them from the people; which being done, he threw them all into the fire, to melt them down into one maſs [4].

It is obſervable, that the *Mohammedans* generally ſuppoſe the caſt metal's coming forth in the ſhape of a calf, was beſide the expectation of *al Sâmeri*, who had not made a mould of that figure: and that when *Aaron* excuſes himſelf to his brother, in the pentateuch, he ſeems as if he would perſuade him it was an accident [5].

[d] See chap. 7. p. 132. not. f.

[e] *That thou didſt not follow me*;] By theſe words *Moſes* reprehends *Aaron* for not ſeconding his zeal in taking arms againſt the idolaters; or for not coming after him to the mountain, to acquaint him with their rebellion.

[1] *Idem.* [2] SELDEN. *de Diis Syris, Synt.* 1. *c.* 4. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem. V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 650. *and Kor. chap.* 2. *p.* 6, *&c.* [5] *See Exod.* xxxii. 24.

children of ISRAEL, and thou haſt not obſerved my ſaying [a]. *MOSES* ſaid *unto AL SAMERI*, What *was* thy deſign, O SAMERI? He anſwered, I ſaw that which they ſaw not [b]; wherefore I took a handful *of duſt* from the footſteps of the meſſenger *of* GOD, and I caſt it *into the molten calf* [c]; for ſo did my mind direct me. *MOSES* ſaid, Get thee gone; for thy *puniſhment* in *this* life ſhall be, that thou ſhalt ſay *unto thoſe who ſhall meet thee*, Touch *me* not [d]; and a threat *is denounced* againſt thee *of more terrible pains, in the life to come*, which thou ſhalt by no means eſcape. And behold now thy god, to whoſe *worſhip* thou haſt continued aſſiduouſly devoted: verily we will burn it [e]; and we will reduce it to powder, and ſcatter it in the ſea. Your GOD is *the true* GOD, beſides whom there is no other god: he comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge. Thus do we recite unto thee, *O MOHAMMED*, relations of what hath paſſed heretofore; and we have given thee an admonition from us. He who ſhall turn aſide from it, ſhall ſurely carry a load *of guilt* on the day of reſurrection: they ſhall continue thereunder *for ever*; and a grievous burthen ſhall it be unto them on the day of reſurrection [f]. On *that* day the trumpet ſhall be ſounded; and we will gather the wicked together on that day, having grey eyes [g]. They ſhall ſpeak with a low voice to one another, *ſaying*, Ye have not tarried [h] above ten days. We well know what they will ſay; when the moſt conſpicuous among them for

[a] *Leſt thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Thou haſt made a diviſion among the children of* Iſrael, *and haſt not kept my ſaying*;] i. e. Leſt if I had taken arms againſt the worſhippers of the calf, thou ſhouldeſt ſay that I had raiſed a ſedition; or if I had gone after thee, thou ſhouldeſt blame me for abandoning my charge, and not waiting thy return to rectify what was amiſs.

[b] *I ſaw that which they ſaw not*;] Or, *I knew that which they knew not*; viz. That the meſſenger ſent to thee from GOD, was a pure ſpirit, and that his footſteps gave life to whatever they touched; being no other than the angel *Gabriel*, mounted on the horſe of life: and therefore I made uſe of the duſt of his feet to animate the molten calf. It is ſaid *al Sâmeri* knew the angel, becauſe he had ſaved and taken care of him when a child and expoſed by his mother for fear of *Pharaoh* [1].

[c] See chap 2. p. 7.

[d] *Thou ſhalt ſay to thoſe who ſhall meet thee, Touch me not*;] Leſt they infect thee with a burning fever: for that was the conſequence of any man's touching him, and the ſame happened to the perſons he touched; for which reaſon he was obliged to avoid all communication with others, and was alſo ſhunned by them, wandering in the deſart like a wild beaſt [2].

Hence it is concluded that a tribe of *Samaritan Jews*, ſaid to inhabit a certain iſle in the red ſea, are the deſcendants of our *al Sâmeri*; becauſe it is their peculiar mark of diſtinction, at this day, to uſe the ſame words, *viz. La meſâs*, i. e. *Touch me not*, to thoſe they meet [3]. It is not improbable that this ſtory may owe its riſe to the known hatred born by the *Samaritans* to the *Jews*, and their ſuperſtitious avoiding to have any commerce with them, or any other ſtrangers [4].

[e] *We will burn it*;] Or, as the word may alſo be tranſlated, *We will file it down*; but the other is the more received interpretation.

[f] See chap. 6. p. 101.

[g] *Having grey eyes*;] For this, with the *Arabs*, is one mark of an enemy, or a perſon they abominate; to ſay a man has a *black liver*, (tho' I think we expreſs our averſion by the term *white-livered*,) *reddiſh whiskers*, and *grey eyes*, being a periphraſis for a foe, and particularly a *Greek*, which nation were the moſt inveterate enemies of the *Arabs*, and have uſually hair and eyes of thoſe colours [5]. The original word, however, ſignifies alſo thoſe who are *ſquint-eyed*, or even *blind* of a ſuffuſion.

[h] *Ye have not tarried*;] viz. In the world; or, in the grave.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem.* [3] *V. Geogr. Nub. p.* 45. [4] *V.* SELDEN. *ubi ſup.* [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, JAWHARI, *in Lex.*

for behaviour ſhall ſay, Ye have not tarried above one day. They will aſk thee concerning the mountains: Anſwer, My LORD will reduce them to duſt, and ſcatter them abroad [a]; and he will leave them a plain equally extended: thou ſhalt ſee no part of them higher or lower than another. On that day *mankind* ſhall follow *the angel* who will call *them to judgment* [b], none ſhall *have power to* turn aſide from him; and *their* voices ſhall be low before the Merciful, neither ſhalt thou hear any more than the hollow ſound *of their feet.* On that day the interceſſion *of none* ſhall be of advantage *unto another*, except *the interceſſion* of him to whom the Merciful ſhall grant permiſſion [c], and who ſhall be acceptable unto him in what he ſaith. GOD knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them; but they comprehend not the ſame by *their* knowledge: and their faces ſhall be humbled [d] before the living, the ſelf-ſubſiſting GOD; and he ſhall be wretched who ſhall bear *his* iniquity. But whoſoever ſhall do good works, being a true believer, ſhall not fear any injuſtice, or any diminution *of his reward from* GOD. And thus have we ſent down *this book, being* a KORAN in the Arabic tongue; and we have inſerted various threats and promiſes therein, that *men* may fear GOD, or that it may awaken ſome conſideration in them: wherefore let GOD be highly exalted, the King, the Truth! Be not overhaſty in *receiving or repeating* the KORAN, before the revelation thereof be compleated unto thee [e]; and ſay, LORD, increaſe my knowledge. We heretofore gave a command unto ADAM; but he forgot *the ſame* [f], *and eat of the forbidden fruit*; and we found not in him a firm reſolution. And *remember* when we ſaid unto the angels, Worſhip ye ADAM; and they worſhipped *him:* but EBLIS refuſed [g]. And we ſaid, O ADAM, verily this is an enemy unto thee, and thy wife: wherefore *beware* leſt he turn you out of paradiſe; for *then* ſhalt thou be miſerable. Verily *we have made a proviſion* for thee, that thou ſhalt not hunger therein, neither ſhalt thou be naked: and *there is* alſo *a proviſion made* for thee, that thou ſhalt not thirſt therein, neither ſhalt thou be incommoded by heat. But SATAN whiſpered *evil ſuggeſtions* unto him, ſaying, O ADAM, ſhall I guide thee to the tree of eternity, and a kingdom which faileth not? And they both eat thereof: and their nakedneſs appeared unto them; and they began to ſew together the leaves of paradiſe, to cover themſelves.

[a] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 82.

[b] See ibid. p. 84.

[c] *Except the interceſſion of him*;] Or, *Except unto him*, &c. See chap. 19. p. 255.

[d] *Their faces ſhall be humbled*;] The original word properly expreſſes the humility and dejected looks of captives in the preſence of their conqueror.

[e] *Be not overhaſty in receiving or repeating the* Korân, *&c.*] *Mohammed* is here commanded not to be impatient at any delay in *Gabriel*'s bringing the divine revelations, or not to repeat it too faſt after the angel, ſo as to overtake him before he had finiſhed the paſſage. But ſome ſuppoſe the prohibition relates to the publiſhing any verſe before the ſame was perfectly explained to him [1].

[f] *He forgot*;] *Adam*'s ſo ſoon forgetting the divine command, has occaſioned ſome *Arab* etymologiſts to derive the word *Inſân*, i. e. *man*, from *naſiya*, to *forget*; and has alſo given riſe to the following proverbial ſaying, *Awwalo nâſin awwalo 'nnâſi*, that is, *The firſt forgetful perſon was the firſt of men*; alluding to the like ſound of the words.

[g] See chap. 2. p. 4, *&c.* chap. 7. p. 117, *&c.*

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

ſelves [a]. And *thus* ADAM became diſobedient unto his LORD, and was ſeduced. Afterwards his LORD accepted him, *on his repentance*, and was turned unto him, and directed *him*. *And GOD* ſaid, Get ye down hence, all *of you*: the one of you *ſhall be* an enemy unto the other. But hereafter ſhall a direction come unto you from me [b]: and whoſoever ſhall follow my direction, ſhall not err, neither ſhall he be unhappy; but whoſoever ſhall turn aſide from my admonition, verily he ſhall *lead* a miſerable life, and we will cauſe him to appear *before us* on the day of reſurrection, blind [c]. *And* he ſhall ſay, O LORD, why haſt thou brought me *before thee* blind, whereas before I ſaw clearly? *GOD* ſhall anſwer, Thus *have we done*, *becauſe* our ſigns came unto thee, and thou didſt forget them; and in the ſame manner ſhalt thou be forgotten this day. And thus will we reward him who ſhall be negligent, and ſhall not believe in the ſigns of his LORD: and the puniſhment of the life to come ſhall be more ſevere, and more laſting, *than the puniſhment of this life*. Are not *the MECCANS* therefore acquainted how many generations we have deſtroyed before them; in whoſe dwellings they walk [d]? Verily herein are ſigns unto thoſe who are indued with underſtanding. And unleſs a decree had previouſly gone forth from thy LORD *for their reſpite*, verily *their deſtruction* had neceſſarily followed: but there is a certain time determined *by GOD for their puniſhment*. Wherefore do thou, *O MOHAMMED*, patiently bear that which they ſay; and celebrate the praiſe of thy LORD before the riſing of the ſun, and before the ſetting thereof, and praiſe *him* in the hours of the night, and in the extremities of the day [e], that thou mayeſt be well-pleaſed *with the proſpect of receiving favour from GOD*. And caſt not thine eyes on that which we have granted divers of the *unbelievers* to enjoy, *namely*, the ſplendor of this preſent life [f], that we may prove them thereby: for the proviſion of thy LORD [g] *is* better, and more permanent. Command thy family *to obſerve* prayer; and do thou perſevere therein. We require not of thee *that thou labour to gain neceſſary* proviſions *for thy ſelf and family*: we will provide for thee; for the *proſperous* iſſue *ſhall attend* on piety [h]. *The unbelievers* ſay, Unleſs he come unto us with a ſign from his LORD, *we will not believe on him*. Hath not a plain declaration come unto them, of that which *is contained* in the former volumes *of ſcripture*, *by the revelation of the KORAN?* If we had deſtroyed them by a judgment before *the ſame had been revealed*,

[a] See chap. 7. p. 118.

[b] See chap. 2. p. 6.

[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 85.

[d] *In whoſe dwellings they walk*;] Seeing the footſteps of their deſtruction; as of the tribes of *Ad*, and *Thamûd*.

[e] *The extremities of the day*;] i. e. Evening and morning; which times are repeated as the principal hours of prayer. But ſome ſuppoſe theſe words intend the prayer of noon; the firſt half of the day ending, and the ſecond half beginning at that time [1].

[f] *Caſt not thine eyes on that which we have granted divers of them to enjoy*, &c.] That is, Do not envy or covet their pomp and proſperity in this world [2].

[g] *The proviſion of thy* LORD;] viz. The reward laid up for thee in the next life: or the gift of prophecy, and the revelations with which GOD has favoured thee.

[h] It is ſaid that when *Mohammed*'s family were in any ſtrait or affliction, he uſed to order them to go to prayers, and to repeat this verſe [3].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *See chap.* 15. *p.* 213. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

revealed, they would have ſaid, *at the reſurrection*, O LORD, *how could we believe* ſince thou didſt not ſend unto us an apoſtle, that we might follow thy ſigns, before we were humbled and covered with ſhame? Say, Each *of us* wait *the iſſue*: wait therefore; for ye ſhall ſurely know hereafter who *have been* the followers of the even way, and who hath been *rightly* directed.

CHAP. XXI.

Intitled, The Prophets [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

* THE *time of giving up* their account draweth nigh unto the people *of* XVII.
MECCA; while they are *ſunk* in negligence, turning aſide *from the conſideration thereof*. No admonition cometh unto them from their LORD, being lately revealed *in the KORAN*, but when they hear it, they turn it to ſport: their hearts *are* taken up with delights. And they who act unjuſtly diſcourſe privately together, *ſaying*, Is this *MOHAMMED* any more than a man like yourſelves? Will ye therefore come to *hear* a piece of ſorcery, when ye plainly perceive it *to be ſo?* Say, My LORD knoweth whatever is ſpoken in heaven and on earth: *it is* he *who* heareth *and* knoweth. But they ſay, *The KORAN is* a confuſed heap of dreams: nay, he hath forged it; nay, he is a poet: let him come unto us therefore with ſome miracle, in like manner as the former *prophets* were ſent. None of the cities which we have deſtroyed, believed *the miracles which they ſaw performed*, before them: will theſe therefore believe, *if they ſee a miracle?* We ſent none *as our apoſtles* before thee, other than men, unto whom we revealed *our will*. Aſk thoſe who are acquainted with the ſcripture, if ye know not *this*. We gave them not a body *which could be ſupported* without their eating food; neither were they immortal. But we made good *our* promiſe unto them: wherefore we delivered them, and thoſe whom we pleaſed; but we deſtroyed the exorbitant tranſgreſſors. Now have we ſent down unto you, *O KOREISH*, the book *of the KORAN*; wherein there is *honourable* mention of you: will ye not therefore underſtand? And how many cities have we overthrown, which were ungodly; and cauſed other nations to riſe up after them? And when they felt our ſevere vengeance, behold, they fled ſwiftly from thoſe *cities*. *And the angels ſaid, ſcoffingly, unto them*, Do not fly; but return to that wherein ye delighted, and to your habitations: peradventure ye will be aſked [b]. They anſwered,

[a] The chapter bears this title, becauſe ſome particulars relating to ſeveral of the ancient prophets, are here recited.

[b] *Peradventure ye will be asked*;] i. e. Concerning the preſent poſture of affairs, by way of conſultation: or, *that ye may be examined* as to your deeds, that ye may receive the reward thereof [1].

Idem, JALALO'DDIN, *al* ZAMAKH.

ed, Alas for us! verily we have been unjuſt [a]. And this their lamentation ceaſed not, until we had rendred them *like* corn which is mowen down, *and* utterly extinct. We created not the heavens and the earth, and that which is between them, by way of ſport [b]. If we had pleaſed to take diverſion, verily we had taken it with *that which beſeemeth* us [c]; if we had *reſolved to have* done this. But we will oppoſe truth to vanity, and it ſhall confound the ſame; and behold, it ſhall vaniſh away. Wo be unto you, for that which ye *impiouſly* utter *concerning* GOD! ſince whoever *is* in heaven and on earth *is ſubject* unto him; and *the angels* who are in his preſence do not inſolently diſdain his ſervice, neither are they tired *therewith.* They praiſe *him* night and day: they faint not. Have they taken gods from the earth? Shall they raiſe *the dead* to life? If there were either in *heaven or on earth* gods beſides GOD, verily both would be corrupted [d]. But far be that which they utter, from GOD, the LORD of the throne! No account ſhall be demanded of him for what he ſhall do; but an account ſhall be demanded of them. Have they taken *other* gods beſides him? Say, Produce your proof *thereof.* This is the admonition of thoſe who *are contemporary* with me, and the admonition of thoſe who *have been* before me [e]: but the greater part of them know not the truth, and turn aſide *from the ſame.* We have ſent no apoſtle before thee, but we revealed unto him that there is no god beſides my ſelf: wherefore ſerve me. They ſay, The Merciful hath begotten iſſue; *and the angels are his daughters* [f]. GOD forbid! They are his honoured ſervants: they prevent him not in any thing which they ſay [g]; and they execute his command. He knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them: they ſhall not intercede *for any*, except for whom it ſhall pleaſe him; and

[a] *They anſwered, Wo unto us,* &c.] It is related that a prophet was ſent to the inhabitants of certain towns in *Yaman*, but inſtead of hearkening to his remonſtrances, they killed him: upon which GOD delivered them into the hands of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who put them to the ſword; a voice at the ſame time crying from heaven, *Vengeance for the blood of the prophets!* Upon which they repented, and uſed the words of this paſſage.

[b] *We have not created the heavens and earth, by way of ſport;*] But for the manifeſtation of our power and wiſdom to people of underſtanding, that they may ſeriouſly conſider the wonders of the creation, and direct their actions to the attainment of future happineſs, neglecting the vain pomp and fleeting pleaſures of this world.

[c] *With that which beſeemeth us;*] viz. We had ſought our pleaſure in our own perfections; or, in the ſpiritual beings which are in our immediate preſence; and not in raiſing of material buildings, with painted roofs, and fine floors, which is the diverſion of man.

Some think the original word, tranſlated *diverſion*, ſignifies in this place, *a wife*, or *a child*; and that the paſſage is particularly levelled againſt the *Chriſtians* [i].

[d] *Both would be corrupted;*] That is, the whole creation would neceſſarily fall into confuſion and be overturned, by the competition of ſuch mighty antagoniſts.

[e] *This is the admonition of thoſe who are contemporary with me, and of thoſe who have been before me;*] i. e. This is the conſtant doctrine of all the ſacred books; not only of the *Korân*, but of thoſe which were revealed in former ages; all of them bearing witneſs to the great and fundamental truth of the unity of GOD.

[f] This paſſage was revealed on account of the *Khozâïtes*, who held the angels to be the daughters of GOD.

[g] *They prevent him not in any thing which they ſay;*] i. e. They preſume not to ſay any thing, until he hath ſpoken it; behaving as ſervants who know their duty.

[i] *Idem.*

and they tremble for fear of him. Whoever of them ſhall ſay, I am a god beſides him; that *angel* will we reward with hell: *for* ſo will we reward the unjuſt. Do not the unbelievers therefore know, that the heavens and the earth were ſolid, and we clave the ſame in ſunder [a]; and made every living thing of water? Will they not therefore believe? And we placed ſtable *mountains* on the earth, leſt it ſhould move with them [b]; and we made broad paſſages between them for paths, that they might be directed *in their journeys*: and we made the heaven a roof well ſupported. Yet they turn aſide from the ſigns thereof, *not conſidering that they are the workmanſhip of* GOD. It is he who hath created the night, and the day, and the ſun, and the moon; all *the celeſtial bodies* move ſwiftly, *each* in *its reſpective* orb. We have not granted unto any man before thee, *eternal* permanency *in this world*; if thou die therefore, will they be immortal [c]? Every ſoul ſhall taſte of death: and we will prove you with evil, and with good, for a trial *of you*; and unto us ſhall ye return. When the unbelievers ſee thee, they receive thee only with ſcoffing, *ſaying*, *Is* this he who mentioneth your gods *with contempt?* Yet themſelves believe not what is mentioned *to them* of the Merciful [d]. Man is created of precipitation [e]. Hereafter will I ſhew you my ſigns, ſo that ye ſhall not wiſh them to be haſtened. They ſay, When *will* this threat *be accompliſhed*, if ye ſpeak truth? If they who believe not, knew *that the time will ſurely come*, when they ſhall not *be able to* drive back the fire *of hell* from their faces, nor from their backs, neither ſhall they be helped, *they would not haſten it*. But *the day of vengeance* ſhall come upon them ſuddenly, and ſhall ſtrike them with aſtoniſhment: they ſhall not be able to avert it; neither ſhall they be reſpited. *Other* apoſtles have been mocked before thee: but the *puniſhment* which they ſcoffed at, fell upon ſuch of them as mocked. Say *unto the ſcoffers*, Who ſhall ſave you by night and by day from the Merciful? Yet they utterly neglect the remembrance of their LORD. Have they gods who will defend them, beſides us? They are not able to help themſelves; neither ſhall they be aſſiſted againſt us by their companions. But we have permitted theſe *men* and their fathers to enjoy *worldly proſperity*, ſo long as life was continued unto them. Do they not perceive that we come unto the

[a] *The heavens and the earth were ſolid, and we clave the ſame in ſunder*;] That is, They were one continued maſs of matter, till we ſeparated them, and divided the heaven into ſeven heavens, and the earth into as many ſtories; and diſtinguiſhed the various orbs of the one, and the different climates of the other, *&c.* Or, as ſome chuſe to tranſlate the words, *The heavens and the earth were ſhut up, and we opened the ſame*; their meaning being, that the heavens did not rain, nor the earth produce vegetables, till GOD interpoſed his power [1].

[b] See chap. 16, p. 215.

[c] *If thou die therefore, will they be immortal?*] This paſſage was revealed when the infidels ſaid, We expect to ſee *Mohammed* die, like the reſt of mankind.

[d] *Yet they believe not what is mentioned to them of the Merciful*;] Denying his unity; or rejecting his apoſtles and the ſcriptures which were given for their inſtruction, and particularly the *Korân*.

[e] *Man is created of precipitation*;] Being haſty and inconſiderate [2]. It is ſaid this paſſage was revealed on account of *al Nodar Ebn al Hareth*, when he deſired *Mohammed* to haſten the divine vengeance with which he threatned the unbelievers [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *See chap.* 17. *p.* 228, *&c.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

land *of the unbelievers, and* ſtraiten the borders thereof? Shall they therefore be the conquerors? Say, I only preach unto you the revelation *of* GOD: but the deaf will not hear *thy* call, whenever they are preached unto. Yet if *the leaſt* breath of the puniſhment of thy LORD touch them, they will ſurely ſay, Alas for us! verily we have been unjuſt. We will appoint juſt balances for the day of reſurrection; neither ſhall any ſoul be injured at all: although *the merit or guilt of an action* be of the weight of a grain of muſtard-ſeed *only*, we will produce it *publickly*; and there will be ſufficient accountants with us. We formerly gave unto MOSES and AARON the *Law*, *being a* diſtinction [a] *between good and evil*, and a light and admonition unto the pious; who fear their LORD in ſecret, and who dread the hour *of judgment*. And this *book alſo is* a bleſſed admonition; which we have ſent down *from heaven*: will ye therefore deny it? And we gave unto ABRAHAM his direction [b] heretofore, and we knew him *to be worthy of the revelations wherewith he was favoured*. *Remember* when he ſaid unto his father, and his people, What are theſe images, to which ye are *ſo* entirely devoted [c]? They anſwered, We found our fathers worſhipping them. He ſaid, Verily both ye and your fathers have been in a manifeſt error. They ſaid, Doſt thou *ſeriouſly* tell us the truth, or art thou one who jeſteſt *with us?* He replied, Verily your LORD is the LORD of the heavens and the earth; *it is he* who hath created them: and I am *one* of thoſe who bear witneſs thereof. By GOD, I will ſurely deviſe a plot againſt your idols, after ye ſhall have retired *from them*, and ſhall have turned your backs. And *in the peoples abſence he went into the temple where the idols ſtood, and* he brake them *all* in pieces, except the biggeſt of them; that they might lay the blame upon that [d]. *And when they were returned, and ſaw the havock which had been made*, they ſaid, Who hath done this to our gods? He is certainly an impious perſon. *And certain of them* anſwered, We heard a young man ſpeak *reproachfully* of them: he is named ABRAHAM. They ſaid,

[a] *The diſtinction*;] *Arab. al Forkân.* See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 57.

[b] *His direction*;] viz. The ten books of divine revelations which were given him [1].

[c] See chap. 6. p. 106, *&c.* chap. 19. p. 252. and chap. 2. p. 31.

[d] *And he brake them all in pieces, except the biggeſt of them*, &c.] *Abraham* took his opportunity to do this while the *Chaldeans* were abroad in the fields, celebrating a great feſtival; and ſome ſay he hid himſelf in the temple: and when he had accompliſhed his deſign, that he might the more evidently convince them of their folly in worſhipping them, he hung the ax, with which he had hewn and broken down the images, on the neck of the chief idol, named by ſome writers, *Baal*; as if he had been the author of all the miſchief [2]. For this ſtory, which tho' it be falſe, is not ill invented, *Mohammed* ſtands indebted to the *Jews*; who tell it with a little variation: for they ſay *Abraham* performed this exploit in his father's ſhop, during his abſence; that *Terah*, on his return, demanding the occaſion of the diſorder, his ſon told him that the idols had quarrelled and fallen together by the ears about an offering of fine flower, which had been brought them by an old woman; and that the father, finding he could not inſiſt on the impoſſibility of what *Abraham* pretended, without confeſſing the impotence of his gods, fell into a violent paſſion, and carried him to *Nimrod* that he might be exemplarily puniſhed for his inſolence [3].

[1] *See the Prel. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 73. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c. V.* HYDE, *de Rel. vet. Perſ. c.* 2 [3] *R.* GEDAL. *in Shalſhel. hakkab. p.* 8. *V.* MAIMON. *Yad hazzaka, c.* 1. *de idol.*

ſaid, Bring him therefore before the eyes of the people, that they may bear witneſs *againſt him. And when he was brought before the aſſembly*, they ſaid *unto him*, Haſt thou done this unto our gods, O ABRAHAM? He anſwered, Nay, that biggeſt of them hath done it: but aſk them, if they *can* ſpeak. And they returned unto themſelves [a], and ſaid *the one to the other*, Verily ye are the impious *perſons*. Afterwards they relapſed into their former obſtinacy [b], *and ſaid*, Verily thou knoweſt that theſe ſpeak not. *ABRAHAM* anſwered, Do ye therefore worſhip, beſides GOD, that which cannot profit you at all, neither can it hurt you? Fie on you; and upon that which ye worſhip beſides GOD! Do ye not underſtand? They ſaid, Burn him, and avenge your gods: if ye do this *it will be well* [c]. *And when ABRAHAM was caſt into the burning pile*, we ſaid, O fire, be thou cold, and a preſervation unto ABRAHAM [d]. And they ſought to lay a plot againſt him: but we cauſed them to be the ſufferers [e]. And

[a] *They returned unto themſelves*;] That is, They became ſenſible of their folly.

[b] *Afterwards they relapſed into their former obſtinacy*;] Literally, *They were turned down upon their heads.*

[c] *They ſaid, Burn him*, &c.] Perceiving they could not prevail againſt *Abraham* by dint of argument, ſays *al Beidâwi*, they had recourſe to perſecution and torments. The ſame commentator tells us the perſon who gave this counſel, was a *Perſian Curd* [1], named *Heyyûn*, and that the earth opened and ſwallowed him up alive: ſome, however, ſay it was *Andeſhân*, a *Magian* prieſt [2]; and others, that it was *Nimrod* himſelf.

[d] *We ſaid, O fire, be thou cold*, &c.] The commentators relate that, by *Nimrod*'s order, a large ſpace was encloſed at *Cûtha*, and filled with a vaſt quantity of wood, which being ſet on fire burned ſo fiercely, that none dared to venture near it: then they bound *Abraham*, and putting him into an engine, (which ſome ſuppoſe to have been of the devil's invention,) ſhot him into the midſt of the fire; from which he was preſerved by the angel *Gabriel* who was ſent to his aſſiſtance; the fire burning only the cords with which he was bound [3]. They add that the fire having miraculouſly loſt its heat, in reſpect to *Abraham*, became an odoriferous air, and that the pile changed to a pleaſant meadow; tho' it raged ſo furiouſly otherwiſe, that, according to ſome writers, about two thouſand of the idolaters were conſumed by it [4].

This ſtory ſeems to have had no other foundation than that paſſage of *Moſes*, where GOD is ſaid to have brought Abraham *out of* Ur *of the* Chaldees [5], miſunderſtood: which words the *Jews*, the moſt trifling interpreters of ſcripture, and ſome moderns who have followed them, have tranſlated, *out of the fire of the* Chaldees; taking the word *Ur*, not for the proper name of a city, as it really is, but for an appellative, ſignifying *fire* [6]. However, it is a fable of ſome antiquity, and credited, not only by the *Jews*, but by ſeveral of the eaſtern *Chriſtians*; the twenty fifth of the ſecond *Canûn*, or *January*, being ſet apart in the *Syrian* calendar, for the commemoration of *Abraham*'s being caſt into the fire [7].

The *Jews* alſo mention ſome other perſecutions which *Abraham* underwent on account of his religion, particularly a ten years impriſonment [8]: ſome ſaying he was impriſoned by *Nimrod* [9]; and others, by his father *Terah* [10].

[e] *We cauſed them to be the loſers*;] Some tell us that *Nimrod*, on ſeeing this miraculous deliverance from his palace, cried out, that he would make an offering to the GOD of *Abraham*; and that he accordingly ſacrificed four thouſand kine [11]. But, if he ever relented, he ſoon relapſed into his former infidelity: for he built a tower that he might aſcend to heaven to ſee *Abraham*'s GOD; which being overthrown [12], ſtill perſiſting in his deſign, he would be carried to heaven in a cheſt born by four monſtrous birds;

[1] *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Dhokak.* & SCHULTENS, *Indic. Geogr. in vit. Saladini, voce Curdi.* [2] *V.* D'HERBEL. *p.* 115. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c. V.* MORGAN'S *Mahometiſm expl. v.* 1. *chap.* 4. [4] *The Mſ. Goſpel of Barnabas, ch.* 28. [5] *Geneſ.* XV. 7. [6] *V. Targ.* JONATH. & *Hieroſol. in Geneſ. c.* 11, & 15. & HYDE, *de Rel. vet. Perſ. p.* 74, *&c.* [7] *V.* HYDE, *ibid. p.* 73. [8] R. ELIEZ. *Pirke*, c. 26. *&c. V.* MAIM. *More Nev. l.* 3. *c.* 29. [9] *Gloſſa Talmud. in Gemar. Bava bathra*, 91. 1. [10] *In Aggada.* [11] *Al* BEIDAWI. [12] *See chap.* 16. *p.* 216.

And we delivered him, and LOT, *by bringing them* into the land wherein we have bleſſed all creatures [a]. And we beſtowed on him ISAAC, and JACOB, as an additional gift: and we made all *of them* righteous perſons. We alſo made them models of religion [b], that they might direct *others* by our command: and we inſpired into them the doing of good works, and the obſervance of prayer, and the giving of alms; and they ſerved us. And unto LOT we gave wiſdom and knowledge, and we delivered him out of the city which committed filthy crimes; for they were a wicked *and* inſolent people [c]: and we led him into our mercy; for he was an upright perſon. And *remember* NOAH, when he called *for deſtruction on his people* [d], before *the prophets abovementioned*; and we heard him, and delivered him and his family from a great ſtrait: and we protected him from the people who accuſed our ſigns of falſhood; for they were a wicked people, wherefore we drowned them all. And *remember* DAVID, and SOLOMON, when they pronounced judgment concerning a field, when the ſheep of *certain* people had fed therein by night, having no ſhepherd; and we were witneſſes of their judgment: and we gave the underſtanding thereof unto SOLOMON [e]. And on all *of them* we beſtowed wiſdom, and knowledge. And we compelled the mountains to praiſe us with DAVID; and the birds alſo [f]: and we did *this*. And we taught him the art

birds; but after wandering for ſome time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with ſuch a force, that he made it ſhake, whereto, (as ſome fancy) a paſſage in the *Korân* [1] alludes, which may be tranſlated, *although their contrivances be ſuch, as to make the mountains tremble.*

Nimrod, diſappointed in his deſign of making war with GOD, turned his arms againſt *Abraham*, who, being a great prince, raiſed forces to defend himſelf; but GOD, dividing *Nimrod*'s ſubjects, and confounding their language, deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued thoſe who adhered to him by ſwarms of gnats, which deſtroyed almoſt all of them: and one of thoſe gnats having entred into the noſtril, or ear, of *Nimrod*, penetrated to one of the membranes of his brain, where, growing bigger every day, it gave him ſuch intolerable pain, that he was obliged to cauſe his head to be beaten with a mallet, in order to procure ſome eaſe, which torture he ſuffered four hundred years; GOD being willing to puniſh, by one of the ſmalleſt of his creatures, him who inſolently boaſted himſelf to be lord of all [2]. A *Syrian* calendar places the death of *Nimrod*, as if the time were well known, on the eighth of *Thamûz*, or *July* [3].

[a] *The land wherein we have bleſſed all creatures*;] i. e. *Paleſtine*; in which country the greater part of the prophets appeared.

[b] See chap. 2. p. 16.

[c] See chap. 7. p. 125, *&c.* and chap. 11. p. 183;

[d] See chap. 8. p. 147. not. c.

[e] *When they pronounced judgment concerning a field*, &c.] Some ſheep, in their ſhepherd's abſence, having broken into another man's field (or vineyard, ſay others,) by night, and eat up the corn, a diſpute aroſe thereupon: and the cauſe being brought before *David* and *Solomon*, the former ſaid, that the owner of the land ſhould take the ſheep, in compenſation of the damage which he had ſuſtained; but *Solomon*, who was then but eleven years old, was of opinion that it would be more juſt for the owner of the field to take only the profit of the ſheep, *viz.* their milk, lambs, and wool, till the ſhepherd ſhould, by his own labour and at his own expence, put the field into as good condition as when the ſheep entred it; after which the ſheep might be returned to their maſter. And this judgment of *Solomon* was approved by *David* himſelf as better than his own [4].

[f] *We compelled the mountains to praiſe us with* David, *and the birds alſo*;] *Mohammed*, it ſeems, taking the viſions of the *Talmudiſts* for truth, believed that when *David* was fatigued with ſinging pſalms, the mountains, birds, and other parts of the creation, both animate and inanimate, relieved him in chanting the divine praiſes. This conſequence

[1] *Cap.* 14. *p.* 209.
[2] *V.* D'HERBEL: *Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod.* HYDE, *ubi ſupra.*
[3] *V.* HYDE, *ibid. p.* 74.
[4] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.*

art of making coats of mail for you [a], that they may defend you in your wars: will ye therefore be thankful? And unto SOLOMON *we ſubjected* a ſtrong wind [b]; it ran at his command to the land whereon we had beſtowed *our* bleſſing [c]: and we knew all things. And *we alſo ſubjected unto his command divers* of the devils, who might dive *to get pearls* for him, and perform *other* work beſides this [d]; and we watched over them [e]. And *remember* JOB [f]; when he cried unto his LORD, *ſaying*, Verily evil hath afflicted me: but thou art the moſt merciful of thoſe who ſhew mercy. Wherefore we heard him, and relieved *him from* the evil which was upon him: and we reſtored unto him his family, and as many more with them, through our mercy, and for an admonition unto thoſe who ſerve *GOD*. And *remember* ISMAEL, and EDRIS,

conſequence the *Jews* draw from the words of the pſalmiſt, when he calls on the ſeveral parts of nature to join with him in celebrating the praiſe of GOD [1]; it being their perverſe cuſtom to expound paſſages in the moſt literal manner, which cannot bear a literal ſenſe without a manifeſt abſurdity; and, on the contrary, to turn the plaineſt paſſages into allegorical fancies.

[a] *The art of making coats of mail*;] Men, before his inventing them, uſing to arm themſelves with broad plates of metal. Leſt this fable ſhould want ſomething of the marvellous, one writer tells us, that the iron which *David* uſed, became ſoft in his hands like wax [2].

[b] *A ſtrong wind*;] Which tranſported his throne with prodigious ſwiftneſs. Some ſay, this wind was violent or gentle, juſt as *Solomon* pleaſed [3].

[c] *To the land whereon we had beſtowed our bleſſing*;] viz. *Paleſtine*: whither the wind brought back *Solomon*'s throne in the evening, after having carried it to a diſtant country in the morning.

[d] *And perform other work*;] Such as the building of cities and palaces, the fetching of rare pieces of art from foreign countries, and the like.

[e] *And we watched over them*;] Leſt they ſhould ſwerve from his orders, or do miſchief according to their natural inclinations. *Jallalo'ddin* ſays, that when they had finiſhed any piece of building, they pulled it down before night, if they were not imployed in ſomething new.

[f] The *Mohammedan* writers tell us, that *Job* was of the race of *Eſau*, and was bleſſed with a numerous family, and abundant riches; but that GOD proved him, by taking away all that he had, even his children, who were killed by the fall of a houſe; notwithſtanding which he continued to ſerve GOD, and to return him thanks, as uſual: that he was then ſtruck with a filthy diſeaſe, his body being full of worms, and ſo offenſive, that as he lay on the dunghil none could bear to come near him: that his wife, however, (whom ſome call *Rahmat* the daughter of *Ephraim* the ſon of *Joſeph*, and others *Makhir* the daughter of *Manaſſes*) attended him with great patience, ſupporting him with what ſhe earned by her labour; but that the devil appearing to her one day, after having reminded her of her paſt proſperity, promiſed her that if ſhe would worſhip him, he would reſtore all they had loſt; whereupon ſhe asked her husband's conſent, who was ſo angry at the propoſal, that he ſwore, if he recovered, to give his wife a hundred ſtripes: that *Job* having pronounced the prayer recorded in this paſſage, GOD ſent *Gabriel*, who taking him by the hand raiſed him up; and at the ſame time a fountain ſprang up at his feet, of which having drank, the worms fell off his body, and waſhing therein he recovered his former health and beauty: that GOD then reſtored all to him double; his wife alſo becoming young and handſome again, and bearing him twenty ſix ſons: and that *Job*, to ſatisfy his oath, was directed by GOD to ſtrike her one blow with a palm-branch having a hundred leaves [4]. Some, to expreſs the great riches which were beſtowed on *Job* after his ſufferings, ſay he had two threſhing floors, one for wheat, and the other for barley, and that GOD ſent two clouds which rained gold on the one, and ſilver on the other, till they ran over [5]. The traditions differ as to the continuance of *Job*'s calamities; one will have it to be eighteen years, another thirteen, another three, and another exactly ſeven years ſeven months and ſeven hours.

[1] *See Pſalm.* cxlviii. [2] *Tarikh Montakkab. V.* D'HERBEL. *p.* 284. [3] *See chap.* 27.
[4] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, ABU'LFEDA, *&c. See* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Hiob.* JALLALO'DDIN.

EDRIS [a], and DHU'LKEFL [b]. All *these* were patient persons: wherefore we led them into our mercy; for they were righteous doers. And *remember* DHU'L-NUN [c], when he departed in wrath [d], and thought that we could not exercise our power over him. And he cried out in the darkness [e], *saying*, There is no GOD, besides thee: praise be unto thee! Verily I have been one of the unjust. Wherefore we heard him, and delivered him from affliction [f]: for so do we deliver the true believers. And *remember* ZACHARIAS, when he called upon his LORD, *saying*, O LORD, leave me not childless: yet thou art the best heir. Wherefore we heard him, and we gave him JOHN; and we rendred his wife fit *for bearing a child* unto him. These strove to excel in good works, and called upon us with love, and with fear; and humbled themselves before us. And *remember* her who preserved her virginity [g], and into whom we breathed of our spirit; ordaining her and her son for a sign unto all creatures. Verily this your religion is one religion [h]; and I am your LORD; wherefore serve me. But *the Jews and Christians* have made schisms in the affair of their *religion* among themselves: *but* all of them shall appear before us. Whosoever shall do good works, being a true believer, there shall be no denial *of the reward due* to his endeavours; and we will surely write *it* down unto him. An inviolable prohibition *is laid* on *every* city which we shall have destroyed; for that they shall not return *any more into the world*; until GOG and MAGOG shall have a passage opened for them [i], and they shall hasten from every high hill [k]; and the certain promise shall draw near *to be fulfilled*: and behold, the eyes of the infidels shall be fixed *with astonishment*

[a] See chap. 19. p. 253.

[b] *Dhu'lkefl*;] Who this prophet was is very uncertain. One commentator will have him to be *Elias*, or *Joshua*, or *Zacharias* [1]: another supposes him to have been the son of *Job*, and to have dwelt in *Syria*; to which some add, that he was first a very wicked man, but afterwards repenting, died; upon which these words appeared miraculously written over his door, *Now hath* GOD *been merciful unto* Dhu'lkefl [2]: and a third tells us he was a person of great strictness of life, and one who used to decide causes to the satisfaction of all parties, because he was never in a passion; and that he was called *Dhu'lkefl* from his continual fasting, and other religious exercises [3].

[c] *Dhu'lnûn*;] This is the surname of *Jonas*; which was given him because he was *swallowed by the fish*. See chap. 10. p. 174.

[d] *When he departed in wrath*;] Some suppose *Jonas*'s anger was against the *Ninivites*, being tired with preaching to them for so long a time, and greatly disgusted at their obstinacy and ill usage of him; but others, more agreeably to scripture, say the reason of his ill humour was GOD's pardoning of that people on their repentance, and averting the judgment which *Jonas* had threatned them with, so that he thought he had been made a liar [4].

[e] *In the darkness*;] i. e. Out of the belly of the fish.

[f] See chap. 37.

[g] *Her who preserved her virginity*;] Namely, the virgin *Mary*.

[h] *This your religion is one religion*;] Being the same which was professed by all the prophets, and holy men and women, without any fundamental difference or variation.

[i] *Until* Gog *and* Magog *shall have a passage opened for them*;] i. e. Until the resurrection; one sign of the approach whereof will be the eruption of those barbarians [5].

[k] *They shall hasten from every high hill*;] In this passage some copies, instead of *hadabin*, i. e. *an elevated part of the earth*, have *jadathin*, which signifies *a grave*; and if we follow the latter reading, the pronoun *they* must not refer to *Gog* and *Magog*, but to mankind in general.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] ABU'LF. [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. IV. *p.* 81.

ment, and they ſhall ſay, Alas for us! we were formerly regardleſs of this *day*; yea, we were wicked doers. Verily *both* ye, *O men of* MECCA, and *the idols* which ye worſhip beſides GOD, *ſhall be* caſt *as fewel* into hell *fire:* ye ſhall go down into the ſame. If theſe were *really* gods, they would not go down into the ſame: and all *of them* ſhall remain therein for ever. In that *place* ſhall they groan *for anguiſh*; and they ſhall not hear *ought* therein [a]. *As for* thoſe unto whom the moſt excellent *reward of paradiſe* hath been predeſtinated by us, they ſhall be tranſported far off from the ſame [b]; they ſhall not hear the leaſt ſound thereof: and they ſhall continue for ever in the *felicity* which their ſouls deſire. The greateſt terror ſhall not trouble them; and the angels ſhall meet them *to congratulate them, ſaying,* This is your day which ye were promiſed. On *that* day we will roll up the heavens, as *the angel* AL SIJIL [c] rolleth up the book *wherein every man's actions are recorded.* As we made the firſt creature *out of nothing, ſo* we will alſo reproduce it *at the reſurrection. This is* a promiſe *which it lieth* on us *to fulfil:* we will ſurely perform *it.* And now have we written in the pſalms, after *the promulgation of* the law, that my ſervants the righteous ſhall inherit the earth [d]. Verily in this *book are contained* ſufficient means *of ſalvation,* unto people who ſerve GOD. We have not ſent thee, *O* MOHAMMED, but *as* a mercy unto all creatures. Say, No other hath been revealed unto me, than that your GOD is one GOD: *will* ye therefore *be* reſigned *unto him?* But if they turn their backs *to the confeſſion of* GOD'S *unity,* ſay, I proclaim *war* againſt you *all* equally [e]: but I know not whether that which ye are threatned with [f] *be* nigh, or whether *it be* far diſtant. Verily GOD knoweth the diſcourſe which is ſpoken in public; and he *alſo* knoweth that which ye hold in private. I know not *but* peradventure *the reſpite granted you is for* a trial of you; and that ye may enjoy *the proſperity of this world* for a time. Say, LORD, judge *between me and my adverſaries* with truth. Our LORD is the Merciful; whoſe aſſiſtance *is* to be implored againſt the *blaſphemies and calumnies* which ye utter.

[a] *They ſhall not hear ought therein*;] Becauſe of their aſtoniſhment and the inſupportable torments they ſhall endure; or, as others expound the words, *They ſhall not hear therein* any thing which may give them the leaſt comfort.

[b] *As for thoſe unto whom paradiſe hath been predeſtinated,* &c.] One *Ebn al Zabári* objected to the preceding words, *Both ye and that which ye worſhip beſides* GOD, *ſhall be caſt into hell,* becauſe, being general, they aſſerted an abſolute falſhood; ſome of the objects of idolatrous worſhip being ſo far from any danger of damnation, that they were in the higheſt favour with GOD, as JESUS, *Ezra,* and the angels: wherefore this paſſage was revealed, excepting thoſe who were predeſtined to ſalvation [1].

[c] *The angel* al Sijil;] Whoſe office it is to write down the actions of every man's life, which, at his death, he rolls up, as completed. Some pretend one of *Mohammed*'s ſcribes is here meant: and others take the word *Sijil,* or, as it is alſo written, *Sijjill,* for an appellative, ſignifying a *book* or *written ſcroll*; and accordingly render the paſſage, *as a written ſcroll is rolled up* [2].

[d] Theſe words are taken from Pſalm 37. v. 29.

[e] *I proclaim war againſt you,* &c.] Or, *I have publickly declared unto you* what I was commanded.

[f] *That which ye are threatned with*;] viz. The loſſes and diſgraces which ye ſhall ſuffer by the future ſucceſſes of the *Moſlems*; or, the day of judgment.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem, &c.*

CHAP. XXII.

Intitled, The Pilgrimage [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O Men *of Mecca*, fear your LORD. Verily the ſhock of the *laſt* hour [c] *will be* a terrible thing. On the day whereon ye ſhall ſee it, every woman who giveth ſuck ſhall forget *the infant* which ſhe ſuckleth [d], and every *female* that is with young ſhall caſt her burthen; and thou ſhalt ſee men *ſeemingly* drunk, yet they ſhall not be *really* drunk: but the puniſhment of GOD *will be* ſevere. There is a man who diſputeth concerning GOD without knowledge [e], and followeth every rebellious devil: againſt whom it is written, that whoever ſhall take him for his patron, he ſhall ſurely ſeduce him, and ſhall lead him into the torment of hell. O men, if ye be in doubt concerning the reſurrection, *conſider that* we *firſt* created you of the duſt of the ground; afterwards, of ſeed; afterwards, of a little coagulated blood [f]; afterwards, of a piece of fleſh, perfectly formed *in part*, and *in part* imperfectly formed; that we might make *our power* manifeſt unto you: and we cauſe that which we pleaſe to reſt in the wombs, until the appointed time *of delivery*. Then we bring you forth infants; and afterwards *we permit* you to attain your age of full ſtrength: and one of you dieth *in his youth*, and another of you is poſtponed to a decrepit age, ſo that he forgetteth whatever he knew. Thou ſeeſt the earth *ſometimes* dried up and barren: but when we ſend down rain thereon, it is put in motion, and ſwelleth, and produceth every kind of luxuriant *vegetables*. This *ſheweth* that GOD is the truth, and that he raiſeth the dead to life, and that he is almighty; and that the hour *of judgment* will ſurely come, (there is no doubt thereof,) and that GOD will raiſe again thoſe who are in the graves. There is a man who diſputeth concerning GOD without either knowledge, or a direction, or an enlightening book [g]; proudly turning his ſide,

[a] Some ceremonies uſed at the pilgrimage of *Mecca* being mentioned in this chapter, gave occaſion to the inſcription.

[b] Some [1] except two verſes, beginning at theſe word, *There are ſome men who ſerve* GOD *in a wavering manner*, &c. And others [2] fix verſes, beginning at, *Theſe are two oppoſite parties*, &c.

[c] *The ſhock of the laſt hour*;] Or, the earthquake which, ſome ſay, is to happen a little before the ſun riſes from the weſt; one ſign of the near approach of the day of judgment [3].

[d] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 82.

[e] *There is a man who diſputeth concerning* GOD, &c.] This paſſage was revealed on account of *al Nodar Ebn al Hareth*, who maintained that the angels were the daughters of GOD, that the *Korân* was a fardel of old fables, and denied the reſurrection [4].

[f] See chap. 96.

[g] *There is a man who diſputeth concerning* GOD, &c.] The perſon here meant, it is ſaid, was *Abu Jahl* [5], a principal man among the *Koreiſh*, and

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 29, &c.
Al BEIDAWI. [4] JALLALO'DDIN.

ſide, that he may ſeduce *men* from the way of GOD. Ignominy *ſhall attend* him in this world; and on the day of reſurrection we will make him taſte the torment of burning, *when it ſhall be ſaid unto him*, This *thou ſuffereſt* becauſe of that which thy hands have formerly committed; for GOD is not unjuſt towards mankind. There are ſome men who ſerve GOD *in a wavering manner*, *ſtanding*, *as it were*, on the verge [a] *of the true religion*. If good befal *one of them*, he reſteth ſatisfied thercin; but if any tribulation befal him, he turneth himſelf round, with the loſs *both* of this world, and of the life to come. This is manifeſt perdition. He will call upon that, beſides GOD, which can neither hurt him, nor profit him. This is an error remote *from truth*. He will invoke him who will ſooner be of hurt *to his worſhipper* than of advantage. *Such is* ſurely a miſerable patron, and a miſerable companion. But GOD will introduce thoſe who ſhall believe, and do righteous works, into gardens through which rivers flow; for GOD doth that which he pleaſeth. Whoſo thinketh that GOD will not aſſiſt *his apoſtle* in this world, and in the world to come, let him ſtrain a rope towards heaven, then let him put an end to his life, and ſee whether his devices can render that ineffectual, for which he was angry [b]. Thus do we ſend down *the* KORAN, *being* evident ſigns; for GOD directeth whom he pleaſeth. *As to* the true believers, and thoſe who judaize, and the Sabians, and the Chriſtians, and the Magians, and the idolaters; verily GOD ſhall judge between them on the day of reſurrection; for GOD is witneſs of all things. Doſt thou not perceive that all *creatures* both in heaven and on earth adore GOD [c]; and the ſun, and the moon, and the ſtars, and the mountains, and the trees, and the beaſts, and many men? but many are worthy of chaſtiſement: and whomſoever GOD ſhall render deſpicable, there ſhall be none to honour; for GOD doth that which he pleaſeth. Theſe are two oppoſite parties, who diſpute concerning their LORD [d]. And they who believe not, ſhall have garments of fire fitted unto them:

and a moſt inveterate enemy of *Mohammed* and his religion. His true name was *Amru Ebn Heſhâm*, of the family of *Makhzûm*; and he was ſurnamed *Abu'lhocm*, i. e. *the father of wiſdom*, which was afterwards changed into *Abu jahl*, or *the father of folly*. He was ſlain in the battle of *Bedr* [1].

[a] *There are ſome men who ſerve* GOD *waveringly, ſtanding on the verge*, &c.] This expreſſion alludes to one who being poſted in the skirts of an army, if he ſees the victory inclining to his own ſide, ſtands his ground, but if the enemy is likely to prevail, takes to his heels.

The paſſage, they ſay, was revealed on account of certain *Arabs* of the deſart, who came to *Medina*, and having profeſſed *Mohammediſm*, were well enough pleaſed with it ſo long as their affairs proſpered, but if they met with any adverſity, were ſure to lay the blame on their new religion. A tradition of *Abu Saïd* mentions another accident as the occaſion of this paſſage, *viz.* that a certain *Jew* embraced *Iſlâm*, but afterwards taking a diſlike to it, on account of ſome misfortunes which had befallen him, went to *Mohammed*, and deſired he might renounce it, and be freed from the obligations of it; but the prophet told him that no ſuch thing was allowed in his religion [2].

[b] *Let him ſtrain a rope towards heaven*, &c.] Or, *Let him tie a rope to the roof of his houſe, and hang himſelf*; that is, let him carry his anger and reſentment to ever ſo great an height, even to be driven to the moſt deſperate extremities, and ſee whether with all his indeavours he will be able to intercept the divine aſſiſtance [3].

[c] *Adore* GOD;] Confeſſing his power, and obeying his ſupreme command.

[d] *Theſe are two oppoſite parties*, &c.] viz. The true believers, and the infidels. The paſſage is ſaid to have been revealed on occaſion of a diſpute

[1] *See chap.* 8. *p.* 145. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*

them: boiling water ſhall be poured on their heads; their bowels ſhall be diſſolved thereby, and *alſo* their ſkins; and they ſhall *be beaten* with maces of iron. So often as they ſhall endeavour to get out of *hell*, becauſe of the anguiſh *of their torments*, they ſhall be dragged back into the ſame; and *their tormentors ſhall ſay unto them*, Taſte ye the pain of burning. GOD will introduce thoſe who ſhall believe, and act righteouſly, into gardens through which rivers flow: they ſhall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and pearls; and their veſtures therein ſhall be ſilk. They are directed unto a good ſaying [a]; and are directed into the honourable way. But they who ſhall diſbelieve, and obſtruct the way of GOD, and *hinder men from viſiting* the holy temple *of* MECCA, which we have appointed *for a place of worſhip* unto *all* men: the inhabitant thereof, and the ſtranger *have an* equal *right to viſit it*: and whoſoever ſhall ſeek impiouſly to profane it, we will cauſe him to taſte a grievous torment. *Call to mind* when we gave the ſite of the houſe *of the* CAABA for an abode unto ABRAHAM [b], *ſaying*, Do not aſſociate any thing with me; and cleanſe my houſe for thoſe who compaſs *it*, and who ſtand up, and who bow down to worſhip. And proclaim unto the people a ſolemn pilgrimage [c]; let them come unto thee on foot, and on every lean *camel*, arriving from every diſtant road; that they may be witneſſes of the advantages *which accrew* to them *from the viſiting this holy place* [d], and may commemorate the name of GOD on the appointed days [e], *in gratitude* for the brute cattle which he hath beſtowed on them. Wherefore eat thereof, and feed the needy, *and* the poor. Afterwards let them put an end to the neglect of their

pute between the *Jews* and the *Mohammedans*: the former inſiſting that they were in greater favour with GOD, their prophet and revelations being prior to thoſe of the latter; and theſe replying, that they were more in GOD's favour, for that they believed not only in *Moſes* but alſo in *Mohammed*, and in all the ſcriptures without exception; whereas the *Jews* rejected *Mohammed*, tho' they knew him to be a prophet, out of envy [1].

[a] *Unto a good ſaying*;] viz. The profeſſion of GOD's unity; or theſe words, which they ſhall uſe at their entrance into paradiſe, *Praiſe be unto* GOD, *who hath fulfilled his promiſe unto us* [2].

[b] *When we gave unto* Abraham *the ſite of the* Caaba *for an abode*;] i. e. For a place of religious worſhip; ſhewing him the ſpot where it had ſtood, and alſo the model of the old building, which had been taken up to heaven at the flood [3].

[c] *Proclaim unto the people a ſolemn pilgrimage*;] It is related that *Abraham*, in obedience to this command, went up to mount *Abu kobeis*, near *Mecca*, and cried from thence, *O men, perform the pilgrimage to the houſe of your* LORD; and that GOD cauſed thoſe who were then in the loins of their fathers, and the wombs of their mothers, from eaſt to weſt, and who, he knew beforehand, would perform the pilgrimage, to hear his voice. Some ſay, however, that theſe words were directed to *Mohammed*, commanding him to proclaim the pilgrimage of valediction [4]: according to which expoſition the paſſage muſt have been revealed at *Medina*.

[d] *The advantages which accrew to them from the viſiting this place*;] viz. The temporal advantage made by the great trade driven at *Mecca* during the pilgrimage, and the ſpiritual advantage of having performed ſo meritorious a work.

[e] *The appointed days*;] Namely, The ten firſt days of *Dhu'lhajja*; or the tenth day of the ſame month, on which they ſlay the ſacrifices, and the three following days [5].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

their perſons [a]; and let them pay their vows [b], and compaſs the ancient houſe. [c] This *let them do.* And whoever ſhall regard the ſacred ordinances of GOD [d]; this will be better for him in the ſight of his LORD. *All ſorts of* cattle are allowed you *to eat*, except what hath been read unto you, *in former paſſages of the* KORAN, *to be forbidden.* But depart from the abomination of idols, and avoid ſpeaking that which is falſe [e]: being orthodox in reſpect to GOD, aſſociating *no other god* with him; for whoever aſſociateth *any other* with GOD, is like that which falleth from heaven, and which the birds ſnatch away, or the wind bloweth to a far diſtant place [f]. This *is ſo.* And whoſo maketh valuable offerings unto GOD [g]; verily they *proceed* from the piety of *men*'s hearts. Ye receive various advantages from the *cattle deſigned for ſacrifices*, until a determined time *for ſlaying them:* then the place of ſacrificing them *is* at the ancient houſe. Unto the profeſſors of every religion [h] have we appointed certain rites, that they may commemorate the name of GOD on *ſlaying* the brute cattle which he hath provided for them. Your GOD is one GOD: wherefore reſign your ſelves *wholly* unto him. And do thou bear good tidings unto thoſe who humble themſelves; whoſe hearts, when mention is made of GOD, are ſtruck with fear; and *unto* thoſe who patiently indure that which befalleth them; and who duely perform their prayers, and give alms out of what we have beſtowed on them. The camels

[a] *Let them put an end to the neglect of their perſons;*] By ſhaving their heads, and other parts of their bodies, and cutting their beards and nails in the valley of *Mina*; which the pilgrims are not allowed to do from the time they become *Mohrims*, and have ſolemnly dedicated themſelves to the performance of the pilgrimage, till they have finiſhed the ceremonies, and ſlain their victims [1].

[b] *Let them pay their vows;*] By doing the good works which they have vowed to do in their pilgrimage. Some underſtand the words only of the performance of the requiſite ceremonies.

[c] *And compaſs the ancient houſe;*] i. e. The *Caaba*; which the *Mohammedans* pretend was the firſt edifice built and appointed for the worſhip of GOD [2]. The going round this chapel is a principal ceremony of the pilgrimage, and is often repeated; but the laſt time of their doing it, when they take their farewel of the temple, ſeems to be more particularly meant in this place.

[d] *Whoever ſhall regard the ſacred ordinances of* GOD;] By obſerving what he has commanded, and avoiding what he has forbidden; or, as the words alſo ſignify, *Whoever ſhall honour what* GOD *hath ſanctified*, or commanded not to be profaned; as the temple and territory of *Mecca*, and the ſacred months, *&c.*

[e] *Avoid ſpeaking that which is falſe;*] Either by aſſerting wrong and impious things of the Deity; or by bearing falſe witneſs againſt your neighbours.

[f] *Like that which falleth from heaven,* &c.] Becauſe he who falls into idolatry, ſinketh from the height of faith into the depth of infidelity, has his thoughts diſtracted by wicked luſts, and is hurried by the devil into the moſt abſurd errors [3].

[g] *Whoſo maketh valuable offerings unto* GOD;] By chuſing a well-favoured and coſtly victim, in honour of him to whom it is deſtined. They ſay *Mohammed* once offered a hundred fat camels, and among them one which had belonged to *Abu Jahl*, having in his noſe a ring of gold: and that *Omar* offered a noble camel, for which he had been bid three hundred *dinârs* [4].

The original may alſo be tranſlated generally, *Whoſo regardeth the rites of the pilgrimage*, &c. But the *victims* ſeem to be more particularly intended in this place.

[h] *Unto the profeſſors of every religion;*] *Jalâlo'ddin* underſtands this paſſage in a reſtrained ſenſe, of the former nations who were true believers; to whom GOD appointed a ſacrifice, and a fixed place and proper ceremonies for the offering of it.

[1] *Idem.* *See chap. 2. p. 23. chap. 5. p. 95. and* BOBOV. *de Peregr. Meccana, p. 15, &c.* [2] *See chap. 3. p. 47. and the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.*

camels *ſlain for ſacrifice* have we appointed for you as ſymbols of your obedience unto GOD: ye *alſo* receive *other* advantages from them. Wherefore commemorate the name of GOD over them, *when ye ſlay them*, ſtanding on their feet diſpoſed in right order [a]: and when they are fallen down *dead*, eat of them; and give to eat *thereof both* unto him who is content *with what is given him, without asking*, and unto him who aſketh [b]. Thus have we given you dominion over them, that ye might return *us* thanks. Their fleſh is not accepted of GOD, neither their blood; but your piety is accepted of him. Thus have we given you dominion over them, that ye might magnify GOD, for *the revelations* whereby he hath directed you. And bear good tidings unto the righteous, that GOD will repel *the ill deſigns of the infidels* from the true believers; for GOD loveth not every perfidious unbeliever. Permiſſion is granted unto thoſe who take arms *againſt the unbelievers*, for that they have been unjuſtly perſecuted *by them:* (and GOD is certainly able to aſſiſt them:) who have been turned out of their habitations injuriouſly, *and for no other reaſon* than becauſe they ſay, Our LORD is GOD [c]. And if GOD did not repel *the violence of* ſome men by others, verily monaſteries, and churches, and ſynagogues, and the temples *of the Moſlems*, wherein the name of GOD is frequently commemorated, would be utterly demoliſhed [d]. And GOD will certainly aſſiſt him who ſhall be on his ſide: for GOD *is* ſtrong *and* mighty. *And he will aſſiſt thoſe* who, if we eſtabliſh them in the earth, will obſerve prayer, and give alms, and command that which is juſt, and forbid that which is unjuſt. And unto GOD *ſhall be* the end of *all* things. If they accuſe thee, *O MOHAMMED*, of impoſture; *conſider that*, before them, the people of NOAH, and *the tribes of* AD and THAMUD, and the people of ABRAHAM, and the people of Lot, and the inhabitants of MADIAN, accuſed *their prophets* of impoſture: and MOSES was alſo charged with falſehood. And I granted a long reſpite unto the unbelievers: *but* afterwards I chaſtiſed them; and how *different* was the change I made *in their condition!* How many cities have we deſtroyed, which were ungodly, and which *are now* fallen to ruin on their roofs? And *how many*

Standing on their feet diſpoſed in right order;] That is, as ſome expound the word, ſtanding on three feet, having one of their fore feet tied up, which is the manner of tying camels to prevent their moving from the place. Some copies inſtead of *ſawâffa* read *ſawâffena*, from the verb *ſaffana*, which properly ſignifies the poſture of a horſe, when he ſtands on three feet, the edge of the fourth only touching the ground.

[b] *Unto him who is content without asking, and unto him who asketh;*] Or, as the words may alſo be rendred, *Unto him who asketh in a modeſt and humble manner, and unto him who wanteth but dareth not ask.*

[c] *Permiſſion is granted unto thoſe who take arms, &c.*] This was the firſt paſſage of the *Korân* which allowed *Mohammed* and his followers to defend themſelves againſt their enemies by force, and was revealed a little before the flight to *Medina*; till which time the prophet had exhorted his *Moſlems* to ſuffer the injuries offered them with patience, which is alſo commanded in above ſeventy different places of the *Korân* [1].

[d] *If GOD did not repel the violence of ſome men by others, verily monaſteries, and churches, &c. would be demoliſhed;*] That is, The public exerciſe of any religion, whether true or falſe, is ſupported only by force; and therefore, as *Mohammed* would argue, the true religion muſt be eſtabliſhed by the ſame means.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c. V. the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 48, *&c.*

many wells have been abandoned [a], and lofty caſtles? Do they not therefore journey through the land? And have they not hearts to underſtand with, or ears to hear with? Surely as to theſe things *their* eyes are not blind, but the hearts are blind which *are* in *their* breaſts. They will urge thee to haſten the *threatened* puniſhment; but GOD will not fail *to perform* what he hath threatened: and verily *one* day with thy LORD *is* as a thouſand years, of thoſe which ye compute [b]. Unto how many cities have I granted reſpite, though they were wicked? Yet afterwards I chaſtiſed them: and unto me ſhall they come *to be judged, at the laſt day*. Say, O men, verily I am only a public preacher unto you. And they who believe, and do good works, ſhall obtain forgiveneſs and an honourable proviſion. But thoſe who endeavour to make our ſigns of none effect, *ſhall be* the inhabitants of hell. We have ſent no apoſtle, or prophet, before thee, but, when he read, SATAN ſuggeſted *ſome error* in his reading [c]. But GOD ſhall make void that which SATAN hath ſuggeſted: then ſhall GOD confirm his ſigns; for GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. *But this he permitteth*, that he may make that which SATAN hath ſuggeſted, a temptation unto thoſe in whoſe hearts there is an infirmity, and whoſe hearts are hardened: (for the ungodly are certainly in a wide diſagreement *from the truth*:) and that they on whom knowledge hath been beſtowed, may know that *this book* is the truth from thy LORD, and may believe therein; and that their hearts may acquieſce in the ſame: for GOD *is* ſurely the director of thoſe who believe, into the right way. But the infidels will not ceaſe to doubt concerning it, until the hour *of judgment* cometh ſuddenly upon them; or until the puniſhment of a grievous day [d] overtake

[a] *How many wells have been abandoned, &c.*] That is, How many ſpots in the deſarts, which were formerly inhabited, are now abandoned? a neglected well being the proper ſign of ſuch a deſerted dwelling in thoſe parts, as ruins are of a demoliſhed town.

Some imagine that this paſſage intends more particularly a well at the foot of a certain hill in the province of *Hadramaut*, and a caſtle built on the top of the ſame hill, both belonging to the people of *Handha Ebn Safwân*, a remnant of the *Thamudites*, who having killed their prophet, were utterly deſtroyed by GOD, and their dwelling abandoned [1].

[b] See 2 Pet. iii. 8.

[c] *We have ſent no apoſtle or prophet, but when he read*, Satan *ſuggeſted ſome error in his reading, &c.*] The occaſion of the paſſage is thus related. *Mohammed* one day reading the 53d chapter of the *Korân*, when he came to this verſe, *What think ye of* Allât, *and* al Uzza, *and of* Manâh *the other third goddeſs?* the devil put the following words into his mouth, which he pronounced thro' inadvertence, or, as ſome tell us, becauſe he was then half aſleep [2], viz. *Theſe are the moſt high and beauteous damſels, whoſe interceſſion is to be hoped for*. The *Koreiſh*, who were ſitting near *Mohammed*, greatly rejoiced at what they had heard, and when he had finiſhed the chapter, joined with him and his followers in making their adoration: but the prophet, being acquainted by the angel *Gabriel* with the reaſon of their compliance, and with what he had uttered, was deeply concerned at his miſtake, till this verſe was revealed for his conſolation [3].

We are told however by *Al Beidawi*, that the more intelligent and accurate perſons reject the aforeſaid ſtory; and the verb, here tranſlated *read*, ſignifying alſo *to wiſh for* any thing, interpret the paſſage of the ſuggeſtions of the devil to debauch the affections of thoſe holy perſons, or to employ their minds in vain wiſhes and deſires.

[d] *A grievous day.*] Or, *a day which maketh childleſs*; by which ſome great misfortune in war is expreſſed: as the overthrow the infidels received at *Bedr*. Some ſuppoſe the reſurrection is here intended.

[1] *Idem.* [2] YAHYA. [3] *Al Beidawi*, JALALO'DDIN, YAHYA, *&c.* *Sect.* 10. *f.* 223.

overtake them. On that day the kingdom ſhall be GOD's: he ſhall judge between them. And they who ſhall have believed, and ſhall have wrought righteouſneſs, *ſhall be* in gardens of pleaſure: but they who ſhall have diſbelieved, and ſhall have charged our ſigns with falſehood, thoſe ſhall ſuffer a ſhameful puniſhment. And *as to thoſe* who ſhall have fled their country for the ſake of GOD's true religion, and afterwards ſhall have been ſlain, or ſhall have died; on them will GOD beſtow an excellent proviſion; and GOD is the beſt provider. He will ſurely introduce them with an introduction with which they ſhall be well-pleaſed: for GOD *is* knowing *and* gracious. This *is ſo*. Whoever ſhall take a vengeance equal to the injury which hath been done him[a], and ſhall afterwards be unjuſtly treated[b]; verily GOD will aſſiſt him: for GOD *is* merciful, *and* ready to forgive. This *ſhall be done*, for that GOD cauſeth the night to ſucceed the day, and he cauſeth the day to ſucceed the night; and for that GOD *both* heareth *and* ſeeth. This, becauſe GOD is truth, and becauſe what they invoke beſides him, is vanity; and for that GOD is the high, the mighty. Doſt thou not ſee that GOD ſendeth down water from heaven, and the earth becometh green? for GOD *is* gracious *and* wiſe. Unto him *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and on earth: and GOD is ſelf-ſufficient, worthy to be praiſed. Doſt thou not ſee that GOD hath ſubjected whatever is in the earth to your ſervice, and *alſo* the ſhips which ſail in the ſea, by his command? And he with-holdeth the heaven that it fall not on the earth, unleſs by his permiſſion[c]: for GOD *is* gracious unto mankind, *and* merciful. It is he who hath given you life, and will hereafter cauſe you to die; afterwards he will *again* raiſe you to life, *at the reſurrection*: but man *is* ſurely ungrateful. Unto the profeſſors of every religion have we appointed certain rites, which they obſerve. Let them not therefore diſpute with thee concerning *this* matter; but invite *them* unto thy LORD: for thou followeſt the right direction. But if they enter into debate with thee, anſwer, GOD well knoweth that which ye do: GOD will judge between you, on the day of reſurrection, concerning that wherein ye *now* diſagree. Doſt thou not know that GOD knoweth whatever is in heaven and on earth? Verily this *is written* in the book *of his decrees*: this is eaſy with GOD. They worſhip, beſides GOD, that concerning which he hath ſent down no convincing proof, and concerning which they have no knowledge: but the unjuſt doers ſhall have none to aſſiſt them. And when our evident ſigns are rehearſed unto them, thou mayeſt perceive, in the countenances of the unbelievers, a diſdain *thereof*: it wanteth little but that they ruſh with violence on thoſe who rehearſe our ſigns unto them. Say, Shall I declare unto you a worſe thing than this? The fire *of hell*, which GOD hath threatened unto thoſe who believe not, *is worſe*; and an unhappy journey *ſhall it be thither*. O men, a parable is propounded *unto you*, wherefore hearken unto it. Verily *the idols* which ye invoke, be-

[a] *Whoever ſhall take a vengeance equal to the injury*;] And ſhall not take a more ſevere revenge than the fact deſerves.

[b] *And ſhall afterwards be unjuſtly treated*;] By the aggreſſor's ſeeking to revenge himſelf again of the perſon injured, by offering him ſome further violence.

The paſſage ſeems to relate to the vengeance which the *Moſlems* ſhould take of the infidels, for their unjuſt perſecution of them.

[c] *That it fall not*, &c.] Which it will do at the laſt day.

beſides GOD, can never create a ſingle fly, although they were *all* aſſembled for that *purpoſe:* and if the fly ſnatch any thing from them, they cannot recover the ſame from it [a]. Weak is the petitioner, and the petitioned. They judge not of GOD according to his due eſtimation: for GOD *is* powerful *and* mighty. GOD chooſeth meſſengers from among the angels [b], and from among men: for GOD *is* he who heareth *and* ſeeth. He knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them: and unto GOD ſhall *all* things return. O true believers, bow down, and proſtrate your ſelves, and worſhip your LORD; and work righteouſneſs, that ye may be happy: and fight in defence of GOD's true religion, as it behoveth *you* to fight for the ſame. He hath choſen you, and hath not impoſed on you any difficulty in the religion *which he hath given you*, the religion of your father ABRAHAM: he hath named you Moſlems heretofore, and in this *book*; that *our* apoſtle may be a witneſs againſt you *at the day of judgment*, and that ye may be witneſſes againſt *the reſt of* mankind. Wherefore be ye conſtant at prayer; and give alms: and adhere firmly unto GOD. He is your maſter; and he is the beſt maſter, and the beſt protector.

[a] *If the fly ſnatch any thing from them*, &c.] The commentators ſay, that the *Arabs* uſed to anoint the images of their gods with ſome odoriferous compoſition, and with honey, which the flies eat, tho' the doors of the temple were carefully ſhut, getting in at the windows or crevices.

Perhaps *Mohammed* took this argument from the *Jews*, who pretend that the temple of *Jeruſalem*, and the ſacrifices there offered to the true GOD, were never annoyed by flies [1]; whereas ſwarms of thoſe inſects infeſted the heathen temples, being drawn thither by the ſteam of the ſacrifices [2].

[b] GOD *chooſeth meſſengers from among the angels*;] Who are the bearers of the divine revelations to the prophets; but ought not to be the objects of worſhip.

[1] *Pirke Aboth, c.* 5. §. 6, 7. [2] *V.* SELDEN. *de Dîis Syris, Synt.* 2. *c.* 6.

CHAP. XXIII.

Intitled, The true Believers; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

XVIII. *NOW are the true believers happy: who humble themſelves in their prayer, and who eſchew *all* vain diſcourſe, and who *are* doers of almsdeeds; and who keep themſelves from carnal knowledge *of any women* except their wives, or the *captives* which their right hands poſſeſs; (for *as to them* they ſhall be blameleſs: but whoever coveteth any *woman* beyond theſe, they *are* tranſgreſſors:) and who acquit themſelves faithfully of their truſt, and *juſtly perform* their covenant; and who obſerve their *appointed times of* prayer: theſe ſhall be the heirs, who ſhall inherit paradiſe; they ſhall continue therein for ever. We formerly created man of a finer ſort of clay;

afterwards we placed him *in the form of* ſeed in a ſure receptacle[a]: afterwards we made the ſeed coagulated blood; and we formed the coagulated blood into a piece of fleſh: then we formed the piece of fleſh into bones; and we cloathed thoſe bones with fleſh: then we produced the ſame by another creation[b]. Wherefore bleſſed be GOD, the moſt excellent Creator[c]! After this ſhall ye die: and afterwards ſhall ye be reſtored to life, on the day of reſurrection. And we have created over you ſeven heavens[d]: and we are not negligent of what we have created. And we ſend down rain from heaven, by meaſure; and we cauſe it to remain on the earth: we are alſo certainly able to deprive you of the ſame. And we cauſe gardens of palm-trees, and vineyards, to ſpring forth for you by means thereof; wherein ye have many fruits, and whereof ye eat. And *we alſo raiſe for you* a tree ſpringing from mount SINAI[e]; which produceth oil, and a ſauce for thoſe who eat. Ye have likewiſe an inſtruction in the cattle: we give you to drink of the *milk* which *is* in their bellies, and ye receive many advantages from them; and of them do ye eat: and on them, and on ſhips, are ye carried[f]. We ſent NOAH heretofore unto his people, and he ſaid, O my people, ſerve GOD: ye have no GOD beſides him; will ye not therefore fear *the conſequence of your worſhipping other gods?* And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, ſaid, This is no other than a man, as ye are: he ſeeketh to raiſe himſelf to a ſuperiority over you. If GOD had pleaſed *to have ſent a meſſenger unto you*, he would ſurely have ſent angels: we have not heard this of our forefathers. Verily he is no other than a man *diſturbed* with frenzy: wherefore wait concerning him for a time. *NOAH* ſaid, O LORD, do thou protect me; for that they accuſe me of falſhood. And we revealed *our orders* unto him, *ſaying*, Make the ark in our ſight; and *according to* our revelation. And when our decree cometh *to be executed*, and the oven ſhall boil *and pour forth water*, carry into it of every *ſpecies of animals* one pair; and alſo thy family, except ſuch of them on whom a previous ſentence *of deſtruction* hath paſſed[g]: and ſpeak not unto me in behalf of thoſe who have been unjuſt; for they *ſhall be* drowned. And when thou and they who *ſhall be* with thee, ſhall go up into the ark, ſay, Praiſe be unto GOD, who hath delivered us from the ungodly people! And ſay, O LORD, cauſe me to come down *from this ark* with a bleſſed deſcent; for thou art beſt able to bring me down *from the ſame with ſafety*. Verily

[a] *A ſure receptacle*;] *Viz.* The womb.

[b] *By another creation*;] i.e. Producing a perfect man, compoſed of ſoul and body.

[c] See chap. 6. p. 108. not. e.

[d] *Seven heavens*;] Literally, *ſeven paths*; by which the heavens are meant, becauſe, according to ſome expoſitors, they are the *paths* of the angels and of the celeſtial bodies: tho' the original word alſo ſignifies things which are *folded* or *placed like ſtories* one above another, as the *Mohammedans* ſuppoſe the heavens to be.

[e] *A tree ſpringing from mount* Sinai;] viz. The olive. The gardens near this mountain are yet famous for the excellent fruit-trees of almoſt all ſorts which grow there [1].

[f] *On them, and on ſhips are ye carried*;] The beaſt more particularly meant in this place, is the camel, which is chiefly uſed for carriage in the eaſt; being called by the *Arabs*, the *land-ſhip*, on which they paſs thoſe *ſeas of ſand*, the deſarts.

[g] See chap. 11. p. 178, &c.

[1] *V. Voyages de* THEVENOT, *liv. 2. ch.* 9.

Verily herein *were* ſigns *of our omnipotence*; and we proved *mankind thereby*. Afterwards we raiſed up another generation [a] after them; and we ſent unto them an apoſtle from among them [b], *who ſaid*, Worſhip GOD: ye have no GOD beſides him; will ye not therefore fear *his vengeance?* And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, and who denied the meeting of the life to come, and on whom we had beſtowed affluence in this preſent life, ſaid, This is no other than a man, as ye are; he eateth of that whereof ye eat, and he drinketh of that whereof ye drink: and if ye obey a man like unto your ſelves, ye will ſurely be ſufferers. Doth he threaten you that after ye ſhall be dead, and ſhall become duſt and bones, ye ſhall be brought forth *alive from your graves?* Away, away with that ye are threatened with! There is *no other life* beſides our preſent life: we die, and we live; and we ſhall not be raiſed again. This is no other than a man, who deviſeth a lie concerning GOD: but we will not believe him. *Their apoſtle* ſaid, O LORD, defend me; for that they have accuſed me of impoſture. *GOD* anſwered, After a little while they ſhall ſurely repent *their obſtinacy*. Wherefore a ſevere puniſhment was juſtly inflicted on them, and we rendred them *like* the refuſe *which is carried down by a ſtream*. Away therefore with the ungodly people! Afterwards we raiſed up other generations [c] after them. No nation ſhall be puniſhed before their determined time; neither ſhall they be reſpited *after*. Afterwards we ſent our apoſtles, one after another. So often as their apoſtle came unto any nation, they charged him with impoſture: and we cauſed them ſucceſſively to follow one another *to deſtruction*; and we made them *only ſubjects of* traditional ſtories. Away therefore with the unbelieving nations! Afterwards we ſent MOSES, and AARON his brother, with our ſigns and manifeſt power, unto PHARAOH and his princes: but they proudly refuſed *to believe on him*; for they were a haughty people. And they ſaid, Shall we believe on two men like unto our ſelves; whoſe people are our ſervants? And they accuſed them of impoſture: wherefore they became of *the number of* thoſe who were deſtroyed. And we heretofore gave the book *of the law* unto MOSES, that *the children of ISRAEL* might be directed *thereby*. And we appointed the ſon of MARY, and his mother, for a ſign: and we prepared an abode for them in an elevated part of the earth [d], being *a place* of quiet *and ſecurity, and* watered with running ſprings. O apoſtles, eat of thoſe things which are good [e]; and work righteouſ-

 neſs:

[a] *Another generation*;] Namely, the tribe of *Ad*, or of *Thamud*.

[b] *An apoſtle*;] viz. The prophet *Hûd*, or *Sâleh*.

[c] *Other generations*;] As the *Sodomites, Midianites*, &c.

[d] *An elevated part of the earth*;] The commentators tell us the place here intended is *Jeruſalem*, or *Damaſcus*, or *Ramlah*, or *Paleſtine*, or *Egypt* [1].

But perhaps the paſſage means the hill to which the virgin *Mary* retired to be delivered, according to the *Mohammedan* tradition [2].

[e] *O apoſtles, eat of thoſe things which are good, &c.*] Theſe words are addreſſed to the apoſtles in general, to whom it was permitted to eat of all clean and wholſome food; and were ſpoken to them ſeverally at the time of their reſpective miſſion. Some however, think them directed particularly to the virgin *Mary* and *Jeſus*, or ſingly

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *See chap.* 19. *p.* 250.

neſs: for I well know that which ye do. This your religion is one religion [a]; and I am your LORD: wherefore fear me. But *men* have rent the affair of their *religion* into various ſects: every party rejoiceth in that which they follow. Wherefore leave them in their confuſion, until a certain time [b]. Do they think that we haſten unto them the wealth and children which we have abundantly beſtowed on them, for their good? But they do not underſtand. Verily they who ſtand in awe, for fear of their LORD, and who believe in the ſigns of their LORD, and who attribute not companions unto their LORD; and who give that which they give *in alms*, their hearts being ſtruck with dread, for that they muſt return unto their LORD: theſe haſten unto good, and are foremoſt to *obtain* the ſame. We will not impoſe any difficulty on a ſoul, except according to its ability; with us *is* a book, which ſpeaketh the truth; and they ſhall not be injured. But their hearts are *drowned* in negligence, as to this *matter*; and they have works different from thoſe *we have mentioned*; which they will continue to do, until, when we chaſtiſe ſuch of them as enjoy an affluence of fortune, by a *ſevere* puniſhment [c], behold, they cry aloud for help: *but it ſhall be anſwered them*, Cry not for help to day: for ye ſhall not be aſſiſted by us. My ſigns were read unto you, but ye turned back on your heels: proudly elating your ſelves becauſe of *your poſſeſſing the holy temple*; diſcourſing together by night, *and* talking fooliſhly. Do they not therefore attentively conſider that which is ſpoken *unto them*; whether *a revelation* is come unto them which came not unto their forefathers? Or do they not know their apoſtle; and therefore reject him? Or do they ſay, He is a madman? Nay, he hath come unto them with the truth; but the greater part of them deteſt the truth. If the truth had followed their deſires, verily the heavens and the earth, and whoever therein *is*, had been corrupted [d]. But we have brought them their admonition; and they turn aſide from their admonition. Doſt thou aſk of them any maintenance *for thy preaching?* ſince the maintenance of thy LORD is better; for he is the moſt bounteous provider. Thou certainly inviteſt them to the right way: and they who believe not in the life to come, do ſurely deviate from *that* way. If we had had compaſſion on them, and had taken off from

ſingly to the (latter, in which caſe the plural number muſt be uſed out of reſpect only), propoſing the practice of the prophets for their imitation. *Mohammed* probably deſigned in this paſſage to condemn the abſtinence obſerved by the *Chriſtian* monks [1].

[a] See chap. 21. p. 272.

[b] *Until a certain time*;] i. e. Till they ſhall be ſlain, or ſhall die a natural death.

[c] *A ſevere puniſhment*;] By which is intended either the overthrow at *Bedr*, where ſeveral of the chief *Koraſhites* loſt their lives; or the famine with which the *Meccans* were afflicted, at the prayer of the prophet, conceived in theſe words, *O* GOD, *ſet thy foot ſtrongly on* Modar, (an anceſtor of the *Koreiſh*) *and give them years like the years of* Joſeph: whereupon ſo great a dearth enſued, that they were obliged to feed on dogs, carrion, and burnt bones [2].

[d] *If the truth had followed their deſires*, &c.] That is, If there had been a plurality of gods, as the idolaters contend [3]: or, if the doctrine taught by *Mohammed* had been agreeable to their inclinations, *&c.*

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *See chap.* 21. *p.* 266.

from them the calamity which had befallen them [a], they would ſurely have more obſtinately perſiſted in their error, wandring *in confuſion*. We formerly chaſtiſed them with a puniſhment [b]: yet they did not humble themſelves before their LORD, neither did they make ſupplications *unto him*; until, when we have opened upon them a door, from which a ſevere puniſhment [c] *hath iſſued*, behold, they are driven to deſpair thereat. It is GOD who hath created in you *the ſenſes of* hearing and *of* ſight, *that ye may perceive our judgments*, and hearts, *that ye may ſeriouſly conſider them: yet* how few of you give thanks! It is he who hath produced you in the earth; and before him ſhall ye be aſſembled. It is he who giveth life, and putteth to death; and to him *is to be attributed* the viciſſitude of night and day: do ye not therefore underſtand? But the *unbelieving* MECCANS ſay as *their* predeceſſors ſaid: they ſay, When we ſhall be dead, and ſhall have become duſt and bones, ſhall we really be raiſed to life? We have already been threatened with this, and our fathers alſo heretofore: this is nothing but fables of the ancients. Say, Whoſe is the earth, and whoever therein *is*; if ye know? They will anſwer, GOD's. Say, Will ye not therefore conſider? Say, Who is the LORD of the ſeven heavens, and the LORD of the magnificent throne? They will anſwer, *They are* GOD's. Say, Will ye not therefore fear *him?* Say, In whoſe hand is the kingdom of all things; who protecteth *whom he pleaſeth*, but is himſelf protected of none; if ye know? They will anſwer, *In* GOD's. Say, How therefore are ye bewitched? Yea, we have brought them the truth; and they are certainly liars *in denying the ſame*. GOD hath not begotten iſſue; neither is there any *other* god with him: otherwiſe every god had ſurely taken away that which he had created [d]; and ſome of them had exalted themſelves above the others [e]. Far be that from GOD, which they affirm *of him!* He knoweth that which is concealed, and that which is made public: wherefore far be it from him *to have thoſe ſharers in his honour*, which they attribute to him! Say, O LORD, If thou wilt ſurely cauſe me to ſee *the vengeance* with which they have been threatened; O LORD, ſet me not among the ungodly people: for we are ſurely able to make thee to ſee that with which we have threatened them. Turn aſide evil with that which is better [f]: we well know *the calumnies* which they utter *againſt thee*. And ſay,

[a] *The calamity which had befallen them*;] viz. The famine. It is ſaid that the *Meccans* being reduced to eat *ilhiz*, which is a ſort of miſerable food made of blood and camels hair, uſed by the *Arabs* in time of ſcarcity, *Abu Sofiân* came to *Mohammed*, and ſaid, *Tell me, I adjure thee by* GOD *and the relation that is between us, doſt thou think thou art ſent as a mercy unto all creatures; ſince thou haſt ſlain the fathers with the ſword, and the children with hunger* [1]?

[b] *We formerly chaſtiſed them with a puniſhment*;] Namely, the ſlaughter at *Bedr*.

[c] *A ſevere puniſhment*;] viz. Famine; which is more terrible than the calamities of war [2].

According to theſe explications, the paſſage muſt have been revealed at *Medina*; unleſs it be taken in a prophetical ſenſe.

[d] *Every god had taken away that which he had created*;] And ſet up a diſtinct creation and kingdom of his own.

[e] See chap. 17. p. 231.

[f] *Turn aſide evil with that which is better*;] That is, By forgiving injuries, and returning of good for them: which rule is to be qualified, however, with this proviſo; that the true religion receive no prejudice by ſuch mildneſs and clemency [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

ſay, O LORD, I fly unto thee for refuge, againſt the ſuggeſtions of the devils: and I have recourſe unto thee, O LORD, *to drive them away*, that they be not preſent with me [a]. *The gainſaying of the unbelievers ceaſeth not* until, when death overtaketh any of them, he ſaith, O LORD, ſuffer me to return *to life*, that I may do that which is right; in *profeſſing the true faith* which I have neglected [b]. By no means. Verily theſe are the words which he ſhall ſpeak: but behind them there ſhall be a bar [c], until the day of reſurrection. When therefore the trumpet ſhall be ſounded, there ſhall be no relation between them *which ſhall be regarded* on that day; neither ſhall they aſk *aſſiſtance* of each other. They whoſe balances ſhall be heavy *with good works*, ſhall be happy: but they whoſe balances ſhall be light, are thoſe who ſhall loſe their ſouls, *and* ſhall remain in hell for ever [d]. The fire ſhall ſcorch their faces, and they ſhall writhe their mouths therein *for anguiſh: and it ſhall be ſaid unto them*, Were not my ſigns rehearſed unto you; and did ye not charge them with falſhhood? They ſhall anſwer, O LORD, our unhappineſs prevailed over us, and we were people who went aſtray. O LORD, take us forth from this *fire:* if we return *to our former wickedneſs*, we ſhall ſurely be unjuſt. GOD will ſay *unto them*, Be ye driven away with ignominy thereinto: and ſpeak not unto me *to deliver you*. Verily there were a party of my ſervants, who ſaid, O LORD, we believe: wherefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us; for thou art the beſt of thoſe who ſhew mercy. But ye received them with ſcoffs, ſo that they ſuffered you to forget my admonition [e], and ye laughed them to ſcorn. I have this day rewarded them, for that they ſuffered *the injuries ye offered them* with patience: verily they enjoy great felicity. GOD will ſay, What number of years have ye con-

[a] *That they be not preſent with me*;] To beſiege me: or, as it may alſo be tranſlated, *That they hurt me not*.

[b] *In profeſſing the true faith which I have neglected*;] Or, as the words may alſo import, *In the* world *which I have left*; that is, during the further term of life which ſhall be granted me, and from which I have been cut off [1].

[c] *Behind them there ſhall be a bar*;] The original word *barzakh*, here tranſlated *bar*, primarily ſignifies *any partition*, or *interſtice, which divides one thing from another*; but is uſed by the *Arabs* not always in the ſame, and ſometimes in an obſcure ſenſe. They ſeem generally to expreſs by it what the *Greeks* did by the word *Hades*; one while uſing it for the place of the dead, another while for the time of their continuance in that ſtate, and another while for the ſtate it ſelf. It is defined by their critics to be the *interval* or *ſpace* between this world and the next, or between death and the reſurrection; every perſon who dies, being ſaid to enter into *al barzakh*; or, as the *Greek* expreſſes it, καθεῦναι εἰς ᾅδου [2]. One lexicographer [3] tells us that in the *Korân* it denotes *the grave:* but the commentators on this paſſage expound it a *bar*, or *invincible obſtacle*, cutting off all poſſibility of return into the world, after death. See chap. 25. where the word again occurs.

Some interpreters underſtand the words we have rendred *behind them*, to mean *before them*, (it being one of thoſe words, of which there are ſeveral in the *Arabic* tongue, that have direct contrary ſignifications) conſidering *al Barzakh* as a future ſpace, and lying *before*, and not *behind* them.

[d] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 89.

[e] *They ſuffered you to forget my admonition*;] Being unable to prevail on you by their remonſtrances, becauſe of the contempt wherein ye held them.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *V.* POCOCK. *not. in Port. Moſis, p.* 248, *&c. and the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 77.
[3] EBN MARUF, *apud Gol. Lex. Arab. col.* 254.

continued on earth? They will anſwer, We have continued *there* a day, or part of a day [a]: but aſk thoſe who keep account [b]. GOD will ſay, Ye have tarried but a little, if ye knew *it*. Did ye think that we had created you in ſport, and that ye ſhould not be brought again before us? Wherefore let GOD be exalted, the King, the Truth! There is no GOD beſides him, the LORD of the honourable throne. Whoever together with *the true* GOD ſhall invoke another god, concerning whom he hath no demonſtrative proof, ſhall ſurely be brought to an account for the ſame before his LORD. Verily the infidels ſhall not proſper. Say, O LORD, pardon, and ſhew mercy; for thou art the beſt of thoſe who ſhew mercy.

[a] *A day or part of a day*;] The time will ſeem thus ſhort to them in compariſon to the eternal duration of their torments, or becauſe the time of their living in the world was the time of their joy and pleaſure; it being uſual for the *Arabs* to deſcribe what they like as of ſhort, and what they diſlike, as of long continuance.

[b] *Ask thoſe who keep account*;] That is, the angels, who keep account of the length of mens lives and of their works, or any other who may have leiſure to compute; and not us, whoſe torments diſtract our thoughts and attention.

CHAP. XXIV.

Intitled, Light [a]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THIS SURA have we ſent down *from heaven*; and have ratified the ſame: and we have revealed therein evident ſigns, that ye may be warned. The whore, and the whoremonger, ſhall ye ſcourge with an hundred ſtripes [b]. And let not compaſſion towards them prevent you from *executing* the judgment of GOD [c]; if ye believe in GOD and the laſt day: and let ſome of the true believers be witneſſes of their puniſhment [d]. The whoremonger ſhall not marry *any other* than a harlot, or an idolatreſs. And a harlot ſhall no *man* take in marriage, except a whoremonger, or an idolater.

[a] This title is taken from an allegorical compariſon made between light and GOD, or faith in him, about the middle of the chapter.

[b] *The whore and the whoremonger ſhall ye ſcourge with an hundred ſtripes*, &c.] This law is not to be underſtood to relate to married people, who are of free condition; becauſe adultery in ſuch, according to the *Sonna*, is to be puniſhed by ſtoning [1].

[c] *Let not compaſſion prevent you*, &c.] i. e. Be not moved by pity, either to forgive the offenders, or to mitigate their puniſhment. *Mohammed* was for ſo ſtrict and impartial an execution of the laws, that he is reported to have ſaid, *If* Fâtema *the daughter of* Mohammed *ſteal, let her hand be ſtruck off* [2].

[d] *Let ſome of the true believers be witneſſes of their puniſhment.*] That is, Let the puniſhment be inflicted in public, and not in private; becauſe the ignominy of it is more intolerable than the ſmart, and more likely to work a reformation on the offender. Some ſay there ought to be three perſons preſent at the leaſt; but others think two, or even one, to be ſufficient [3].

[1] *See chap.* 4. *p.* 62, *and* 64.

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

[3] *Idem.*

later. And this *kind of marriage* is forbidden the true believers [a]. But *as to* thoſe who accuſe women of reputation *of whoredom* [b], and produce not four witneſſes *of the fact* [c], ſcourge them with fourſcore ſtripes, and receive not their teſtimony for ever; for ſuch are infamous prevaricators: excepting thoſe who ſhall afterwards repent, and amend; for *unto ſuch will* GOD *be* gracious *and* merciful. They who ſhall accuſe *their wives* of adultery, and ſhall have no witneſſes *thereof* beſides themſelves; the teſtimony *which ſhall be required* of one of them *ſhall be*, that he ſwear four times by GOD that he ſpeaketh the truth: and the fifth *time that he imprecate* the curſe of GOD on him, if he be a liar. And it ſhall avert the puniſhment from *the wife*, if ſhe ſwear four times by GOD that he is a liar; and if the fifth *time ſhe imprecate* the wrath of GOD on her, if he ſpeaketh the truth [d]. If *it were* not *for* the indulgence of GOD towards you, and his mercy, and that GOD is eaſy to be reconciled, *and* wiſe; *he would immediately diſcover your crimes. As to* the party among you who have publiſhed the falſhood *concerning* AYESHA [e], think it not to be an evil unto you: on the contrary, it is

[a] *And this kind of marriage is forbidden the true believers.*] The preceding paſſage was revealed on account of the meaner and more indigent *Mohâjerins*, or refugees, who ſought to marry the whores of the infidels, taken captives in war, for the ſake of the gain which they made by proſtituting themſelves. Some think the prohibition was ſpecial, and regarded only the *Mohâjerins* before mentioned; and others are of opinion it was general; but it is agreed to have been abrogated by the words which follow in this chapter, *Marry the ſingle women among you*; harlots being comprized under the appellation of *ſingle women* [1].

It is ſuppoſed by ſome that not *marriage*, but *unlawful commerce* with ſuch women is here forbidden.

[b] *Women of reputation*;] The *Arabic* word, *mohſinât*, properly ſignifies *women of unblameable conduct*; but to bring the chaſtiſement aftermentioned on the calumniator, it is alſo requiſite that they be free women, of ripe age, having their underſtandings perfect, and of the *Mohammedan* religion. Tho' the word be of the feminine gender, yet *men* are alſo ſuppoſed to be comprized in this law.

Abu Hanîfa was of opinion that the ſlanderer ought to be ſcourged in public, as well as the fornicator; but the generality are againſt him [2].

[c] See chap. 4. p. 62.

[d] In caſe both ſwear, the man's oath diſcharges him from the imputation and penalty of ſlander, and the woman's oath frees her from the imputation and penalty of adultery: but tho' the woman do ſwear to her innocence, yet the marriage is actually void, or ought to be declared void by the judge; becauſe it is not fit they ſhould continue together after they have come to theſe extremities [3].

[e] *As to the party among you who have publiſhed the falſhood concerning* Ayeſha, *&c.*] For the underſtanding of this paſſage, it is neceſſary to relate the following ſtory.

Mohammed having undertaken an expedition againſt the tribe of *Moſtalek*, in the ſixth year of the *Hejra*, took his wife *Ayeſha* with him, to accompany him. In their return, when they were not far from *Medina*, the army removing by night, *Ayeſha*, on the road, alighted from her camel, and ſtepped aſide on a private occaſion: but, on her return, perceiving ſhe had dropped her necklace, which was of onyxes of *Dhafâr*, ſhe went back to look for it; and in the mean time her attendants, taking it for granted that ſhe was got into her pavillion (or little tent ſurrounded with curtains, wherein women are carried in the eaſt) ſet it again on the camel, and led it away. When ſhe came back to the road, and ſaw her camel was gone, ſhe ſat down there, expecting that when ſhe was miſſed ſome would be ſent back to fetch her; and in a little time ſhe fell aſleep. Early in the morning, *Safwân Ebn al Moattel*, who had ſtaid behind to reſt himſelf, coming by, and perceiving ſome body aſleep, went to ſee who it was, and knew her to be *Ayeſha*; upon which he waked her, by twice pronouncing with a low voice theſe words, *We are* GOD's, *and unto him muſt we return.* Then *Ayeſha*

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

is better for you[a]. Every man of them *ſhall be puniſhed* according to the injuſtice of which he hath been guilty[b]; and he among them who hath undertaken to aggravate the ſame[c], ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. Did not the faithful men, and the faithful women, when ye heard this, judge in their own minds for the beſt; and ſay, This is a manifeſt falſhood? Have they produced four witneſſes thereof? wherefore ſince they have not produced the witneſſes, they are ſurely liars in the ſight of GOD. *Had it* not *been for* the indulgence of GOD towards you, and his mercy, in this world and in that which is to come, verily a grievous puniſhment had been inflicted on you, for the *calumny* which ye have ſpread: when ye publiſhed that with your tongues, and ſpoke that with your mouths, of which ye had no knowledge; and eſteemed it to be light, whereas it was a matter of importance in the ſight of GOD. When ye heard it, did ye ſay, It belongeth not unto us, that we ſhould talk of this *matter*: GOD forbid! this is a grievous calumny? GOD warneth you, that ye return not to the like *crime* for ever; if ye be true believers. And GOD declareth unto you *his* ſigns; for GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. Verily they who love that ſcandal be publiſhed of thoſe who believe, ſhall receive a ſevere puniſhment *both* in this world, and in the next. GOD knoweth, but ye know not. *Had it* not *been for* the indulgence of GOD towards you, and his mercy, and that GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful, *ye had felt his vengeance.* O true believers, follow not the ſteps of the devil: for whoſoever ſhall follow the ſteps of the devil, he will command him filthy crimes, and that which is unlawful. If *it were* not *for* the indulgence of GOD, and his mercy towards you, there had not been ſo much as one of you cleanſed

 from

Ayeſha immediately covered herſelf with her vail; and *Safwân* ſet her on his own camel, and led her after the army, which they overtook by noon, as they were reſting.

This accident had like to have ruined *Ayeſha*, whoſe reputation was publickly called in queſtion, as if ſhe had been guilty of adultery with *Safwân:* and *Mohammed* himſelf knew not what to think, when he reflected on the circumſtances of the affair, which were improved by ſome malicious people very much to *Ayeſha*'s diſhonour; and notwithſtanding his wife's proteſtations of her innocence, he could not get rid of his perplexity, nor ſtop the mouths of the cenſorious, till about a month after, when this paſſage was revealed, declaring the accuſation to be unjuſt [1].

[a] *Think it not to be an evil unto you; on the contrary, it is better for you.*] The words are directed to the prophet, and to *Abu Becr*, *Ayeſha*, and *Safwân*, the perſons concerned in this falſe report; ſince, beſides the amends they might expect in the next world, GOD had done them the honour to clear their reputations by revealing eighteen verſes expreſly for that purpoſe [2].

[b] *Every man of them ſhall be puniſhed, according to the injuſtice of which he hath been guilty.*] The perſons concerned in ſpreading the ſcandal, were *Abd'allah EbnObba*, (who firſt raiſed it, and inflamed the matter to the utmoſt, out of hatred to *Mohammed*) *Zeid Ebn Refâa*, *Haſſân Ebn Thabet*, *Meſtah Ebn Othâtha*, a great grandſon of *Abd'almotalleb*'s, and *Hamna Bint Jahaſh:* and every one of them received fourſcore ſtripes, purſuant to the law ordained in this chapter, except only *Abd'allah*, who was exempted, being a man of great conſideration [3].

It is ſaid that, as a farther puniſhment, *Haſſân* and *Meſtah* became blind, and that the former of them alſo loſt the uſe of both his hands [4].

[c] *He who hath undertaken to aggravate the ſame;*] viz. *Abd'allah Ebn Obba*, who had not the grace to become a true believer, but died an infidel [5].

[1] *Al* BOKHARI *in Sonna*, *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.* V. ABU'LF. *vit. Mob. p.* 82, *&c.* & GAGNIER, *Vie de Mahomet*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 7. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] ABULFEDA, *vit. Mob. p.* 83. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *See chap.* 9. *p.* 159, 160.

from his guilt for ever: but GOD cleanſeth whom he pleaſeth; for GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Let not thoſe among you who poſſeſs abundance *of wealth*, and *have* ability, ſwear that they will not give unto *their* kindred, and the poor, and thoſe who have fled their country for the ſake of GOD's true religion: but let them forgive, and act with benevolence *towards them*. Do ye not deſire that GOD ſhould pardon you [a]? And GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. Moreover they who falſly accuſe modeſt women, who behave in a negligent manner [b], *and are* true believers, ſhall be curſed in this world, and *in* the world to come; and they ſhall ſuffer a ſevere puniſhment [c]. One day their own tongues ſhall bear witneſs againſt them, and their hands, and their feet, concerning that which they have done. On that day ſhall GOD render unto them their juſt due; and they ſhall know that GOD is the evident truth. The wicked women *ſhould be joined* to the wicked men, and the wicked men to the wicked women; but the good women *ſhould be married* to the good men, and the good men to the good women. Theſe ſhall be cleared from *the calumnies* which *ſlanderers* ſpeak *of them* [d]: they ſhall obtain pardon, and an honourable proviſion. O true believers, enter not any houſes, beſides your own houſes, until ye have aſked leave, and have ſaluted the family thereof [e]: this *is* better for you; peradventure ye will be admoniſhed. And if ye ſhall find no perſon in the *houſes*, yet do not enter them, until leave be granted you: and if it be ſaid unto you, Return back; do ye return back. This *will be* more decent for you [f]; and GOD knoweth that which ye do. It ſhall be

[a] *Let not thoſe among you who have ability, ſwear that they will not give unto their kindred, &c.*] This paſſage was revealed on account of *Abu Becr*; who ſwore that he would not for the future beſtow any thing on *Meſtah*, tho' he was his mother's ſiſter's ſon, and a poor *Mohâjer* or refugee, becauſe he had joined in ſcandaliizing his daughter *Ayeſha*. But on *Mohammed*'s reading this verſe to him, he continued *Meſtah*'s penſion [1].

[b] *Who behave in a negligent manner*;] i. e. Who may be leſs careful in their conduct, and more free in their behaviour, as being conſcious of no ill.

[c] Tho' the words be general, yet they principally regard thoſe who ſhould calumniate the prophet's wives. According to a ſaying of *Ebn Abbas*, if the threats contained in the whole *Korân* be examined, there are none ſo ſevere as thoſe occaſioned by the falſe accuſation of *Ayeſha*; wherefore he thought even repentance would ſtand her ſlanderers in no ſtead [2].

[d] *Theſe ſhall be cleared, &c.*] *Al Beidawi* obſerves, on this paſſage, that GOD cleared four perſons, by four extraordinary teſtimonies: for he cleared *Joſeph* by the teſtimony of a child in his miſtreſſes family [3]; *Moſes*, by means of the ſtone which fled away with his garments [4]; *Mary*, by the teſtimony of her infant [5]; and *Ayeſha*, by theſe verſes of the *Korân*.

[e] *Enter not any houſes beſides your own, till ye have asked leave, &c.*] To enter ſuddenly or abruptly into any man's houſe or apartment, is reckoned a great incivility in the eaſt; becauſe a perſon may poſſibly be ſurprized in an indecent action or poſture, or may have ſomething diſcovered which he would conceal. It is ſaid, that a man came to *Mohammed*, and wanted to know whether he muſt ask leave to go in to his ſiſter; which being anſwered in the affirmative, he told the prophet that his ſiſter had no body elſe to attend upon her, and it would be troubleſome to ask leave every time he went in to her: *What*, replied Mohammed, *wouldeſt thou ſee her naked* [6]?

[f] *This will be more decent*;] Than to be importunate for admiſſion, or to wait at the door.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *See chap.* 12. *p.* 190. [4] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 8. *and chap.* 33. [5] *See chap.* 19. *p.* 251. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI.

be no crime in you, that ye enter uninhabited houſes [a], wherein ye may meet with a convenience. GOD knoweth that which ye diſcover, and that which ye conceal. Speak unto the true believers, that they reſtrain their eyes, and keep themſelves from immodeſt actions: this will be more pure for them; for GOD is well acquainted with that which they do. And ſpeak unto the believing women, that they reſtrain their eyes, and preſerve their modeſty, and diſcover not their ornaments [b], except what *neceſſarily* appeareth thereof [c]: and let them throw their vails over their boſoms [d], and not ſhew their ornaments, unleſs to their huſbands [e], or their fathers, or their huſbands fathers, or their ſons, or their huſbands ſons, or their brothers, or their brothers ſons, or their ſiſters ſons [f], or their women [g], or the *captives* which their right-hands ſhall poſſeſs [h], or unto ſuch men as attend *them*, and have no need *of women* [i], or unto children, who diſtinguiſh not the nakedneſs of women. And let them not make a noiſe with their feet, that their ornaments which they hide may *thereby* be diſcover-

 ed.

[a] *Uninhabited houſes*;] i. e. Which are not the private habitation of a family; ſuch as public inns, ſhops, ſheds, *&c.*

[b] *And diſcover not their ornaments*;] As their cloaths, jewels, and the furniture of their toilet; much leſs ſuch parts of their bodies as ought not to be ſeen.

[c] *Except what neceſſarily appeareth*;] Some think their outward garments are here meant; and others their hands and faces: it is generally held, however, that a free woman ought not to diſcover even thoſe parts, unleſs to the perſons after excepted, or on ſome unavoidable occaſion, as their giving evidence in public, taking advice or medicines in caſe of ſickneſs, *&c.*

[d] *Let them throw their vails over their boſoms*;] Taking care to cover their heads, necks, and breaſts.

[e] *Unleſs to their husbands*;] For whoſe ſake it is that they adorn themſelves, and who alone have the privilege to ſee their whole body.

[f] *Or their fathers*, &c.] Theſe near relations are alſo excepted, becauſe they cannot avoid ſeeing them frequently, and there is no great danger to be apprehended from them. They are allowed, therefore, to ſee what cannot well be concealed in ſo familiar an intercourſe [1], but no other part of their body, particularly whatever is between the navel and the knees [2].

Uncles not being here particularly mentioned, it is a doubt whether they may be admitted to ſee their nieces. Some think they are included under the appellation of *brothers*: but others are of opinion that they are not comprized in this exception; and give this reaſon for it, *viz.* leſt they ſhould deſcribe the perſons of their nieces to their ſons [3].

[g] *Or their women*;] That is, ſuch as are of the *Mohammedan* religion; it being reckoned by ſome unlawful, or, at leaſt, indecent, for a woman, who is a true believer, to uncover her ſelf before one who is an infidel, becauſe ſhe will hardly refrain deſcribing her to the men: but others ſuppoſe all women in general are here excepted; for, in this particular, doctors differ [4]:

[h] *Or the captives*, &c.] Slaves of either ſex are included in this exception, and, as ſome think, domeſtic ſervants who are not ſlaves; as thoſe of a different nation. It is related, that *Mohammed* once made a preſent of a man-ſlave to his daughter *Fatema*; and when he brought him to her, ſhe had on a garment which was ſo ſcanty that ſhe was obliged to leave either her head or her feet uncovered: and that the prophet, ſeeing her in great confuſion on that account, told her, ſhe need be under no concern, for that there was none preſent beſides her father and her ſlave [5].

[i] *And have no need of women*;] Or have no deſire to enjoy them; ſuch as decrepit old men, and deformed or ſilly perſons, who follow people as hangers-on, for their ſpare victuals, being too deſpicable to raiſe either a woman's paſſion, or a man's jealouſy. Whether eunuchs are comprehended under this general deſignation, is a queſtion among the learned [6].

[1] *Idem.* [2] JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *Idem.* [6] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA.

ed[a]. And be ye all turned unto GOD, O true believers, that ye may be happy. Marry thoſe who are ſingle[b] among you, and ſuch as are honeſt of your men-ſervants, and your maid-ſervants: if they be poor, GOD will enrich them of his abundance; for GOD *is* bounteous *and* wiſe. And let thoſe who find not a match, keep themſelves *from fornication*, until GOD ſhall enrich them of his abundance. And unto ſuch of your ſlaves[c] as deſire a written inſtrument *allowing them to redeem themſelves on paying a certain ſum*[d], write *one*, if ye know good in them[e]; and give them of the riches of GOD, which he hath given you[f]. And compel not your maid-ſervants to proſtitute themſelves, if they be willing to live chaſtly; that ye may ſeek the caſual *advantage* of this preſent life[g]: but whoever ſhall compel them *thereto*, verily GOD *will be* gracious *and* merciful *unto ſuch women* after their compulſion. And now have we revealed unto you evident ſigns, and a *hiſtory* like unto ſome *of the hiſtories* of thoſe who have gone before you[h], and an admonition unto the pious. GOD *is* the light of heaven and earth: the ſimilitude of his light is as a nich in a wall, wherein a lamp *is placed*, *and* the lamp *incloſed* in a *caſe of* glaſs; the glaſs *appears* as it were a ſhining ſtar. It is lighted with *the oil of* a bleſſed tree, an olive neither of the eaſt, nor of the weſt[i]: it wanteth little but that the oil thereof would give light, although no fire touched it. *This is* light *added* unto light[k]: GOD will direct unto his light whom he pleaſeth. GOD pro-

[a] *Let them not make a noiſe with their feet*, &c.] By ſhaking the rings, which the women in the eaſt wear about their ancles, and are uſually of gold or ſilver [1]. The pride which the *Jewiſh* ladies of old took in making *a tinkling* with theſe *ornaments of their feet*, is (among other things of that nature) ſeverely reproved by the prophet *Iſaiah* [2].

[b] *Thoſe who are ſingle*;] i. e. Thoſe who are unmarried of either ſex; whether they have been married before or not.

[c] *Your ſlaves*;] Of either ſex.

[d] *A written inſtrument*, &c.] Whereby the maſter obliges himſelf to ſet his ſlave at liberty, on receiving a certain ſum of money, which the ſlave undertakes to pay.

[e] *If ye know good in them*,] That is, If ye have found them faithful, and have reaſon to believe they will perform their engagement.

[f] *Give them of the riches which* GOD *hath given you*;] Either by beſtowing ſomething on them of your own ſubſtance, or by abating them a part of their ranſom. Some ſuppoſe theſe words are directed, not to the maſters only, but to all *Moſlems* in general; recommending it to them to aſſiſt thoſe who have obtained their freedom, and paid their ranſom, either out of their own ſtock, or by admitting them to have a ſhare in the public alms [3].

[g] *Compel not your maid-ſervants to proſtitute themſelves*, &c.] It ſeems *Abda'llah Ebn Obba* had ſix women ſlaves, on whom he laid a certain tax, which he obliged them to earn by the proſtitution of their bodies: and one of them made her complaint to *Mohammed*, which occaſioned the revelation of this paſſage [4].

[h] *A hiſtory like unto ſome of the hiſtories of thoſe who have gone before you*;] i. e. The ſtory of the falſe accuſation of *Ayeſha*, which reſembles thoſe of *Joſeph* and the virgin *Mary* [5].

[i] *Neither of the eaſt nor of the weſt*;] But of a more excellent kind. Some think the meaning to be that the tree grows neither in the eaſtern nor the weſtern parts, but in the midſt of the world, namely in *Syria*, where the beſt olives grow [6].

[k] *This is light added unto light*;] Or a light whoſe brightneſs is doubly increaſed by the circumſtances abovementioned.

The commentators explain this allegory, and every particular of it, with great ſubtilty; interpreting the *light* here deſcribed, to be the *light* revealed in the *Korân*, or GOD's *enlightening grace* in the heart of man; and in divers other manners.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Iſaiah* iii. 16 *and* 18. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *Idem.* [6] *Idem.*

propoundeth parables unto men; for GOD knoweth all things. In the houſes which GOD hath permitted to be raiſed[a], and that his name be commemorated therein: men celebrate his praiſe in the ſame morning and evening, whom neither merchandizing, nor ſelling diverteth from the remembring of GOD, and the obſervance of prayer, and the giving of alms; fearing the day whereon *men's* hearts and eyes ſhall be troubled; that GOD may recompenſe them according to the utmoſt merit of what they ſhall have wrought, and may add unto them of his abundance *a more excellent reward*; for GOD beſtoweth on whom he pleaſeth without meaſure. But *as to* the unbelievers, their works are like the vapour in a plain[b], which the thirſty *traveller* thinketh to be water, until, when he cometh thereto, he findeth it *to be* nothing; but he findeth GOD with him[c], and he will fully pay him his account; and GOD is ſwift in taking an account: or, as the darkneſs in a deep ſea, covered by waves *riding* on waves, above which are clouds, being *additions of* darkneſs one over the other; when *one* ſtretcheth forth his hand, he is far from ſeeing it. And unto whomſoever GOD ſhall not grant *his* light, he ſhall enjoy no light at all. Doſt thou not perceive that all *creatures* both in heaven and earth praiſe GOD; and the birds *alſo*, extending their wings? Every one knoweth his prayer, and his praiſe: and GOD knoweth that which they do. Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and unto GOD *ſhall be* the return *at the laſt day*. Doſt thou not ſee that GOD gently driveth forward the clouds, and gathereth them together, and then layeth them on heaps? Thou alſo ſeeſt the rain, which falleth from the midſt thereof; and *GOD* ſendeth down from heaven *as it were* mountains, wherein there is hail; he ſtriketh therewith whom he pleaſeth, and turneth the ſame away from whom he pleaſeth: the brightneſs of his lightning wanteth but little of taking away the ſight. GOD ſhifteth the night, and the day: verily herein is an inſtruction unto thoſe who have ſight. And GOD hath created every animal of water[d]; one of them goeth on his belly,

[a] *In the houſes*, &c.] The connection of theſe words is not very obvious. Some ſuppoſe they ought to be joined with the preceding words, *Like a nich*, or *It is lighted* in the houſes, *&c.* and that the compariſon is more ſtrong and juſt, by being made to the lamps in *Moſques*, which are larger than thoſe in private houſes. Some think they are rather to be connected with the following words, *Men praiſe*, &c. And others are of opinion they are an imperfect beginning of a ſentence, and that the words, *Praiſe ye* GOD, or the like, are to be underſtood. However the *houſes* here intended are thoſe ſet apart for divine worſhip; or particularly the three principal temples of *Mecca*, *Medina*, and *Jeruſalem*[1].

[b] *The vapour in a plain*;] The *Arabic* word *Serâb* ſignifies that falſe appearance which, in the eaſtern countries, is often ſeen in ſandy plains about noon, reſembling a large lake of water in motion, and is occaſioned by the reverberation of the ſun-beams. It ſometimes tempts thirſty travellers out of their way, but deceives them when they come near, either going forward, (for it always appears at the ſame diſtance,) or quite vaniſhing[2].

[c] *He findeth* GOD *with him*;] That is, He will not eſcape the notice or vengeance of GOD.

[d] *Of water*;] This aſſertion, which has already occurred in another place[3], being not true in ſtrictneſs, the commentators ſuppoſe that by *water* is meant *ſeed*; or elſe that *water* is mentioned only as the chief cauſe of the growth of animals, and a conſiderable and neceſſary conſtituent part of their bodies.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *V.* Q. CURT. *de rebus Alex. lib.* 7. & GOL. *in Alfrag. p.* 111. & *in Adag. Arab. ad calcem Gram. Erp. p.* 93. [3] *Chap.* 21. *p.* 267.

belly, and another of them walketh upon two feet, and another of them walketh upon four *feet*: GOD createth that which he pleaſeth; for GOD is almighty. Now have we ſent down evident ſigns: and GOD directeth whom he pleaſeth into the right way. The *hypocrites* ſay, We believe in GOD, and on *his* apoſtle; and we obey *them:* yet a part of them turneth back, after this; but theſe are not *really* believers. And when they are ſummoned before GOD and his apoſtle, that he may judge between them; behold, a part of them retire: but if the right had been on their ſide, they would have come and ſubmitted themſelves unto him. Is there an infirmity in their hearts? Do they doubt? Or do they fear leſt GOD and his apoſtle act unjuſtly towards them? But themſelves are the unjuſt doers[a]. The ſaying of the true believers, when they are ſummoned before GOD and his apoſtle, that he may judge between them, is no other than that they ſay, We have heard, and do obey: and theſe are they who ſhall proſper. Whoever ſhall obey GOD and his apoſtle, and ſhall fear GOD, and ſhall be devout towards him; theſe ſhall enjoy great felicity. They ſwear by GOD, with a moſt ſolemn oath, that if thou commandeſt them, they will go forth *from their houſes and poſſeſſions.* Say, Swear not *to a falſhood:* obedience *is more* requiſite: and GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. Say, Obey GOD, and obey the apoſtle: but if ye turn back, verily *it is expected* of him *that he perform* his duty, and of you *that ye perform* your duty; and if ye obey him, ye ſhall be directed: but the duty of *our* apoſtle is only public preaching. GOD promiſeth unto ſuch of you as believe, and do good works, that he will cauſe them to ſucceed *the unbelievers* in the earth, as he cauſed thoſe who were before you to ſucceed *the infidels of their time*[b]; and that he will eſtabliſh for them their religion which pleaſeth them, and will change their fear into ſecurity. They ſhall worſhip me; and ſhall not aſſociate any *other* with me. But whoever ſhall diſbelieve after this; they will be the wicked doers. Obſerve prayer, and give alms, and obey the apoſtle; that ye may obtain mercy. Think not that the unbelievers ſhall fruſtrate *the deſigns of* GOD on earth: and their abode *hereafter* ſhall be *hell* fire; a miſerable journey *ſhall it be thither!* O true believers, let your ſlaves and thoſe among you who ſhall not have attained the age of puberty, aſk leave of you, *before they come into your preſence,* three times *in the day*[c]; *namely,* before the morning prayer,

[a] *The hypocrites ſay, We believe in* GOD *and his apoſtle, &c.*] This paſſage was occaſioned by *Baſhir* the hypocrite, who having a controverſy with a *Jew*, appealed to *Caab Ebn al Aſhraf*, whereas the *Jew* appealed to *Mohammed*[1]; or, as others tell us, by *Mogheira Ebn Wayel*, who refuſed to ſubmit a diſpute he had with *Ali* to the prophet's deciſion[2].

[b] *As he cauſed thoſe who were before you, to ſucceed the infidels of their time;*] i. e. As he cauſed the *Iſraelites* to diſpoſſeſs the *Canaanites*, &c.

[c] *Let your ſlaves and thoſe who ſhall not have attained the age of puberty, ask leave before they come into your preſence,* &c.] Becauſe there are certain times when it is not convenient, even for a domeſtic, or a child, to come in to one without notice. It is ſaid this paſſage was revealed on account of *Aſma Bint Morthed*, whoſe ſervant entred ſuddenly upon her, at an im-

[1] *See chap.* 4. *p.* 69.

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

prayer [a], and when ye lay aſide your garments at noon [b], and after the evening prayer [c]. *Theſe are the* three times for you *to be private:* it ſhall be no crime in you, or in them, *if they go into you without asking permiſſion* after theſe *times*, while ye are in frequent attendance, the one of you on the other. Thus GOD declareth *his* ſigns unto you; for GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. And when your children attain *the age of* puberty, let them aſk leave *to come into your preſence at all times*, in the ſame manner as thoſe who *have attained that age* before them, aſk leave. Thus GOD declareth his ſigns unto you; and GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. *As to* ſuch women as are paſt child-bearing, who hope not to marry *again*, *becauſe of their advanced age*; it ſhall be no crime in them, if they lay aſide their *outer* garments, not ſhewing *their* ornaments [d]; but if they abſtain *from this*, *it will be* better for them. GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. It ſhall be no crime in the blind, nor ſhall it be any crime in the lame, neither ſhall it be any crime in the ſick, or in your ſelves, that ye eat in your houſes [e], or in the houſes of your fathers, or the houſes of your mothers, or in the houſes of your brothers, or the houſes of your ſiſters, or the houſes of your uncles on the father's ſide, or the houſes of your aunts on the father's ſide, or the houſes of your uncles on the mother's ſide, or the houſes of your aunts on the mother's ſide, or *in thoſe houſes* the keys whereof ye have in your poſſeſſion, or *in the houſe* of your friend. It ſhall not be any crime in you whether ye eat together, or ſeparately [f]. And when ye enter any houſes, ſalute one another [g] on the part of GOD, with a bleſſed and a welcome ſalutation.

improper time; but others ſay, it was occaſioned by *Modraj Ebn Amru*, then a boy, who being ſent by *Mohammed* to call *Omar* to him, went directly into the room where he was, without giving notice, and found him taking his noon's nap, and in no very decent poſture; at which *Omar* was ſo ruffled, that he wiſhed GOD would forbid even their fathers, and children, to come in to them abruptly, at ſuch times [1].

[a] *Before the morning prayer*;] Which is the time of peoples riſing from their beds, and dreſſing themſelves for the day.

[b] *When ye lay aſide your garments at noon*;] That is, when ye take off your upper garments to ſleep at noon; which is a common cuſtom in the eaſt, and all warm countries.

[c] *And after evening prayer*;] When ye undreſs your ſelves to prepare for bed. *Al Beidawi* adds a fourth ſeaſon, when permiſſion to enter muſt be asked, *viz.* at night: but this follows of courſe.

[d] See before, p. 291.

[e] *That ye eat in your houſes*;] i. e. Where your wives or families are; or in the houſes of your ſons, which may be looked on as your own.

This paſſage was deſigned to remove ſome ſcruples or ſuperſtitions of the *Arabs* in *Mohammed*'s time; ſome of whom thought their eating with maimed or ſick people defiled them; others imagined they ought not to eat in the houſe of another, tho' ever ſo nearly related to them, or tho' they were intruſted with the key and care of the houſe in the maſter's abſence, and might therefore conclude it would be no offence; and others declined eating with their friends tho' invited, leſt they ſhould be burthenſome [2]. The whole paſſage ſeems to be no more than a declaration that the things ſcrupled were perfectly innocent; however the commentators ſay it is now abrogated, and that it related only to the old *Arabs*, in the infancy of *Mohammediſm*.

[f] *It ſhall be no crime, whether ye eat together or ſeparate*;] As the tribe of *Leith* thought it unlawful for a man to eat alone; and ſome of the *Anſârs*, if they had a gueſt with them, never eat but in his company; ſo there were others who refuſed to eat with any, out of a ſuperſtitious caution leſt they ſhould be defiled, or out of a hoggiſh greedineſs [3].

[g] *Salute one another*;] Literally *your ſelves*; that is, according to *al Beidawi*, the people of the

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *Idem.*

lutation. Thus GOD declareth his ſigns unto you, that ye may underſtand. Verily they only *are* true believers, who believe in GOD and his apoſtle, and when they are aſſembled with him on any affair [a], depart not, until they have obtained leave of him. Verily they who aſk leave of thee, are thoſe who believe in GOD and his apoſtle. When therefore they aſk leave of thee *to depart*, on account of any buſineſs of their own, grant leave unto ſuch of them as thou ſhalt think fit, and aſk pardon for them of GOD [b]; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. Let not the calling of the apoſtle be eſteemed among you, as your calling the one to the other [c]. GOD knoweth ſuch of you as privately withdraw themſelves *from the aſſembly*, taking ſhelter behind one another. But let thoſe who with-ſtand his command, take heed; leſt ſome calamity befal them *in this world*, or a grievous puniſhment be inflicted on them *in the life to come*. *Doth* not whatever is in heaven and on earth *belong* unto GOD? He well knoweth what ye are about: and on a certain day they ſhall be aſſembled before him; and he ſhall declare unto them that which they have done; for GOD knoweth all things.

the houſe, to whom ye are united by the ties of blood, and by the common bond of religion. And if there be no body in the houſe, ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, ſalute your ſelves, and ſay, *Peace be on us, and on the righteous ſervants of* GOD: for the angels will return your ſalutation.

[a] *On any affair*;] As, at public prayers, or a ſolemn feaſt, or at council, or on a military expedition.

[b] *Aſk pardon for them of* GOD;] Becauſe ſuch departure, tho' with leave, and on a reaſonable excuſe, is a kind of failure in the exact performance of their duty; ſeeing they prefer their temporal affairs to the advancement of the true religion [1].

[c] *Let not the calling of the apoſtle of* GOD *be eſteemed among you as your calling the one to the other.*] Theſe words are variouſly interpreted: for their meaning may be, either, Make not light of the apoſtle's ſummons, as ye would of another perſon's of equal condition with your ſelves, by not obeying it, or by departing out of, or coming into his preſence without leave firſt obtained; or, Think not that when the apoſtle calls upon GOD in prayer, it is with him, as with you, when ye prefer a petition to a ſuperior, who ſometimes grants, but as often denies your ſuit; or, Call not to the apoſtle, as ye do to one another, that is, by name, or familiarly and with a loud voice; but make uſe of ſome honourable compellation, as, *O apoſtle of* GOD, or, *O prophet of* GOD, and ſpeak in an humble modeſt manner [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.*

CHAP. XXV.

Intitled, AL FORKAN; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BLESSED be he who hath revealed the FORKAN [a] unto his ſervant, that he may be a preacher unto all creatures: unto whom *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth: who hath begotten no iſſue; and hath no partner in *his* kingdom: *who* hath created all things; and diſpoſed

[a] *The* Forkân] Which is one of the names of the *Korân*. See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 57.

ſed the ſame according to his determinate will. Yet have they taken *other* gods beſides him; which have created nothing, but are themſelves created [a]: and are able neither to avert evil from, nor to procure good unto themſelves; and have not the power of death, or of life, or of raiſing *the dead.* And the unbelievers ſay, This *KORAN* is no other than a forgery which he hath contrived; and other people have aſſiſted him therein [b]: but they utter an unjuſt thing, and a falſhood. They alſo ſay, *Theſe are* fables of the ancients, which he hath cauſed to be written down; and they are dictated unto him morning and evening. Say, He hath revealed it, who knoweth the ſecrets in heaven and earth: verily he is gracious *and* merciful. And they ſay, What *kind* of apoſtle is this? He eateth food, and walketh in the ſtreets [c], *as we do:* unleſs an angel be ſent down unto him, and become a *fellow* preacher with him; or *unleſs* a treaſure be caſt down unto him; or he have a garden, *of the fruit* whereof he may eat; *we will not believe.* The ungodly alſo ſay, Ye follow no other than a man who is diſtracted. Behold, what they liken thee unto. But they are deceived; neither can they *find* a *juſt* occaſion *to reproach thee.* Bleſſed be he, who, if he pleaſeth, will make for thee a better *proviſion* than this *which they ſpeak of*; *namely*, gardens through which rivers flow: and he will provide thee palaces. But they reject the belief of the hour *of judgment*, as a falſhood: and we have prepared for him, who ſhall reject the belief of *that* hour, burning fire; when it ſhall ſee them from a diſtant place, they ſhall hear it furiouſly raging, and roaring. And when they ſhall be caſt bound together into a ſtrait place thereof, they ſhall there call for death: *but it ſhall be anſwered them*, Call not this day for one death, but call for many deaths. Say, Is this better, or a garden of eternal duration, which is promiſed unto the pious? It ſhall be *given* unto them for a reward, and a retreat: therein ſhall they have whatever they pleaſe; continuing *in the ſame* for ever. *This* is a promiſe to be demanded at the hands of thy LORD. On a certain day he ſhall aſſemble them, and whatever they worſhip, beſides GOD; and ſhall ſay *unto the worſhipped.* Did ye ſeduce theſe my ſervants; or did they wander *of themſelves* from the *right* way? They ſhall anſwer, GOD forbid! It was not fitting for us, that we ſhould take any protectors beſides thee: but thou didſt permit them and their fathers to enjoy abundance; ſo that they forgat *thy* admonition, and became loſt people. *And GOD ſhall ſay unto their worſhippers*, Now have theſe convinced you of falſhood, in

 that

[a] *But are themſelves created*;] Being either the heavenly bodies, or idols, the works of men's hands.

[b] See chap. 16. p. 223. It is ſuppoſed the *Jews* are particularly intended in this place; becauſe they uſed to repeat paſſages of ancient hiſtory to *Mohammed*, on which he uſed to diſcourſe and make obſervations [1].

[c] *He eateth food, and walketh in the ſtreets*;] Being ſubject to the ſame wants and infirmities of nature, and obliged to ſubmit to the ſame low means of ſupporting himſelf and his family, with ourſelves. The *Meccans* were acquainted with *Mohammed*, and with his circumſtances and way of life, too well to change their old familiarity into the reverence due to the meſſenger of GOD: for a prophet hath no honour in his own country.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

that which ye ſay: they can neither avert *your puniſhment*, nor *give you* any aſſiſtance. And whoever of you ſhall be guilty of injuſtice, him will we cauſe to taſte a grievous torment. We have ſent no meſſengers before thee, but they eat food, and walked through the ſtreets: and we make ſome of you an occaſion of trial unto others [a]. Will ye perſevere with patience? XIX. ſince your LORD regardeth *your perſeverance*. * They who hope not to meet us *at the reſurrection* ſay, Unleſs the angels be ſent down unto us, or we ſee our LORD *himſelf*, *we will not believe*. Verily they behave themſelves arrogantly; and have tranſgreſſed with an enormous tranſgreſſion. The day *whereon* they ſhall ſee the angels [b], there ſhall be no glad tidings on that day for the wicked; and they ſhall ſay, *Be this* removed far from us! and we will come unto the work which they ſhall have wrought, and we will make it *as* duſt ſcattered abroad. On that day ſhall they who are deſtined to paradiſe be more happy in an abode, and have a preferable place of repoſe at noon [c]. On that day the heaven ſhall be cloven in ſunder by the clouds, and the angels ſhall be ſent down, deſcending *viſibly therein* [d]. On that day the kingdom ſhall of right belong wholly unto the Merciful; and that day ſhall be grievous for the unbelievers. On that day, the unjuſt perſon [e] ſhall bite his hands *for anguiſh and deſpair*, *and* ſhall ſay, O that I had taken the way *of truth* with the apoſtle! Alas for me! O that I had not taken ſuch a one [f] for *my* friend! He ſeduced me from the admonition *of* GOD, after it had come unto me: for the devil is the betrayer of man. And the apoſtle ſhall ſay, O LORD, verily my people eſteemed this KORAN *to be* a vain *compoſition*. In like manner did we ordain unto every prophet an enemy

[a] *We have made ſome of you an occaſion of trial unto others*;] Giving occaſion of envy, repining, and malice; to the poor, mean, and ſick, for example, when they compare their own condition with that of the rich, the noble, and thoſe who are in health: and trying the people to whom prophets are ſent, by thoſe prophets [1].

[b] *The day whereon they ſhall ſee the angels*;] viz. At their death, or at the reſurrection.

[c] *A preferable place of repoſe at noon*;] For the buſineſs of the day of judgment will be over by that time; and the bleſſed will paſs their noon in paradiſe, and the damned in hell [2].

[d] *The heavens ſhall be cloven in ſunder*, &c.] i. e. They ſhall part and make way for the clouds which ſhall deſcend with the angels, bearing the books wherein every man's actions are recorded.

[e] *The unjuſt perſon.*] It is ſuppoſed by ſome that theſe words particularly relate to *Okba Ebn Abi Moait*, who uſed to be much in *Mohammed*'s company, and having once invited him to an entertainment, the prophet refuſed to taſte of his meat, unleſs he would profeſs *Iſlâm*; which accordingly he did. Soon after, *Okba*, meeting *Obba Ebn Khalf*, his intimate friend, and being reproached by him for changing his religion, aſſured him that he had not, but had only pronounced the profeſſion of faith to engage *Mohammed* to eat with him, becauſe he could not for ſhame let him go out of his houſe without eating. However, *Obba* proteſted that he would not be ſatisfied, unleſs he went to *Mohammed*, and ſet his foot on his neck, and ſpit in his face: which *Okba*, rather than break with his friend, performed in the public hall, where he found *Mohammed* ſitting; whereupon the prophet told him that if ever he met him out of *Mecca*, he would cut off his head. And he was as good as his word; for *Okba*, being afterwards taken priſoner at the battle of *Bedr*, had his head ſtruck off by *Ali*, at *Mohammed*'s command. As for *Obba*, he received a wound from the prophet's own hand, at the battle of *Obod*, of which he died at his return to *Mecca* [3].

[f] *Such a one*;] According to the preceding note, this was *Obba Ebn Khalf*.

[1] *Idem*, JALLAL. [2] *Idem*. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* GAGNIER, *Vie de Mahom. vol.* I. *p.* 362.

my from among the wicked: but thy LORD is a ſufficient director, and defender. The unbelievers ſay, Unleſs the KORAN be ſent down unto him entire at once [a], *we will not believe. But* in this manner *have we revealed it*, that we might confirm thy heart thereby [b], and we have dictated it gradually, by diſtinct parcels. They ſhall not come unto thee with any ſtrange queſtion; but we will bring thee the truth *in anſwer*, and a moſt excellent interpretation. They who ſhall be dragged on their faces into hell, ſhall be in the worſt condition, and ſhall ſtray moſt widely from the way *of ſalvation*. We heretofore delivered unto MOSES the book *of the law*; and we appointed him AARON his brother for a counſellor. And we ſaid *unto them*, Go ye to the people who charge our ſigns with falſhood. And we deſtroyed them with a *ſignal* deſtruction. *And remember* the people of NOAH, when they accuſed *our* apoſtles of impoſture: we drowned them, and made them a ſign unto mankind. And we have prepared for the unjuſt a painful torment. *Remember* alſo AD, and THAMUD, and thoſe who dwelt at AL RASS [c]; and many *other* generations, within this *period*. Unto each *of them* did we propound examples *for their admonition*; and each *of them* did we deſtroy with an *utter* deſtruction. *The KOREISH* have paſſed *frequently* near the city which was rained on by a fatal rain [d]: have they not ſeen *where* it *once ſtood?* Yet have they not dreaded the reſurrection. When they ſee thee, they will receive thee only

[a] *Unleſs the* Korân *be revealed at once*;] As were the Pentateuch, Pſalms, and Goſpel, according to the *Mohammedan* notion; whereas it was twenty three years before the *Korân* was compleatly revealed [1].

[b] *That we might confirm thy heart*;] Both to infuſe courage and conſtancy into thy mind, and to ſtrengthen thy memory and underſtanding. For, ſay the commentators, the prophet's receiving the divine direction, from time to time, how to behave, and to ſpeak, on any emergency, and the frequent viſits of the angel *Gabriel*, greatly incouraged and ſupported him under all his difficulties: and the revealing of the *Korân* by degrees was a great, and, to him, a neceſſary help for his retaining and underſtanding it; which it would have been impoſſible for him to have done, with any exactneſs, had it been revealed at once; *Mohammed*'s caſe being intirely different from that of *Moſes*, *David*, and *Jeſus*, who could all read and write, whereas he was perfectly illiterate [2].

[c] *Thoſe who dwelt at* al Raſs;] The commentators are at a loſs where to place *al Raſs*. According to one opinion it was the name of a well (as the word ſignifies) near *Midian*, about which ſome idolaters having fixed their habitations, the prophet *Shoaib* was ſent to preach to them; but they not believing on him, the well fell in, and they and their houſes were all ſwallowed up. Another ſuppoſes it to have been a town in *Yamâma*, where a remnant of the *Thamudites* ſettled, to whom a prophet was alſo ſent; but they ſlaying him, were utterly deſtroyed. Another thinks it was a well near *Antioch*, where ~~the prophet~~ *Habîb al Najjâr* (whoſe tomb is ſtill to be ſeen there, being frequently viſited by the *Mohammedans*) was martyred [3]. And a fourth takes *al Raſs* to be a well in *Hadramaut*, by which dwelt ſome idolatrous *Thamudites*, whoſe prophet was *Handha*, or *Khantala* (for I find the name written both ways) *Ebn Safwân* [4]. Theſe people were firſt annoyed by certain monſtrous birds, called *Ankâ*, which lodged in the mountain above them, and uſed to ſnatch away their children, when they wanted other prey: but this calamity was ſo far from humbling them, that on their prophet's calling down a judgment upon them, they killed him, and were all deſtroyed [5].

[d] *The city which was rained on by a fatal rain*;] viz. *Sodom*; for the *Koreiſh* often paſſed by the place where it once ſtood, in the journeys they took to *Syria* for the ſake of trade.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. III. *p.* 64, *&c.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c.* [3] ABU'LF. *Geog. V. Vit. Saladini*, *p.* 86. [4] *See chap.* 22. *p.* 279. *not.* a. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALALO'DDIN.

ly with ſcoffing, *ſaying*, Is this he, whom GOD hath ſent *as his* apoſtle? Verily he had almoſt drawn us aſide from *the worſhip of* our gods; if we had not firmly perſevered *in our devotion* towards them. But they ſhall know hereafter, when they ſhall ſee the puniſhment *prepared for them*, who hath ſtrayed more widely from the *right* path. What thinkeſt thou? He who taketh his luſt for his god; canſt thou be his guardian [a]? Doſt thou imagine that the greater part of them hear, or underſtand? They are no other than like the *brute* cattle; yea, they ſtray more widely from the *true* path. Doſt thou not conſider *the works of* thy LORD, how he ſtretcheth forth the ſhadow *before ſun-riſe?* If he had pleaſed, he would have made it immovable *for ever*. Then we cauſe the ſun to *riſe*, *and to* ſhew the ſame; *and* afterwards we contract it by an eaſy *and gradual* contraction. It is he who hath ordained the night to *cover* you *as* a garment; and ſleep *to give you* reſt; and hath ordained the day for waking. It is he who ſendeth the winds, driving abroad the pregnant clouds, as the forerunners of his mercy [b]: and we ſend down pure water [c] from heaven, that we may thereby revive a dead country, and give to drink thereof unto what we have created, both of cattle and men, in great numbers [d]; and we diſtribute the ſame among them at various times, that they may conſider: but the greater part of men refuſe *to conſider*, only out of ingratitude [e]. If we had pleaſed, we had ſent a preacher unto every city [f]: wherefore do not thou obey the unbelievers; but oppoſe them herewith, with a ſtrong oppoſition. It is he who hath let looſe the two ſeas; this freſh *and* ſweet, and that ſalt *and* bitter: and hath placed between them a bar [g], and a bound which cannot be paſſed. It is he who hath created man of water [h]; and hath made him *to bear the double relation of* conſanguinity and affinity; for thy LORD is powerful. They worſhip, beſides GOD, that which can neither profit them nor hurt them: and the unbeliever is an aſſiſtant *of the devil* againſt his LORD [i]. We have ſent thee *to be* no other than a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats. Say, I aſk not of you any reward

[a] *Canſt thou be his guardian?*] i. e. Doſt thou expect to reclaim ſuch a one from idolatry and infidelity?

[b] See chap. 7. p. 122. There is the ſame various reading here, as is mentioned in the notes to that paſſage.

[c] *Pure water;*] Properly, *purifying* water; which epithet may perhaps refer to the cleanſing quality of that element, of ſo great uſe both on religious and on common occaſions.

[d] *To cattle and to men in great numbers;*] That is, To ſuch as live in the dry deſarts, and are obliged to drink rain water; which the inhabitants of towns, and places well-watered, have no occaſion to do.

[e] *Out of ingratitude;*] Or, out of *infidelity*: for the old *Arabs* uſed to think themſelves indebted for their rains, not to GOD, but to the influence of ſome particular ſtars [1].

[f] *We had ſent a preacher unto every city;*] And had not given thee, O *Mohammed*, the honour and trouble of being a preacher to the whole world in general.

[g] *A bar;*] To keep them aſunder, and prevent their mixing with each other. The original word is *barzakh*; which has been already explained [2].

[h] *Of water;*] With which *Adam*'s primitive clay was mixed; or, of *ſeed*. See chap. 24. p. 293.

[i] *An aſſiſtant of the devil againſt his* LORD;] Joining with him in his rebellion and infidelity. Some think *Abu Jahl* is particularly ſtruck at in this paſſage. The words may alſo be tranſlated, *The unbeliever is contemptible in the ſight of his* LORD.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 31.

[2] *In not. ad cap.* 23. *p.* 286.

reward for this *my preaching*; beſides *the converſion of* him who ſhall deſire to take the way unto his LORD [a]. And do thou truſt in him who liveth, and dieth not; and celebrate his praiſe: (he is ſufficiently acquainted with the faults of his ſervants:) who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, in ſix days; and then aſcended *his* throne; the Merciful. Aſk now the knowing concerning him. When it is ſaid unto *the unbelievers*, Adore the Merciful; they reply, And who *is* the Merciful [b]? Shall we adore that which thou commandeſt us? And *this precept* cauſeth them to fly the faſter *from the faith*. Bleſſed be he who hath placed *the twelve* ſigns in the heavens; and hath placed therein a lamp [c] *by day*, and the moon which ſhineth *by night!* It is he who hath ordained the night and the day to ſucceed each other, for *the obſervation of* him who will conſider, or deſireth *to ſhew his* gratitude. The ſervants of the Merciful are thoſe who walk meekly on the earth, and, when the ignorant ſpeak unto them, anſwer, Peace [d]: and who paſs the night adoring their LORD, and ſtanding up *to pray unto him*; and who ſay, O LORD, avert from us the torment of hell, for the torment thereof *is* perpetual; verily the ſame is a miſerable abode, and *a wretched* ſtation: and who, when they beſtow, are neither profuſe, nor niggardly; but *obſerve* a juſt medium between theſe [e]; and who invoke not another god together with *the true* GOD; neither ſlay the ſoul, which GOD hath forbidden *to be ſlain*, unleſs for a juſt cauſe: and who are not guilty of fornication. But he who ſhall do this, ſhall meet the reward of *his* wickedneſs: *his* puniſhment ſhall be doubled unto him on the day of reſurrection; and he ſhall remain therein, covered with ignominy, *for ever:* except him who ſhall repent, and believe, and ſhall work a righteous work; unto them will GOD change their *former* evils into good [f]; for GOD is ready to forgive, *and* merciful. And whoever repenteth, and doth that which is right; verily he turneth unto GOD with an *acceptable* converſion. And they who do not bear falſe witneſs; and when they paſs by vain diſcourſe, paſs by the ſame with decency: and who, when they are admoniſhed by the ſigns of their LORD, fall not down *as if they were* deaf and blind, *but ſtand up and are attentive* thereto: and who ſay, O LORD, grant us of our wives and our offſpring ſuch as may be the ſatisfaction of *our* eyes; and make us patterns unto thoſe who fear *thee*. Theſe ſhall be rewarded with the higheſt apartments *in paradiſe*, becauſe they have perſevered with conſtancy; and they ſhall meet therein with greeting and ſalutation; they ſhall remain in the ſame for ever:

[a] *Beſides the converſion of him who ſhall take the way unto his* LORD;] Seeking to draw near unto him, by embracing the religion taught by me his apoſtle; which is the beſt return I expect from you for my labours [1]. The paſſage, however, is capable of another meaning, *viz.* That *Mohammed* deſires none to give, but him who ſhall contribute freely and voluntarily towards the advancement of GOD's true religion.

[b] See chap. 17. p. 237.

[c] *A lamp*;] i. e. The ſun.

[d] *Peace*;] This is intended here not as a ſalutation, but as a waving all farther diſcourſe and communication with the idolaters.

[e] See chap. 17. p. 230.

[f] GOD *will change their former evils into good*;] Blotting out their former rebellion, on their repentance, and confirming and encreaſing their faith and obedience [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

ever: it ſhall be an excellent abode, and a *delightful* ſtation. Say, My LORD is not ſollicitous on your account, if ye do not invoke him: ye have already charged *his apoſtle* with impoſture; but hereafter ſhall there be a laſting puniſhment *inflicted on you.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Intitled, The Poets [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

T. S. M [c]. Theſe *are* the ſigns of the perſpicuous book. Peradventure thou afflicteſt thy ſelf unto death, leſt *the MECCANS* become not true believers. If we pleaſed, we could ſend down unto them a *convincing* ſign from heaven, unto which their necks would humbly ſubmit. But there cometh unto them no admonition from the Merciful, being newly revealed *as occaſions require,* but they turn aſide from the ſame; and they have charged *it* with falſhood: but a meſſage ſhall come unto them, which they ſhall not laugh to ſcorn. Do they not behold the earth, how many *vegetables* we cauſe to ſpring up therein, of every noble ſpecies? Verily herein is a ſign: but the greater part of them do not believe. Verily thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful *GOD. Remember* when thy LORD called MOSES, *ſaying,* Go to the unjuſt people, the people of PHARAOH; will they not dread *me? MOSES* anſwered, O LORD, verily I fear leſt they accuſe me of falſhood, and leſt my breaſt become ſtraitened, and my tongue be not ready *in ſpeaking* [d]: ſend therefore unto AARON, *to be my aſſiſtant.* Alſo they have a crime *to object* againſt me [e]; and I fear they will put me to death. *GOD* ſaid, *They ſhall* by no means *put thee to death:* wherefore go ye with our ſigns; for we *will be* with you, *and will* hear *what paſſes between you and them.* Go ye therefore unto PHARAOH, and ſay, Verily we are the apoſtle [f] of the LORD of all creatures: ſend away with us the children of ISRAEL. *And when they had delivered their meſſage, PHARAOH* anſwered, Have we not brought thee up among us, *when* a child; and haſt thou not dwelt among us for *ſeveral* years of thy life [g]? Yet haſt thou done thy deed which thou haſt done: and thou art

[a] The chapter bears this inſcription, becauſe at the concluſion of it the *Arabian* poets are ſeverely cenſured.

[b] The five laſt verſes, beginning at theſe words, *And thoſe who err follow the poets,* &c. ſome take to have been revealed at *Medina.*

[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, *&c.*

[d] See chap. 20. p. 257.

[e] *A crime;*] viz. The having killed an *Egyptian* [1].

[1] *See chap.* 28.

[f] *The Apoſtle;*] The word is in the ſingular number in the original; for which the commentators give ſeveral reaſons.

[g] *For ſeveral years;*] It is ſaid that *Moſes* dwelt among the *Egyptians* thirty years, and then went to *Midian,* where he ſtaid ten years; after which he returned to *Egypt,* and ſpent thirty years in endeavouring to convert them; and that he lived after the drowning of *Pharaoh* fifty years [2].

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

art an ungrateful perſon. *MOSES* replied, I did it indeed, and I was *one* of thoſe who erred [a]; wherefore I fled from you, becauſe I feared you: but my LORD hath beſtowed on me wiſdom, and hath appointed me *one* of *his* apoſtles. And this is the favour which thou haſt beſtowed on me, that thou haſt enſlaved the children of ISRAEL. PHARAOH ſaid, And who is the LORD of all creatures? *MOSES* anſwered, The LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever is between them: if ye are men of ſagacity. *PHARAOH* ſaid unto thoſe who were about him, Do ye not hear? *MOSES* ſaid, Your LORD, and the LORD of your forefathers. *PHARAOH* ſaid *unto thoſe who were preſent*, Your apoſtle, who is ſent unto you, is certainly diſtracted [b]. *MOSES* ſaid, The LORD of the eaſt, and of the weſt, and of whatever is between them; if ye are men of underſtanding. *PHARAOH* ſaid unto him, Verily if thou take any god beſides me [c], I will make thee *one* of thoſe who are impriſoned [d]. *MOSES* anſwered, What, although I come unto you with a convincing *miracle?* *PHARAOH* replied, Produce it therefore, if thou ſpeakeſt truth. And he caſt down his rod, and behold, it *became* a viſible ſerpent: and he drew forth his hand *out of his boſom*; and behold, it *appeared*, white unto the ſpectators. *PHARAOH* ſaid unto the princes *who were* about him, Verily this *man* is a ſkilful magician: he ſeeketh to diſpoſſeſs you of your land by his ſorcery; what therefore do ye direct? They anſwered, Delay him, and his brother *by good words for a time*; and ſend through the cities *men* to aſſemble and bring unto thee every ſkilful magician. So the magicians were aſſembled at an appointed time, on a ſolemn day. And it was ſaid unto the people, Are ye aſſembled together? Perhaps we may follow the magicians, if they do get the victory. And when the magicians were come, they ſaid unto PHARAOH, Shall we certainly receive a reward, if we do get the victory? He anſwered, Yea; and ye ſhall ſurely be of thoſe who approach *my perſon*. MOSES ſaid unto them, Caſt down what ye are about to caſt down. Wherefore they caſt down their ropes and their rods, and ſaid, By the might of PHARAOH, verily we *ſhall be* the conquerors. And MOSES caſt down his rod, and behold, it ſwallowed up that which they had *cauſed* falſely *to appear* changed *into ſerpents*. Whereupon the magicians proſtrated themſelves, worſhipping, *and* ſaid, We believe in the LORD of all creatures, the LORD of MOSES and of AARON. *PHARAOH* ſaid *unto them*, Have ye believed on him, before I have

[a] *I was one of thoſe who erred*;] Having killed the *Egyptian* undeſignedly.

[b] *Your apoſtle is diſtracted*;] *Pharaoh*, it ſeems, thought *Moſes* had given but wild anſwers to his queſtion; for he wanted to know the perſon and true nature of the GOD whoſe meſſenger *Moſes* pretended to be; whereas he ſpoke of his works only. And becauſe this anſwer gave ſo little ſatisfaction to the king, he is therefore ſuppoſed by ſome to have been a *Dahrite*, or one who believed the eternity of the world [1].

[c] *If thou take any god beſides me*;] From this and a parallel expreſſion in the 28th chapter, it is inferred that *Pharaoh* claimed the worſhip of his ſubjects, as due to his ſupreme power.

[d] *I will make thee one of thoſe who are impriſoned*;] Theſe words, ſays *al Beidâwi*, were a more terrible menace than if he had ſaid *I will impriſon thee*; and gave *Moſes* to underſtand that he muſt expect to keep company with thoſe wretches whom the tyrant had thrown, as was his cuſtom, into a deep dungeon, where they remained till they died.

[1] *Idem.*

have given you permiſſion? Verily he is your chief, who hath taught you magic [a]: but hereafter ye ſhall ſurely know *my power*. I will cut off your hands and your feet, on the oppoſite ſides, and I will crucify you all. They anſwered, *It will be* no harm *unto us*; for we ſhall return unto our LORD. We hope that our LORD will forgive us our ſins, ſince we are the firſt who have believed [b]. And we ſpake by revelation unto MOSES, *ſaying*, March forth with my ſervants by night; for ye will be purſued. And PHARAOH ſent *officers* through the cities to aſſemble *forces*, *ſaying*, Verily theſe are a ſmall company; and they are enraged againſt us: but we are a multitude well provided. So we cauſed them to quit *their* gardens, and fountains, and treaſures, and fair dwellings: thus *did we do*; and we made the children of ISRAEL to inherit the ſame [c]. And they purſued them at ſun-riſe. And when the two armies were come in ſight of each other, the companions of MOSES ſaid, We ſhall ſurely be overtaken. *MOSES* anſwered, By no means: for my LORD *is* with me, who will ſurely direct me. And we commanded MOSES by revelation, *ſaying*, Smite the ſea with thy rod. And *when he had ſmitten it*, it became divided *into twelve parts*, *between which were as many paths*, and every part was like a vaſt mountain. And we drew thither the others; and we delivered MOSES and all thoſe who were with him: then we drowned the others. Verily herein was a ſign; but the greater part of them did not believe. Verily thy Lord is the mighty, *and* the merciful. And rehearſe unto them the ſtory of ABRAHAM: when he ſaid unto his father, and his people, What do ye worſhip? They anſwered, We worſhip idols; and we conſtantly ſerve them all the day long. *ABRAHAM* ſaid, Do they hear you, when ye invoke *them?* Or do they either profit you, or hurt you? They anſwered, But we found our fathers do the ſame. He ſaid, What think ye? *The gods* which ye worſhip, and your forefathers *worſhipped*, are my enemy: except only the LORD of all creatures, who hath created me, and directeth me; and who giveth me to eat, and to drink, and when I am ſick, healeth me; and who will cauſe me to die, and will afterwards reſtore me to life; and who, I hope, will forgive my ſins on the day of judgment. O LORD, grant me wiſdom; and join me with the righteous: and grant that I may be ſpoken of with honour [d] among the lateſt *poſterity*; and make me an heir of the garden of delight: and forgive my father, for that he hath been *one* of thoſe who go aſtray [e]. And cover me not with ſhame on the day of reſurrection; on

[a] *Who hath taught you magic*;] But has reſerved the moſt efficacious ſecrets to himſelf [1].

[b] See chap. 7. p. 128, *&c.*

[c] *We made the children of* Iſrael *to inherit the ſame*;] Hence ſome ſuppoſe the *Iſraelites*, after the deſtruction of *Pharaoh* and his hoſt, returned to *Egypt*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the riches of that country [2]. But others are of opinion that the meaning is no more than that GOD gave them the like poſſeſſions and dwellings in another country [3].

[d] *Grant that I may be ſpoken of with honour*;] Literally, *Grant me a tongue of truth*, that is, a high encomium. The ſame expreſſion is uſed in chap. 19. p. 252.

[e] *And forgive my father*, &c.] By diſpoſing him to repentance, and the receiving of the true faith. Some ſuppoſe *Abraham* pronounced this prayer after his father's death, thinking that poſſibly he might have been inwardly a true believer, but have concealed his converſion for fear of *Nimrod*, and before he was forbidden to pray for him [4].

[1] *Idem.* [2] JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA. *chap* 9. *p.* 164. *and chap.* 14. *p.* 209.

[3] *Al* ZAMAKH. *See chap.* 7. *p.* 131. [4] *See*

on the day *in which* neither riches nor children ſhall avail, unleſs unto him who ſhall come unto GOD with a ſincere heart: *when* paradiſe ſhall be brought near to *the view of* the pious, and hell ſhall appear plainly to thoſe who ſhall have erred; and it ſhall be ſaid unto them, Where *are your deities* which ye ſerved beſides GOD? will they deliver you *from puniſhment*, or will they deliver themſelves? And they ſhall be caſt into the ſame, *both* they [a], and thoſe who have been ſeduced *to their worſhip*; and all the hoſt of EBLIS. The *ſeduced* ſhall diſpute therein *with their falſe gods*, ſaying, By GOD, we were in a manifeſt error, when we equalled you with the LORD of all creatures: and none ſeduced us but the wicked. We have *now* no interceſſors, nor any friend who careth *for us*. If we were allowed to return once more *into the world*, we would certainly become true believers. Verily herein was a ſign: but the greater part of them believed not. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. The people of NOAH accuſed *GOD*'s meſſengers of impoſture: when their brother NOAH ſaid unto them, Will ye not fear *GOD?* Verily I am a faithful meſſenger unto you; wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. I aſk no reward of you for *my preaching unto you*; *I expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures: wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. They anſwered, Shall we believe on thee, when *only* the moſt abject *perſons* have followed thee? *NOAH* ſaid, I have no knowledge of that which they did [b]; *it appertaineth* unto my LORD alone to bring them to account, if ye underſtand; wherefore I will not drive away the believers [c]: I am no more than a public preacher. They replied, Aſſuredly, unleſs thou deſiſt, O NOAH, thou ſhalt be ſtoned. He ſaid, O Lord, verily my people take me for a liar: wherefore judge publickly between me and them; and deliver me and the true believers who are with me. Wherefore we delivered him, and thoſe who were with him, in the ark filled *with men and animals*; and afterwards we drowned the reſt. Verily herein was a ſign: but the greater part of them believed not. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. *The tribe of* AD charged *GOD*'s meſſengers with falſhood: when their brother HUD ſaid unto them, Will ye not fear *GOD?* Verily I am a faithful meſſenger unto you; wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. I demand not of you any reward for *my preaching unto you*: *I expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. Do ye build a land-mark on every high place, to divert yourſelves [d]? And do ye erect *magnificent* works, *hoping* that ye may continue *in their poſſeſſion* for ever? And when ye exerciſe your power, do ye exerciſe it with cruelty and rigour [e]? Fear GOD, *by leaving theſe things*; and obey me. And fear

[a] See chap. 21. p. 273.

[b] *I have no knowledge of that which they did;*] i. e. Whether they have embraced the faith which I have preached, out of the ſincerity of their hearts, or in proſpect of ſome worldly advantage.

[c] See chap. 11. p. 177.

[d] *Do ye build a land-mark on every high place, to divert your ſelves?*] Or to mock the paſſengers; who direct themſelves in their journeys by the ſtars, and have no need of ſuch buildings [1]?

[e] *Do ye exerciſe it with cruelty and rigour?*] Putting to death, and inflicting other corporal puniſhments without mercy, and rather for the ſatisfaction of your paſſion than the amendment of the ſufferer [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

him who hath beſtowed on you that which ye know: he hath beſtowed on you cattle, and children, and gardens, and ſprings of water. Verily I fear for you the puniſhment of a grievous day. They anſwered, It is equal unto us whether thou admoniſh us, or doſt not admoniſh *us*: this *which thou preacheſt* is only a device of the ancients; neither ſhall we be puniſhed *for what we have done.* And they accuſed him of impoſture: wherefore we deſtroyed them. Verily herein was a ſign: but the greater part of them believed not. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. *The tribe of* THAMUD *alſo* charged the meſſengers *of* GOD with falſhood. When their brother SALEH ſaid unto them, Will ye not fear *GOD*? Verily I am a faithful meſſenger unto you: wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. I demand no reward of you for *my preaching unto you*; *I expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. Shall ye be left *for ever* ſecure in *the poſſeſſion of* the things which *are* here; among gardens, and fountains, and corn, and palm-trees, whoſe branches ſheathe their flowers? And will ye *continue to* cut habitations *for your ſelves* out of the mountains, behaving with inſolence [a]? Fear GOD, and obey me; and obey not the command of the tranſgreſſors, who act corruptly in the earth, and reform not *the ſame.* They anſwered, Verily thou art diſtracted: thou art no *other* than a man like unto us: produce now ſome ſign, if thou ſpeakeſt truth. *SALEH* ſaid, This ſhe-camel *ſhall be a ſign unto you:* ſhe ſhall have *her* portion of water, and ye ſhall have *your* portion of water *alternately*, on a *ſeveral* day appointed *for you* [b]; and do her no hurt, leſt the puniſhment of a terrible day be inflicted on you. But they ſlew her; and were made to repent *of their impiety:* for the puniſhment *which had been threatened* overtook them. Verily herein was a ſign; but the greater part of them did not believe. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. The people of LOT *likewiſe* accuſed *GOD*'s meſſengers of impoſture. When their brother LOT ſaid unto them, Will ye not fear *GOD*? Verily I am a faithful meſſenger unto you: wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. I demand no reward of you for *my preaching: I expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. Do ye approach unto the males among mankind, and leave your wives which your LORD hath created for you? Surely ye are people who tranſgreſs. They anſwered, Unleſs thou deſiſt, O LOT, thou ſhalt certainly be expelled *our city.* He ſaid, Verily I am *one* of thoſe who abhor your doings: O LORD, deliver me, and my family, from that which they act. Wherefore we delivered him, and all his family; except an old woman, *his wife, who periſhed* among thoſe who remained behind: then we deſtroyed the reſt; and we rained on them a ſhower *of ſtones*; and terrible was the ſhower *which fell on* thoſe who had been warned *in vain.* Verily herein was a ſign; but the greater part of them did not believe. Thy LORD is the mighty, the

[a] *Behaving with inſolence*;] Or, as the original word may alſo be rendred, *ſhewing art and ingenuity* in your work.

[b] *She ſhall have her portion of water, and ye ſhall have your portion of water alternately, on a ſeveral day appointed for you*;] That is, They were to have the uſe of the water by turns, the camel drinking one day, and the *Thamudites* drawing the other day; for when this camel drank, ſhe emptied the wells or brooks for that day. See chap. 7. p. 124.

the merciful. The inhabitants of the wood [a] *alſo* accuſed GOD's meſſengers of impoſture. When SHOAIB ſaid unto them, Will ye not fear *GOD*? Verily I am a faithful meſſenger unto you: wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. I aſk no reward of you for *my preaching: I expect* my reward from no other than the Lord of all creatures. Give juſt meaſure, and be not defrauders; and weigh with an equal balance; and diminiſh not unto men *ought* of their matters; neither commit violence in the earth, acting corruptly. And fear him who hath created you, and *alſo* the former generations. They anſwered, Certainly thou art diſtracted: thou art no more than a man, like unto us; and we do ſurely eſteem thee to be a liar. Cauſe now a part of the heaven to fall upon us, if thou ſpeakeſt truth. *SHOAIB* ſaid, My LORD beſt knoweth that which ye do. And they charged him with falſhood: wherefore the puniſhment of the day of the ſhadowing cloud [b] overtook them; *and* this was the puniſhment of a grievous day. Verily herein was a ſign; but the greater part of them did not believe. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. This *book* is certainly a revelation from the Lord of all creatures, which the faithful ſpirit [c] hath cauſed to deſcend upon thy heart, that thou mighteſt be a preacher *to thy people*, in the perſpicuous Arabic tongue: and it is *born witneſs to* in the ſcriptures of former ages. Was it not a ſign unto them, that the wiſe men among the children of ISRAEL knew it? Had we revealed it unto any of the foreigners, and he had read the ſame unto them, yet they would not have believed therein. Thus have we cauſed *obſtinate infidelity* to enter the hearts of the wicked: they ſhall not believe therein, until they ſee a painful puniſhment. It ſhall come ſuddenly upon them, and they ſhall not foreſee it: and they ſhall ſay, Shall we be reſpited? Do they therefore deſire our puniſhment to be haſtened [d]? What thinkeſt thou? If we ſuffer them to enjoy *the advantage of this life* for ſeveral years, and afterwards that with which they are threatened come upon them; what will that which they have enjoyed profit them? We have deſtroyed no city, but preachers *were firſt ſent* unto it, to admoniſh *the inhabitants thereof*; neither did we treat *them* unjuſtly. The devils did not deſcend with the *KORAN*, *as the infidels give out:* it is not for their purpoſe, neither are they able *to produce ſuch a book*; for they are far removed from hearing *the diſcourſe of the angels in heaven* [e]. Invoke no other god with *the true* GOD, leſt thou become *one* of thoſe who are doomed to

[a] See chap. 15. p. 213. *Shoaib* being not called the *brother* of theſe people, which would have preſerved the conformity between this paſſage and the preceding, it has been thought they were not *Midianites*, but of another race: however we find the prophet taxes them with the ſame crimes as he did thoſe of *Midian* [1].

[b] *The ſhadowing cloud.*] GOD firſt plagued them with ſuch intolerable heat for ſeven days, that all their waters were dried up; and then brought a cloud over them, under whoſe ſhade they ran, and were all deſtroyed by a hot wind and fire which proceeded from it [2].

[c] *The faithful ſpirit;*] i. e. *Gabriel*; who is intruſted with the divine ſecrets and revelations.

[d] *Do they deſire our puniſhment to be haſtened?*] The infidels were continually defying *Mohammed* to bring ſome ſignal and miraculous deſtruction on them, as a ſhower of ſtones, *&c.*

[e] See chap. 15. p. 211.

[1] *See chap. 7. p. 126.*

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

puniſhment. And admoniſh thy more near relations [a]. And behave thy ſelf with meekneſs [b] towards the true believers who follow thee: and if they be diſobedient unto thee, ſay, Verily I am clear of that which ye do. And truſt in the moſt mighty, the merciful *God*; who ſeeth thee when thou riſeſt up, and thy behaviour among thoſe who worſhip [c]; for he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Shall I declare unto you upon whom the devils deſcend? They deſcend upon every lying *and* wicked perſon [d]: they learn what is heard [e]; but the greater part of them *are* liars. And thoſe who err follow the *ſteps of the* poets: doſt thou not ſee that they rove *as bereft of their ſenſes* through every valley; and that they ſay that which they do not [f]? except thoſe who believe, and do good works, and remember God frequently; and who defend themſelves, after they have been unjuſtly treated [g]. And they who act

[a] *Preach to thy near relations*;] The commentators ſuppoſe the ſame command to have been virtually contained in the ſeventy fourth chapter, which is prior to this in point of time [1]. It is ſaid that *Mohammed*, on receiving the paſſage before us, went up immediately to mount *Safâ*, and having called the ſeveral families to him, one by one, when they were all aſſembled, asked them, whether if he ſhould tell them that mountain would bring forth a ſmaller mountain, they would believe him; to which they anſwering in the affirmative, *Verily*, ſays he, *I am a warner ſent unto you, before a ſevere chaſtiſement* [2].

[b] *Behave thy ſelf with meekneſs*;] Literally, *Lower thy wing*.

[c] *Who ſeeth thee when thou riſeſt up, and thy behaviour among thoſe who worſhip*;] i. e. Who ſeeth thee when thou riſeſt up to watch and ſpend the night in religious exerciſes, and obſerveth thy anxious care for the *Moſlems* exact performance of their duty. It is ſaid that the night on which the precept of watching was abrogated, *Mohammed* went privately from one houſe to another, to ſee how his companions ſpent the time; and that he found them ſo intent in reading the *Korân*, and repeating their prayers, that their houſes, by reaſon of the humming noiſe they made, ſeemed to be ſo many neſts of hornets [3]. Some commentators, however, ſuppoſe that by the prophet's *behaviour*, in this place, are meant the various poſtures he uſed in praying at the head of his companions; as ſtanding, bowing, proſtration, and ſitting [4].

[d] *The devils deſcend upon every lying and wicked perſon*;] The prophet, having vindicated himſelf from the charge of having communication with the devils, by the oppoſition between his doctrine and their deſigns, and their inability to compoſe ſo conſiſtent a book as the *Korân*, proceeds to ſhew that the perſons moſt likely to a correſpondence with thoſe evil ſpirits, were liars and ſlanderers, that is, his enemies and oppoſers.

[e] *They learn what is heard*;] i. e. They are taught by the ſecret inſpiration of the devils, and receive their idle and inconſiſtent ſuggeſtions for truth. It being uncertain whether the *ſlanderers* or the *devils* be the nominative caſe to the verb, the words may alſo be rendred, *They impart what they hear*; that is, The devils acquaint their correſpondents on earth with ſuch incoherent ſcraps of the angels diſcourſe, as they can hear by ſtealth [5].

[f] *They rove as bereft of their ſenſes through every valley*, &c.] Their compoſitions being as wild as the actions of a diſtracted man: for moſt of the ancient poetry was full of vain imaginations; as fabulous ſtories and deſcriptions, love-verſes, flattery, exceſſive commendations of their patrons, and as exceſſive reproaches of their enemies, incitements to vicious actions, vainglorious vauntings, and the like [6].

[g] *Except thoſe who believe*, &c.] That is, Such poets as had embraced *Mohammediſm*; whoſe works, free from the prophaneneſs of the former, run chiefly on the praiſes of God, and the eſtabliſhing his unity, and contain exhortations to obedience and other religious and moral vertues; without any ſatyrical invectives, unleſs againſt ſuch as have given juſt provocations, by having firſt attacked them, or ſome others of the true believers, with the ſame weapons. In this laſt caſe *Mohammed* ſaw it was neceſſary for

[1] *See the notes thereon, and the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 43. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*
[4] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *Idem.* [6] *Idem.*

act unjuſtly ſhall know hereafter, with what treatment they ſhall be treated.

for him to borrow aſſiſtance from the poets of his party, to defend himſelf and religion from the inſults and ridicule of the others; for which purpoſe he employed the pens of *Labîd Ebn Rabîa* [1], *Abda'llah Ebn Rawâha*, *Haſſân Ebn Thabet*, and the two *Caabs*. It is related that *Mohammed* once ſaid to *Caab Ebn Malec*, *Ply them with ſatires; for, by him in whoſe hand my ſoul is, they wound more deeply than arrows* [2].

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 61. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. XXVII.

Intitled, The Ant [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

T. S. Theſe *are* the ſigns of the KORAN, and of the perſpicuous book: a direction, and good tidings unto the true believers; who regularly perform *their* prayer, and give alms, and firmly believe in the life to come. *As to* thoſe who believe not in the life to come, we have prepared their works for them [b]; and they ſhall be ſtruck with aſtoniſhment *at their diſappointment, when they ſhall be raiſed again:* theſe *are* they whom an evil puniſhment *awaiteth in this life*; and in that which is to come they ſhall be the greateſt loſers. Thou haſt certainly received the KORAN from the preſence of a wiſe, a knowing GOD. *Remember* when MOSES ſaid unto his family, Verily I perceive fire: I will bring you tidings thereof, or I will bring you a lighted brand, that ye may be warmed [c]. And when he was come near unto it, *a voice* cried unto him, *ſaying*, Bleſſed be he who is in the fire, and whoever is about it [d]; and praiſe be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! O MOSES, verily I am GOD, the mighty, the wiſe: caſt down now thy rod. And when he ſaw it, that it moved, as though it *had been* a ſerpent, he retreated and fled, and returned not. *And GOD ſaid*, O MOSES, fear not; for *my* meſſengers are not diſturbed with fear in my ſight: except he who ſhall have done amiſs, and ſhall have afterwards ſubſtituted good in lieu of evil; for I am gracious *and* merciful [e]. Moreover put thy hand into thy boſom; it ſhall come

[a] In this chapter is related, among other ſtrange things, an odd ſtory of the ant, which has therefore been pitched on for the title.

[b] *We have prepared their works for them;*] By rendring them pleaſing and agreeable to their corrupt natures and inclinations.

[c] See chap. 20. p. 256.

[d] *Bleſſed be he who is in the fire, and about it;*] Some ſuppoſe GOD to be intended by the former words, and by the latter, the angels who were preſent [1]; others think *Moſes* and the angels are here meant, or all perſons in general in this holy plain, and the country round it [2].

[e] *Except he who ſhall have done amiſs,* &c.] This exception was deſigned to qualify the preceding

[1] YAHYA. [2] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI.

come forth white, without hurt: *this ſhall be one* among the nine ſigns [a] unto PHARAOH and his people; for they are a wicked people. And when our viſible ſigns had come unto them, they ſaid, This is manifeſt ſorcery. And they denied them, although their ſouls certainly knew them *to be from* GOD, out of iniquity and pride: but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers. We heretofore beſtowed knowledge on DAVID and SOLOMON; and they ſaid, Praiſe be unto GOD, who hath made us more excellent than many of his faithful ſervants! And SOLOMON was DAVID's heir [b]; and he ſaid, O men, we have been taught the ſpeech of birds [c], and have had all things beſtowed on us; this is manifeſt excellence. And his armies were gathered together unto SOLOMON, *conſiſting* of genii [d], and men, and birds; and they were led in diſtinct bands, until they came unto the valley of ants [e]. *And* an ant, *ſeeing the hoſts approaching*, ſaid, O ants, enter ye into your habitations, leſt SOLOMON and his army tread you under foot, and perceive *it* not. And *SOLOMON* ſmiled, laughing at her words, and ſaid, O LORD, excite me that I may be thankful for thy favour, wherewith thou haſt favoured me, and my parents; and that I may do that which is right, *and* well-pleaſing unto thee: and introduce me, through thy mercy, *into paradiſe*, among thy ſervants the righteous. And he viewed the birds, and ſaid, What is the reaſon that I ſee not the lapwing [f]? Is ſhe abſent? Verily I will chaſtiſe her with a ſevere chaſtiſe-

ceding aſſertion, which ſeemed too general: for ſeveral of the prophets have been ſubject to ſins, tho' not great ones, before their miſſion; for which they had reaſon to apprehend GOD's anger, tho' they are here aſſured that their ſubſequent merits intitle them to his pardon. It is ſuppoſed that *Moſes*'s killing the *Egyptian* undeſignedly is hinted at [1].

[a] See chap. 17. p. 236.

[b] Solomon *was* David's *heir*;] Inheriting not only his kingdom, but alſo the prophetical office, preferably to his other ſons, who were no leſs than nineteen [2].

[c] *We have been taught the ſpeech of birds*;] That is, The meaning of their ſeveral voices, tho' not articulate; of *Solomon*'s interpretation whereof the commentators give ſeveral inſtances [3].

[d] *His army conſiſting of genii*, &c.] For this fancy, as well as the former, *Mohammed* was obliged to the *Talmudiſts* [4], who, according to their manner, have interpreted the *Hebrew* words of *Solomon* [5], which the *Engliſh* verſion renders, *I gat men-ſingers, and women-ſingers*, as if that prince had forced *dæmons* or *ſpirits* to ſerve him at his table, and in other capacities; and particularly in his vaſt and magnificent buildings, which they could not conceive he could otherwiſe have performed.

[e] *The valley of ants*;] The valley ſeems to be ſo called from the great numbers of ants which are found there. Some place it in *Syria*, and others in *Tâyef* [6].

[f] *And he viewed the birds*, &c.] The *Arab* hiſtorians tell us, that *Solomon*, having finiſhed the temple of *Jeruſalem*, went in pilgrimage to *Mecca*, where having ſtaid as long as he pleaſed, he proceeded towards *Yaman*; and leaving *Mecca* in the morning, he arrived by noon at *Sanaa*, and being extreamly delighted with the country, reſted there; but wanting water to make the ablution, he looked among the birds for the lapwing, called by the *Arabs al Hudhud*, whoſe buſineſs it was to find it; for it is pretended ſhe was ſagacious or ſharp-ſighted enough to diſcover water under ground, which the devils uſed to draw, after ſhe had marked the place by digging with her bill: they add, that this bird was then taking a tour in the air, whence, ſeeing one of her companions alighting, ſhe deſcended alſo, and having had a deſcription given her by the other of the city of *Saba*, whence ſhe was juſt arrived,

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *See* MARACC. *not. in loc. p.* 511. [4] *V. Midraſh, Yalkut Shemuni, p.* 11. *f.* 29. & MILLIUM *de Mohammediſmo ante Mohammed. p.* 232. [5] *Eccleſ.* ii. 8. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

chaſtiſement [a], or I will put her to death; unleſs ſhe bring me a juſt excuſe. And ſhe tarried not long *before ſhe preſented herſelf unto* SOLOMON, and ſaid, I have viewed *a country* which thou haſt not viewed; and I come unto thee from SABA, with a certain piece of news. I found a woman [b] to reign over them, who is provided with every thing *requiſite for a prince*, and hath a magnificent throne [c]. I found her and her people to worſhip the ſun, beſides GOD: and SATAN hath prepared their works for them, and hath turned them aſide from the way *of truth*, (wherefore they are not *rightly* directed,) leſt they ſhould worſhip GOD, who bringeth to light that which is hidden in heaven and earth, and knoweth whatever they conceal, and whatever they diſcover. GOD! there is no GOD but he; the LORD of the magnificent throne. *SOLOMON* ſaid, We ſhall ſee whether thou haſt ſpoken the truth, or whether thou art a liar. Go with this my letter, and caſt it down unto them; then turn aſide from them, and wait *to know* what *anſwer* they will return. *And when the queen of SABA had received the letter* [d], ſhe ſaid, O nobles, verily an honourable letter hath been delivered unto me; it is from SOLOMON, and *this* is *the tenor thereof:* In the name of the moſt merciful GOD, Riſe not up againſt me: but come, and ſurrender yourſelves unto me [e]. *She* ſaid, O nobles, adviſe me in my buſineſs: I will not reſolve on any

arrived, they both went together to take a view of the place, and returned ſoon after *Solomon* had made the enquiry which occaſioned what follows [1].

It may be proper to mention here what the eaſtern writers fable of the manner of *Solomon*'s travelling. They ſay that he had a carpet of green ſilk, on which his throne was placed, being of a prodigious length and breadth, and ſufficient for all his forces to ſtand on, the men placing themſelves on his right hand, and the ſpirits on his left; and that when all were in order, the wind, at his command, took up the carpet, and tranſported it, with all that were upon it, wherever he pleaſed [2]; the army of birds at the ſame time flying over their heads, and forming a kind of canopy, to ſhade them from the ſun.

[a] *I will chaſtiſe her*, &c.] By plucking off her feathers, and ſetting her in the ſun, to be tormented by the inſects; or by ſhutting her up in a cage [3].

[b] *I found a woman to reign over them*;] This queen the *Arabs* name *Balkîs*: ſome make her the daughter of *al Hodhâd Ebn Sharhabil* [4], and others of *Sharabîl Ebn Malec* [5]; but they all agree ſhe was a deſcendant of *Yârab Ebn Kahtân*. She is placed the twenty ſecond in Dr. *Pocock*'s liſt of the kings of *Yaman* [6].

[c] *A magnificent throne*;] Which the commentators ſay was made of gold and ſilver, and crowned with precious ſtones. But they differ as to the ſize of it; one making it fourſcore cubits long, forty broad, and thirty high; while ſome ſay it was fourſcore, and others, thirty cubits every way.

[d] *And when ſhe had received the letter*, &c.] *Jallalo'ddin* ſays that the queen was ſurrounded by her army when the lapwing threw the letter into her boſom; but *al Beidâwi* ſuppoſes ſhe was in an apartment of her palace, the doors of which were ſhut, and that the bird flew in at the window. The former commentator gives a copy of the epiſtle ſomewhat more full than that in the text; *viz. From the ſervant of* GOD, Solomon *the ſon of* David, *unto* Balkîs *queen of* Saba. *In the name of the moſt merciful* GOD. *Peace be on him who followeth the true direction. Riſe not up againſt me, but come and ſurrender yourſelves unto me.* He adds that *Solomon* perfumed this letter with musk, and ſealed it with his ſignet.

[e] *Come and ſurrender yourſelves unto me*,] Or, *Come unto me and reſign yourſelves* unto the divine direction, and profeſs the true religion which I preach.

[1] *Iidem.* [2] *See chap.* 21. *p.* 271. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *V.* POCOCK. *Spec. p.* 59. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c. V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 182. [6] *Ubi ſup.*

any thing, until ye be witneſſes *and approve* thereof. *The nobles* anſwered, We are indued with ſtrength, and *are* indued with great proweſs in war; but the command *appertaineth* unto thee: ſee therefore what thou wilt command [a]. She ſaid, Verily kings, when they enter a city *by force*, waſte the ſame, and abaſe the moſt powerful of the inhabitants hereof: and ſo will *theſe* do *with us*. But I will ſend gifts unto them; and will wait for what *further information* thoſe who ſhall be ſent, ſhall bring back. And when *the queen's embaſſador* came unto SOLOMON [b], *that prince* ſaid, Will ye preſent me with riches? Verily that which GOD hath given me, is better than what he hath given you: but ye do glory in your gifts. Return unto *the people of* SABA. We will ſurely come unto them with forces, which they ſhall not be able to withſtand; and we will drive them out from *their city*, humbled; and they *ſhall become* contemptible. And *SOLOMON* ſaid, O nobles, which of you will bring unto me her throne, before they come and ſurrender themſelves unto me? A terrible genius [c] anſwered, I will bring it unto thee, before thou ariſe from thy place [d]: for I am able to *perform* it, and may be truſted. *And one* with whom was the knowledge of the ſcriptures [e] ſaid, I will bring it unto thee, in the twinkling of an eye [f]. And when *SOLOMON* ſaw *the throne* placed before him, he ſaid, This is a favour of my LORD, that he may make trial of me, whether I will be grateful, or whether I will be ungrateful: and he who is grateful, is grateful to his own *advantage*, but if any ſhall be ungrateful, verily my LORD *is* ſelf-ſufficient *and* munificent. *And SOLOMON* ſaid *unto his ſervants*, Alter her throne, that ſhe may not know it, to the end we may ſee whether ſhe be *rightly* directed, or whether

[a] *What thou wilt command*;] i. e. Whether thou wilt obey the ſummons of *Solomon*, or give us orders to make head againſt him.

[b] *When the embaſſador came unto* Solomon;] Bearing the preſents, which they ſay were five hundred young ſlaves of each ſex, all habited in the ſame manner, five hundred bricks of gold, a crown inriched with precious ſtones, beſides a large quantity of muſk, amber, and other things of value [1]. Some add, that *Balkîs*, to try whether *Solomon* was a prophet or no, dreſt the boys like girls, and the girls like boys, and ſent him, in a caſket, a pearl not drilled, and an onyx drilled with a crooked hole; and that *Solomon* diſtinguiſhed the boys from the girls by the different manner of their taking water, and ordered one worm to bore the pearl, and another to paſs a thread through the onyx [2]. They alſo tell us, that *Solomon*, having notice of this embaſſy, by means of the lapwing, even before they ſet out, ordered a large ſquare to be incloſed with a wall built of gold and ſilver bricks, wherein he ranged his forces and attendants to receive them [3].

[c] *A terrible genius*;] This was an *Ifrît*, or one of the wicked and rebellious genii; and his name, ſays *al Beidâwi*, was *Dhacwân* or *Sakhr*.

[d] *Before thou ariſe from thy place*;] i. e. From thy ſeat of juſtice. For *Solomon* uſed to ſit in judgment every day till noon [4].

[e] *One with whom was the knowledge of the ſcriptures*;] This perſon, as is generally ſuppoſed, was *Aſaf* the ſon of *Barachia*, *Solomon*'s wazir (or viſir), who knew the great or ineffable name of GOD, by pronouncing of which he performed this wonderful exploit [5]. Others however ſuppoſe it was *al Khedr*, or elſe *Gabriel*, or ſome other angel; and ſome imagine it to have been *Solomon* himſelf [6].

[f] *In the twinkling of an eye*;] The original is, *Before thou canſt look at any object, and take thy eye off it*. It is ſaid that *Solomon*, at *Aſaf*'s deſire, looked up to heaven, and before he caſt his eye downwards, the throne made its way under ground, and appeared before him.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Idem Interp.*
[5] JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *Al* BEIDAWI.

whether ſhe be *one* of thoſe who are not *rightly* directed. And when ſhe was come *unto* SOLOMON [a], it was ſaid *unto her*, Is thy throne like this? She anſwered, As though it were the ſame. And we have had knowledge beſtowed on us before this, and have been reſigned *unto* GOD [b]. But that which ſhe worſhipped, beſides GOD, had turned her aſide *from the truth*; for ſhe was of an unbelieving people. It was ſaid unto her, Enter the palace [c]. And when ſhe ſaw it, ſhe imagined it to be a great water; and ſhe diſcovered her legs, *by lifting up her robe to paſs through it* [d]. *Whereupon* SOLOMON ſaid *unto her*, Verily this is a palace evenly floored with glaſs. *Then* ſaid *the queen*, O LORD, verily I have dealt unjuſtly with my own ſoul; and I reſign my ſelf, together with SOLOMON, unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures [e]. Alſo we heretofore ſent unto *the tribe of* THAMUD their brother SALEH; *who ſaid unto them*, Serve ye GOD. And behold, they *were divided into* two parties, who diſputed among themſelves [f]. *SALEH* ſaid, O my people, why do ye haſten evil rather than good [g]? Unleſs ye aſk pardon of GOD, that ye may obtain mercy, *ye are loſt*. They anſwered, We preſage evil from thee, and from thoſe who *are* with thee. *SALEH* replied, The evil which ye preſage is with GOD [h]: but ye *are* a people who are proved *by a viciſſitude of proſperity and adverſity*. And there were nine men in the city, who acted corruptly in the earth, and behaved not with integrity. And they ſaid *unto one another*, Swear ye reciprocally by GOD, that we will fall upon *SALEH* and his family by night: and afterwards we will ſay unto him who hath right to avenge his blood, We were not *ſo much as* preſent at the deſtruction of his family; and we certainly ſpeak the truth. And they deviſed a plot *againſt him*: but we deviſed a plot *againſt them*; and they perceived

[a] *When ſhe was come unto* Solomon;] For, on the return of her ambaſſador, ſhe determined to go and ſubmit herſelf to that prince; but before her departure, ſhe ſecured her throne, as ſhe thought, by locking it up in a ſtrong caſtle, and ſetting a guard to defend it; after which ſhe ſet out, attended by a vaſt army [1].

[b] *We have had knowledge beſtowed on us before this*, &c.] It is uncertain whether theſe be the words of *Balkîs*, acknowledging her conviction by the wonders ſhe had already ſeen; or of *Solomon* and his people, acknowledging the favour of GOD, in calling them to the true faith before her.

[c] *Enter the palace*;] Or, as ſome underſtand the word, *the court* before the palace, which *Solomon* had commanded to be built againſt the arrival of *Balkîs*; the floor or pavement being of tranſparent glaſs, laid over running water, in which fiſh were ſwimming. Fronting this pavement was placed the royal throne, on which *Solomon* ſat to receive the queen [2].

[d] *She diſcovered her legs*, &c.] Some *Arab* writers tell us, *Solomon* had been informed that *Balkîs*'s legs and feet were covered with hair, like thoſe of an aſs, of the truth of which he had hereby an opportunity of being ſatisfied by ocular demonſtration.

[e] *I reſign my ſelf unto* GOD;] The queen of *Saba* having by theſe words profeſſed *Iſlâm*, and renounced idolatry, *Solomon* had thoughts of making her his wife; but could not reſolve to do it, till the devils had, by a depilatory, taken off the hair from her legs [3]. Some [4] however will have it that ſhe did not marry *Solomon*, but a prince of the tribe of *Hamdân*.

[f] *Who diſputed among themſelves*;] Concerning the doctrine preached by *Saleh*; one party believing on him, and the other treating him as an impoſtor.

[g] *Why do ye haſten evil rather than good?*] i. e. Why do ye urge and defy the divine vengeance with which ye are threatned, inſtead of averting it by repentance?

[h] *We preſage evil from thee*, &c.] See chap. 7. p. 130. where the *Egyptians* in the ſame manner accuſe *Moſes* as the cauſe of their calamities.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem, Al* BEIDAWI. [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Apud Al* BEIDAWI.

it not. And ſee what was the iſſue of their plot [a]: we utterly deſtroyed them and their whole people; and theſe their habitations *remain* empty, becauſe of the injuſtice which they committed. Verily herein *is* a ſign, unto people who underſtand. And we delivered thoſe who believed, and feared GOD. And *remember* LOT; when he ſaid unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedneſs, though ye ſee *the hainouſneſs thereof?* Do ye approach luſtfully unto men,
XX. leaving the women? Ye are ſurely an ignorant people. * But the anſwer of his people was no other than that they ſaid, Caſt the family of LOT out of your city: for they are men who preſerve themſelves pure *from the crimes of which ye are guilty.* Wherefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife, whom we decreed *to be one* of thoſe who remained behind *to be deſtroyed.* And we rained on them a ſhower *of ſtones:* and dreadful was the ſhower which fell on thoſe who had been warned *in vain* [b]! Say, Praiſe *be* unto GOD; and peace *be* upon his ſervants whom he hath choſen! Is GOD more worthy, or the *falſe gods* which they aſſociate *with him? Is not* he *to be preferred,* who hath created the heavens and the earth, and ſendeth down rain for you from heaven, whereby we cauſe delicious groves to ſpring up? It is not in your power to cauſe the trees thereof to ſhoot forth. Is there *any other* god *partner* with *the true* GOD? Verily theſe are a people who deviate *from the truth. Is not he more worthy to be adored,* who hath eſtabliſhed the earth, and hath cauſed rivers *to flow* through the midſt thereof, and placed thereon immovable *mountains,* and ſet a bar between the two ſeas [c]? Is there *any other* god *equal* with *the true* GOD? Yet the greater part of them know *it* not. *Is not he more worthy* who heareth the afflicted [d], when he calleth upon him, and taketh off the evil *which diſtreſſed him*; and *who* hath made you the ſucceſſors *of your forefathers* in the earth? Is there *any other* god *who can be equalled* with *the true* GOD? How few conſider *theſe things! Is not he more worthy* who directeth you in the dark *paths* of the land and of the ſea; and who ſendeth the winds driving abroad the clouds, as the forerunners of his mercy [e]? Is there *any other* god *who can be equalled* with *the true* GOD? Far be GOD from *having* thoſe *partners in his power,* which ye aſſociate *with him! Is not he more worthy,* who produceth a creature, and after *it hath been dead* reſtoreth it *to life*; and who giveth you food from heaven and earth? Is there *any other* god with *the true* GOD, *who doth this?* Say, Produce your proof *thereof,* if ye ſpeak truth. Say, None either in heaven or earth knoweth that which

[a] *See what was the iſſue of their plot;*] It is related that *Saleh,* and thoſe who believed on him, uſually meeting to pray in a certain narrow place between the mountains, the infidels ſaid, *He thinks to make an end of us after three days* [1], *but we will be before-hand with him*; and that a party of them went directly to the ſtraits abovementioned, thinking to execute their deſign, but were terribly diſappointed; for, inſtead of catching the prophet, they were caught themſelves, their retreat being cut off by a large piece of rock, which fell down at the mouth of the ſtraits, ſo that they periſhed there in a miſerable manner.

[b] See chap. 7. p. 126, and chap. 11. p. 184.

[c] See chap. 25. p. 300. The word *barzakh* is not uſed here, but another of equivalent import.

[d] *The afflicted;*] Literally, *Him who is driven* by diſtreſs to implore GOD's aſſiſtance.

[e] See chap. 7. p. 122, and chap. 25. p. 300.

[1] *See chap. 7. p. 125. not. c.*

which is hidden, beſides GOD: neither do they underſtand when they ſhall be raiſed. However their knowledge attaineth *ſome notion* of the life to come [a]: yet they are in an uncertainty concerning the ſame; yea, they are blind as to *the real circumſtances* thereof. And the unbelievers ſay, When we and our fathers ſhall have been *reduced to* duſt, ſhall we be taken forth *from the grave?* Verily we have been threatened with this, *both we* and our fathers, heretofore. This *is* no other than fables of the ancients. Say *unto them*, Paſs through the earth, and ſee what hath been the end of the wicked. And be not thou grieved for them; neither be thou in any concern on account of *the plots* which they are contriving *againſt thee*. And they ſay, When *will* this threat *be accompliſhed*, if ye ſpeak true? Anſwer, Peradventure ſome part of that *puniſhment*, which ye deſire to be haſtened, may follow cloſe behind you: verily thy LORD is endued with indulgence towards mankind; but the greater part of them are not thankful. Verily thy LORD knoweth what their breaſts conceal, and what they diſcover: and there is nothing hidden in heaven or on earth, but it *is written* in a clear book. Verily this KORAN declareth unto the children of ISRAEL moſt of thoſe *points* concerning which they diſagree [b]: and it *is* certainly a direction, and a mercy unto the true believers. Thy LORD will decide the controverſy between them, by his definitive ſentence: and he *is* the mighty, the wiſe. Therefore put thy truſt in GOD; for thou art in the manifeſt truth. Verily thou ſhalt not make the dead to hear, neither ſhalt thou make the deaf to hear *thy* call *to the true faith*, when they retire and turn their backs: neither ſhalt thou direct the blind *to extricate themſelves* out of their error. Thou ſhalt make none to hear *thee*, except him who ſhall believe in our ſigns: and they are *wholly* reſigned *unto us*. When the ſentence ſhall *be ready to* fall upon them, we will cauſe a beaſt [c] to come forth unto them from out of the earth, which ſhall ſpeak unto them [d]: verily men do not firmly believe in our ſigns. On the day *of reſurrection* we will aſſemble, out of every nation, a company of thoſe who ſhall have charged our ſigns with falſhood; and they ſhall be prevented from mixing together, until they ſhall arrive *at the place of judgment*. *And GOD* ſhall ſay *unto them*, Have ye charged my ſigns with falſhood, although ye comprehended them not with *your* knowledge? Or what is it that ye were doing? And the ſentence *of damnation* ſhall fall on them, for that they have acted unjuſtly: and they ſhall not ſpeak *in their own excuſe*. Do they not

[a] *However their knowledge attaineth ſome notion of the life to come: yet,* &c.] Or the words may be tranſlated thus; *Yea, their knowledge faileth as to the life to come: yea,* &c.

[b] *Moſt of thoſe points concerning which they diſagree;*] Such as the comparing of GOD to ſenſible things, or to created beings; the removing all imperfections from the deſcription of the divine Being; the ſtate of paradiſe and hell; the ſtories of *Ezra* and JESUS CHRIST, *&c* [1].

[c] *A beaſt;*] The *Mohammedans* call this beaſt, whoſe appearance will be one ſign of the approach of the day of judgment, *al Jaſſâſa*, or the *Spy*. I have given the deſcription of her elſewhere [2]; to which ſhould be added, that ſhe is to have two wings.

[d] *Which ſhall ſpeak unto them;*] Or, according to a different reading, (viz. *taclimohom* inſtead of *tocallimohom*) *who ſhall wound them* [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 79. *&c.* [3] *V. ibid. p.* 80.

ſee that we have ordained the night, that they may reſt therein, and the day giving open light? Verily herein *are* ſigns unto people who believe. On *that* day the trumpet ſhall be ſounded; and whoever are in heaven and on earth ſhall be ſtruck with terror, except thoſe whom GOD ſhall pleaſe *to exempt therefrom* [a]: and all ſhall come before him, in humble guiſe. And thou ſhalt ſee the mountains, and ſhalt think them firmly fixed; but they ſhall paſs away, even as the clouds paſs away. *This will be* the work of GOD, who hath rightly diſpoſed all things: and he is well acquainted with that which ye do. Whoever ſhall have wrought righteouſneſs, ſhall receive *a reward* beyond the deſert thereof; and they ſhall be ſecure from the terror of that day [b]: but whoever ſhall have wrought evil, ſhall be thrown on their faces into *hell* fire. Shall ye receive the reward *of any other* than of that which ye ſhall have wrought? Verily I am commanded to worſhip the LORD of this territory *of MECCA*, who hath ſanctified the ſame: unto him *belong* all things. And I am commanded to be a Moſlem, and to rehearſe the KORAN: he who ſhall be directed *thereby*, will be directed to his own *advantage*; and *to* him who ſhall go aſtray, ſay, Verily I am a warner *only*. And ſay, Praiſe *be* unto GOD! he will ſhew you his ſigns [c], and ye ſhall know them: and thy Lord is not regardleſs of that which they do.

[a] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 82, *&c.* Some ſay the perſons exempted from this general conſternation, will be the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Iſrafil*, and *Izraël* [1]: others ſuppoſe them to be the virgins of paradiſe, and the angels who guard that place, and carry GOD's throne [2]; and others will have them to be the martyrs [3].

[b] *They ſhall be ſecure from the terror of that day*;] That is, from the fear of damnation, and the other terrors which will diſturb the wicked; not from the general terror or conſternation beforementioned.

[c] *He will ſhew you his ſigns*;] viz. The ſucceſſes of the true believers againſt the infidels; and particularly the victory of *Bedr*.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] EBN ABBAS.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Intitled, The Story [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

T. S. M [c]. Theſe *are* the ſigns of the perſpicuous book. We will dictate unto thee, *O MOHAMMED*, *ſome parts* of the hiſtory of MOSES and PHARAOH, with truth; for *the ſake of* people who believe. NOW PHARAOH lifted himſelf up in the land *of EGYPT*; and he cauſed his ſubjects to be divided

[a] The title is taken from the 26th verſe, where *Moſes* is ſaid to have related *the ſtory* of his adventures to *Shoaib*.

[b] Some except a verſe, towards the latter end, beginning with theſe words, *He who hath given thee the* Korân *for a rule of faith and practice*, &c.

[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59.

divided into parties [a]: he weakened one party of them [b], by ſlaying their male-children, and preſerving their females alive; for he was an oppreſſor. And we were minded to be gracious unto thoſe who were weakened in the land, and to make them models of religion; and to make them the heirs *of the wealth of* PHARAOH *and his people* [c], and to eſtabliſh a place for them in the earth; and to ſhew PHARAOH, and HAMAN [d], and their forces, that *deſtruction of their kingdom and nation* by them, which they ſought to avoid [e]. And we directed the mother of MOSES by revelation, *ſaying*, Give him ſuck: and if thou feareſt for him, caſt him into the river; and fear not, neither be afflicted; for we will reſtore him unto thee, and will appoint him *one* of *our* apoſtles [f]. And *when ſhe had put the child in the ark, and had caſt it into the river*, the family of PHARAOH took him up; *providence deſigning* that he ſhould become an enemy, and a ſorrow unto them. Verily PHARAOH, and HAMAN, and their forces were ſinners. And the wife of PHARAOH ſaid, *This child is* a delight of the eye to me, and to thee [g]: kill him not; peradventure it may happen that he may be ſerviceable unto us; or we may adopt him for *our* ſon. And they perceived not *the conſequence of what they were doing*. And the heart of the mother of MOSES became oppreſſed *with fear*; and ſhe had almoſt diſcovered him, had we not armed her heart with conſtancy, that ſhe might be *one* of thoſe who believe *the promiſes of* GOD. And ſhe ſaid unto his ſiſter, Follow him. And ſhe watched him at a diſtance; and they perceived it *not*. And we ſuffered him not *to take* the breaſts *of the nurſes who were provided* before *his ſiſter came up* [h]: and ſhe ſaid, Shall I direct you unto ſome of his nation, who may nurſe him for you, and will be careful

[a] *He divided his ſubjects into parties*;] i. e. Either into companies, that they might the better attend his order and perform the ſervices he exacted of them; or into oppoſite factions, to prevent their attempting any thing againſt him, to deliver themſelves from his tyranny [1].

[b] *One party of them*;] viz. The *Iſraelites*.

[c] See chap. 26. p. 304.

[d] *Haman*;] This name is given to *Pharaoh*'s chief miniſter; from whence it is generally inferred that *Mohammed* has here made *Haman*, the favourite of *Ahaſuerus* king of *Perſia*, and who indiſputably lived many ages after *Moſes*, to be that prophet's contemporary. But how probable ſoever this miſtake may ſeem to us, it will be very hard, if not impoſſible, to convince a *Mohammedan* of it; for, as has been obſerved in a parallel caſe [2], two very different perſons may bear the ſame name [3].

[e] *That deſtruction by them, which they ſought to avoid*;] For *Pharaoh* had either dreamed, or been told by ſome diviners, that one of the *Hebrew* nation ſhould be the ruin of his kingdom; which prophecy is ſuppoſed to have been the occaſion of his cruelty to them [4]. This circumſtance is owing to the invention of the *Jews* [5].

[f] It is related that the midwife appointed to attend the *Hebrew* women, terrified by a light which appeared between the eyes of *Moſes* at his birth, and touched with an extraordinary affection for the child, did not diſcover him to the officers, ſo that his mother kept him in her houſe, and nurſed him three months; after which it was impoſſible for her to conceal him any longer, the king then giving orders to make the ſearches more ſtrictly [6].

[g] *This child is a delight of our eye*;] This ſudden affection or admiration was raiſed in them either by his uncommon beauty, or by the light which ſhone on his forehead, or becauſe, when they opened the ark, they found him ſucking his thumb, which ſupplied him with milk [7].

[h] See chap. 20. p. 258.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, [2] *See p.* 38. *not.* b. [3] *V.* RELAND. *de Rel. Moham. p.* 217. [4] *See chap.* 7. *p.* 130. [5] *V. Shalſhel. hakkab, p.* 11. *&* *R.* ELIEZ. *Pirke, c.* 48 [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See the notes to chap.* 20. *p.* 258. [7] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

ful of him? *And, at their deſire, ſhe brought his mother to them.* So we reſtored him to his mother, that her mind might be ſet at eaſe, and that ſhe might not be afflicted; and that ſhe might know that the promiſe of GOD *was* true: but the greater part of *mankind* know not *the truth.* And when *MOSES* had attained his age of full ſtrength, and was become a perfect man, we beſtowed on him wiſdom and knowledge: and thus do we reward the upright. And he went into the city, at a time when the inhabitants thereof obſerved not *what paſſed in the ſtreets* [a]: and he found therein two men fighting; the one *being* of his own party, and the other of his enemies [b]. And he who *was* of his party, begged his aſſiſtance againſt him who *was* of the contrary party; and MOSES ſtruck him with his fiſt, and ſlew him: *but being ſorry for what had happened,* he ſaid, This is of the work of the devil [c]; for he is a ſeducing *and* an open enemy. *And* he ſaid, O LORD, verily I have injur'd my own ſoul: wherefore forgive me. So *GOD* forgave him; for he *is* ready to forgive, *and* merciful. He ſaid, O LORD, by the *favours* with which thou haſt favoured me, I will not be an aſſiſtant to the wicked *for the future.* And the next morning he was afraid in the city, and looked about him, *as one apprehenſive of danger:* and behold, he whom he had aſſiſted the day before, cried out unto him *for help a ſecond time. But* MOSES ſaid unto him, Thou art plainly a quarrelſome fellow. And when he ſought to lay hold on him who was an enemy unto them both, he ſaid, O MOSES, doſt thou intend to kill me, as thou killedſt a man yeſterday [d]? Thou ſeekeſt only to be an oppreſſor in the earth, and ſeekeſt not to be a reconciler *of quarrels.* And a *certain* man [e] came from the farther part of the city, running haſtily, *and* ſaid, O MOSES, verily the magiſtrates are deliberating concerning thee, to put thee to death: depart therefore; I certainly adviſe thee well. Wherefore he departed out of the *city* in great fear, looking this way and that, *leſt he ſhould be purſued. And* he ſaid, O LORD, deliver me from the unjuſt people. And when he was journeying towards MADIAN, he ſaid, Peradventure my LORD will direct me in the right way [f]. And when he arrived at the water of MADIAN, he found

[a] *When the inhabitants obſerved not,* &c.] viz. At noon; at which time it is uſual, in thoſe countries, for people to retire to ſleep: or, as others rather ſuppoſe, a little within night.

[b] *The one being of his own party, and the other of his enemies;*] i. e. The one being an *Iſraelite*, of his own religion and nation, and the other an idolatrous *Egyptian.*

[c] *This is the work of the devil;*] *Mohammed* allows that *Moſes* killed the *Egyptian* wrongfully; but, to excuſe it, ſuppoſes that he ſtruck him without deſigning to kill him.

[d] *He ſaid,* O Moſes, *wilt thou kill me,* &c.] Some ſuppoſe theſe words to have been ſpoken by the *Iſraelite,* who, becauſe *Moſes* had reprimanded him, imagined he was going to ſtrike him; and others, by the *Egyptian,* who either knew or ſuſpected that *Moſes* had killed his countryman the day before.

[e] *A certain man;*] This perſon, ſays the tradition, was an *Egyptian,* and *Pharaoh*'s uncle's ſon, but a true believer; who finding that the king had been informed of what *Moſes* had done, and deſigned to put him to death, gave him immediate notice to provide for his ſafety by flight.

[f] *Peradventure my* LORD *will direct me,* &c.] For *Moſes* knew not the way, and coming to a place where three roads met, committed himſelf to the guidance of GOD, and took the middle road, which was the right; providence likewiſe ſo ordering it, that his purſuers took the other two roads, and miſſed him [1]. Some ſay that he was led by an angel in the appearance of a traveller [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] JALLALO'DDIN.

found about the *well* a company of men, who were watering *their flocks*. And he found, beſides them, two women, who kept off *their ſheep at a diſtance*. *And* he ſaid *unto them*, What is the matter with you? They anſwered, We ſhall not water *our flock*, until the ſhepherds ſhall have driven away *theirs*; for our father is an old man, ſtricken in years. So *MOSES* watered *their ſheep* for them [a]; and afterwards retired to the ſhade, ſaying, O LORD, verily I ſtand in need of the good which thou ſhalt ſend down unto me. And one of the *damſels* [b] came unto him, walking baſhfully, and ſaid, My father calleth thee, that he may recompence thee for the *trouble which thou haſt taken in* watering *our ſheep* for us. And when he was come unto *SHOAIB*, and had told him the ſtory *of his adventures*, he ſaid *unto him*, Fear not; thou haſt eſcaped from unjuſt people. And one of the *damſels* ſaid, My father, hire him for *certain* wages: the beſt *ſervant* thou canſt hire, *is* an able *and* truſty perſon [c]. *And SHOAIB* ſaid *unto MOSES*, Verily I will give thee one of theſe my two daughters in marriage, on condition that thou ſerve me for hire eight years: and if thou fulfill ten *years*, it *is* in thine own breaſt; for I ſeek not to impoſe a hardſhip on thee: *and* thou ſhalt find me, if GOD pleaſe, a man of probity. *MOSES* anſwered, *Let* this *be the covenant* between me and thee: whichſoever of the two terms I ſhall fulfil, let it be no crime in me *if I then quit thy ſervice*; and GOD is witneſs of that which we ſay. And when MOSES had fulfilled the term [d], and was journeying with his family *towards EGYPT*, he ſaw fire on the ſide of mount *SINAI*. *And* he ſaid unto his family, Tarry ye *here*; for I ſee fire: peradventure I may bring you thence ſome tidings *of the way* [e], or *at leaſt* a brand out of the fire, that ye may be warmed. And when he was come thereto, *a voice* cried unto him from the right ſide of the valley, in the ſacred bottom, from the tree, *ſaying*, O MOSES, verily I am GOD, the LORD of all creatures: caſt down now thy rod. And when he ſaw it that it moved, as though it *had been* a ſerpent, he retreated and fled, and returned not. *And GOD ſaid unto him*, O MOSES, draw near, and fear not; for thou art ſafe. Put thy hand into thy boſome, *and* it ſhall come

[a] MOSES *watered their ſheep for them*;] By rolling away a ſtone of a prodigious weight, which had been laid over the mouth of the well by the ſhepherds, and required no leſs than ſeven men (tho' ſome name a much larger number) to remove it [1].

[b] *One of the damſels*;] This was *Seffûra* (or *Zipporah*) the elder, or, as others ſuppoſe, the younger daughter of *Shoaib*, whom *Moſes* afterwards married.

[c] *An able and truſty perſon*;] The girl, being asked by her father how ſhe knew *Moſes* deſerved this character, told him that he had removed the vaſt ſtone abovementioned, without any aſſiſtance; and that he looked not in her face, but held down his head till he had heard her meſſage, and deſired her to walk behind him, becauſe the wind ruffled her garments a little, and diſcovered ſome part of her legs [2].

[d] *When* MOSES *had fulfilled the term*;] viz. The longeſt term of ten years. The *Mohammedans* ſay, after the *Jews* [3], that *Moſes* received from *Shoaib* the rod of the prophets (which was a branch of a myrtle of paradiſe, and had deſcended to him from *Adam*) to keep off the wild beaſts from his ſheep; and that this was the rod with which he performed all thoſe wonders in *Egypt*.

[e] See chap. 20. p. 256.

[1] *Idem Interp.* YAHYA. *Pirke*, *c.* 40. *&c.*

[2] *Idem.*

[3] *V. Shalſ. hakkab. f.* 12. *R.* ELIEZ.

come forth white, without any hurt: and draw back thy hand [a] unto thee *which thou ſtretcheſt forth* for fear. Theſe ſhall be two evident ſigns from thy LORD, unto PHARAOH and his princes; for they are a wicked people. *MOSES* ſaid, O LORD, verily I have ſlain one of them; and I fear they will put me to death: but my brother AARON is of a more eloquent tongue than I *am*; wherefore ſend him with me for an aſſiſtant, that he may gain me credit; for I fear leſt they accuſe me of impoſture. *GOD* ſaid, We will ſtrengthen thine arm by thy brother, and we will give each of you *extraordinary* power, ſo that they ſhall not come up to you, in our ſigns. Ye two, and whoever ſhall follow you, *ſhall be* the conquerors. And when MOSES came unto them with our evident ſigns, they ſaid, This *is* no other than a deceitful piece of ſorcery: neither have we heard of *any thing like* this among our fore-fathers. And MOSES ſaid, My LORD beſt knoweth who cometh with a direction from him; and who ſhall have ſucceſs in this life, *as well as the next*: but the unjuſt ſhall not proſper. And PHARAOH ſaid, O princes, I did not know that ye had any *other* god beſides me [b]. Wherefore do thou, O HAMAN, burn me clay *into bricks*; and build me a high tower [c], that I may aſcend unto the GOD of MOSES: for I verily believe him to be a liar. And both he and his forces behaved themſelves inſolently and unjuſtly in the earth; and imagined that they ſhould not be brought before us *to be judged*. Wherefore we took him and his forces, and caſt them into the ſea. Behold, therefore, what was the end of the unjuſt. And we made them *deceitful* guides, inviting *their followers* to *hell* fire; and on the day of reſurrection they ſhall not be ſcreened *from puniſhment*. We purſued them with a curſe in this *life*; and on the day of reſurrection they *ſhall be* ſhamefully rejected. And we gave the book *of the law* unto MOSES, after we had deſtroyed the former generations, to enlighten *the minds* of men, and for a direction, and a mercy; that peradventure they might conſider. Thou, *O prophet*, waſt not on the weſt ſide *of mount SINAI*, when we delivered MOSES *his* commiſſion: neither waſt thou *one* of thoſe who were preſent *at his receiving it*: but we raiſed up *ſeveral* generations *after MOSES*; and life was prolonged unto them. Neither didſt thou dwell among the inhabitants of MADIAN, rehearſing unto them our ſigns; but we have ſent *thee fully inſtructed in every particular*. Nor waſt thou *preſent* on the ſide of the mount, when we called unto *MOSES*: but *thou art ſent as* a mercy from thy LORD; that thou mighteſt preach unto a people

[a] *Draw back thy hand*;] Literally, *thy wing*: the expreſſion alludes to the action of birds, which ſtretch forth their wings to fly away when they are frighted, and fold them together again when they think themſelves ſecure [1].

[b] See chap. 26. p. 303.

[c] *A high tower*;] It is ſaid that *Haman*, having prepared bricks and other materials, employed no leſs than fifty thouſand men, beſides labourers, in the building; which they carried to ſo immenſe a height that the workmen could no longer ſtand on it: that *Pharaoh*, aſcending this tower, threw a javelin towards heaven, which fell back again ſtained with blood, whereupon he impiouſly boaſted that he had killed the GOD of *Moſes*; but at ſun-ſet GOD ſent the angel *Gabriel*, who with one ſtroke of his wing demoliſhed the tower, a part whereof, falling on the king's army, deſtroyed a million of men [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI.

people to whom no preacher hath come before thee [a], that peradventure they may be warned; and leſt, if a calamity had befallen them, for that which their hands had previouſly committed, they ſhould have ſaid, O LORD, ſince thou haſt not ſent an apoſtle unto us, that we might follow thy ſigns, and become true believers, *are we not excuſable?* Yet when the truth is come unto them from before us, they ſay, Unleſs he receive the ſame *power to work miracles* as MOSES received, *we will not believe.* Have they not likewiſe rejected the *revelation* which was heretofore given unto MOSES? They ſay, Two cunning impoſtures [b] have mutually aſſiſted one another: and they ſay, Verily we reject them both. Say, Produce therefore a book from GOD, which is more right than theſe two, that I may follow it; if ye ſpeak truth. But if they return thee no anſwer, know that they only follow their own deſires: and who erreth more widely *from the truth* than he who followeth his own deſire, without a direction from GOD? verily GOD directeth not the unjuſt people. And now have we cauſed *our* word to come unto them, that they may be admoniſhed. They unto whom we have given the ſcriptures *which were revealed* before it, believe in the ſame; and when it is read unto them, ſay, We believe therein; it is certainly the truth from our LORD: verily we were Moſlems before this [c]. Theſe ſhall receive their reward twice [d], becauſe they have perſevered, and repel evil by good, and diſtribute *alms* out of that which we have beſtowed on them; and when they hear vain diſcourſe, avoid the ſame, ſaying, We have our works, and ye have your works: peace be on you [e]; we covet not the acquaintance of the ignorant. Verily thou canſt not direct whom thou wilt: but GOD directeth whom he pleaſeth; and he beſt knoweth thoſe who will ſubmit to be directed. *The MECCANS* ſay, If we follow the *ſame* direction with thee, we ſhall be forcibly expelled our land [f]. Have we not eſtabliſhed for them a ſecure aſylum [g]; to which fruits of every ſort are brought, as a proviſion of our bounty? but the greater part of them do not underſtand. How many cities have we deſtroyed, *whoſe inhabitants* lived in eaſe and plenty? and theſe their dwellings are not inhabited after them, unleſs for a

[a] *Unto a people to whom no preacher hath come before thee;*] That is, to the *Arabians*; to whom no prophet had been ſent, at leaſt ſince *Iſmael.*

[b] *Two cunning impoſtures;*] *viz.* The *Pentateuch* and the *Korân.* Some copies read, *Two impoſtors*, meaning *Moſes* and *Mohammed.*

[c] *We were Moſlems before this;*] Holding the ſame faith in fundamentals, before the revelation of the *Korân*, which we receive becauſe it is conſonant to the ſcriptures, and atteſted to by them. The paſſage intends thoſe *Jews* and *Chriſtians* who had embraced *Mohammediſm.*

[d] *Theſe ſhall receive their reward twice;*] Becauſe they have believed both in their own ſcriptures, and in the *Korân.*

[e] See chap. 25. p. 301. not. d.

[f] *If we follow thy direction, we ſhall be forcibly expelled our land;*] This objection was made by *Al Hareth Ebn Othmân Ebn Nawfal Ebn Abd Menâf*, who came to *Mohammed* and told him, that the *Koreiſh* believed he preached the truth, but were apprehenſive, that, if they made the *Arabs* their enemies by quitting their religion, they would be obliged likewiſe to quit *Mecca*, being but a handful of men, in compariſon to the whole nation [1].

[g] *Have we not eſtabliſhed for them a ſecure aſylum?*] By giving them for their habitation the ſacred territory of *Mecca*, a place protected by GOD, and reverenced by man.

Al BEIDAWI.

little while[a]; and we were the inheritors *of their wealth*[b]. But thy LORD did not deſtroy *thoſe* cities, until he had ſent unto their capital an apoſtle, to rehearſe our ſigns unto them: neither did we deſtroy *thoſe* cities, unleſs their inhabitants *were* injurious *to their apoſtle*. The things which are given you, are the proviſions of this preſent life, and the pomp thereof; but that which is with GOD, is better and more durable: will ye not therefore underſtand? Shall he then, unto whom we have promiſed an excellent promiſe *of future happineſs*, and *who* ſhall attain the ſame, *be* as he on whom we have beſtowed the proviſion of this preſent life, and who, on the day of reſurrection, *ſhall be one* of thoſe who are delivered up *to eternal puniſhment*? On *that* day GOD ſhall call unto them, and ſhall ſay, Where are my partners, which ye imagined *to be ſo*? And they upon whom the ſentence *of damnation* ſhall be juſtly pronounced, ſhall anſwer, Theſe, O LORD, *are* thoſe whom we ſeduced; we ſeduced them as we *alſo* had been ſeduced: *but now* we clearly quit them, *and turn* unto thee. They did not worſhip us, *but their own luſts*[c]. And it ſhall be ſaid *unto the idolaters*, Call *now* upon thoſe whom ye aſſociated *with GOD*: and they ſhall call upon them, but they ſhall not anſwer them; and they ſhall ſee the puniſhment *prepared for them, and ſhall wiſh* that they had ſubmitted to be directed. On *that* day GOD ſhall call unto them, and ſhall ſay, What anſwer did ye return to *our* meſſengers? But they ſhall not be able to give an account *thereof* on that day[d]; neither ſhall they aſk one another *for information*. Howbeit whoſo ſhall repent and believe, and ſhall do that which is right, may expect to be happy. Thy LORD createth what he pleaſeth; and chooſeth freely: *but* they have no free choice. Praiſe be unto GOD; and far be he removed from *the idols* which they aſſociate *with him!* Thy LORD knoweth *both the ſecret malice* which their breaſts conceal, and *the open hatred* which they diſcover. He is GOD; there is no GOD but he. Unto him *is* the praiſe *due*, both in this life and *in* that which is to come: unto him *doth* judgment *belong*; and before him ſhall ye be aſſembled *at the laſt day*. Say, What think ye? If GOD ſhould cover you with perpetual night, until the day of reſurrection; what god, beſides GOD, would bring you light? Will ye not therefore hearken? Say, What think ye? If GOD ſhould give you continual day, until the day of reſurrection; what god, beſides GOD, would bring you night, that ye might reſt therein? Will ye not therefore conſider? Of his mercy he hath made for you the night and the day, that ye may reſt in the one, and may ſeek *to obtain proviſion for your ſelves* of his abundance, *by your induſtry, in the other*; and that ye may give thanks. On a *certain* day GOD ſhall call unto them, and ſhall ſay, Where are my partners, which ye imagined *to ſhare the divine power with me?* And we will

[a] *Unleſs for a little while*;] That is, for a day, or a few hours only, while travellers ſtay there to reſt and refreſh themſelves; or, as the original may alſo ſignify, *unleſs by a few inhabitants*: ſome of thoſe ancient cities and dwellings being utterly deſolate, and others thinly inhabited.

[b] *We were the inheritors of their wealth*;] There being none left to enjoy it after them.

[c] See chap. 10. p. 169.

[d] *They ſhall not be able to give an account thereof*;] Literally, *The account thereof ſhall be dark unto them*; for the conſternation they ſhall then be under, will render them ſtupid, and unable to return an anſwer.

will produce a witneſs out of every nation [a], and will ſay, Bring hither your proof *of what ye have aſſerted.* And they ſhall know that the right *is* GOD's *alone*; and the *deities* which they have deviſed ſhall abandon them. KARUN was of the people of MOSES [b]; but he behaved inſolently towards them: for we had given him ſo much treaſure, that his keys would have loaded ſeveral ſtrong men [c]. When his people ſaid unto him, Rejoice not *immoderately*; for GOD loveth not thoſe who rejoice *in their riches immoderately*: but ſeek to attain, by means of *the wealth* which GOD hath given thee, the future manſion *of paradiſe* [d]. And forget not thy portion in this world; but be thou bounteous *unto others*, as GOD hath been bounteous unto thee: and ſeek not to act corruptly in the earth; for GOD loveth not the corrupt doers. He anſwered, I have received *theſe riches*, only becauſe of the knowledge which is with me [e]. Did he not know that GOD had already deſtroyed, before him, ſeveral generations, who were mightier than he in ſtrength, and had amaſſed more abun-

 dance

[a] *A witneſs out of every nation*;] viz. The prophet who ſhall have been ſent to each nation.

[b] Karûn *was of the people of* Moſes;] The commentators ſay, *Karûn* was the ſon of *Yeſhar* (or *Izhar*) the uncle of *Moſes*; and conſequently make him the ſame with the *Korah* of the ſcriptures. This perſon is repreſented by them as the moſt beautiful of the *Iſraelites*, and ſo far ſurpaſſing them all in opulency, that the riches of *Karûn* have become a proverb. The *Mohammedans* are indebted to the *Jews* for this laſt circumſtance, to which they have added ſeveral other fables: for they tell us that he built a large palace overlaid with gold, the doors whereof were of maſſy gold; that he became ſo inſolent, becauſe of his immenſe riches, as to raiſe a ſedition againſt *Moſes*; tho' ſome pretend the occaſion of his rebellion to have been his unwillingneſs to give alms, as *Moſes* had commanded; that one day, when that prophet was preaching to the people, and, among other laws which he publiſhed, declared that adulterers ſhould be ſtoned, *Karûn* asked him, what if he ſhould be found guilty of the ſame crime? to which *Moſes* anſwered, that in ſuch caſe he would ſuffer the ſame puniſhment; and thereupon *Karûn* produced a harlot, whom he had hired to ſwear that *Moſes* had lain with her, and charged him publickly with it; but on *Moſes*'s adjuring the woman to ſpeak the truth, her reſolution failed her, and ſhe confeſſed that ſhe was ſuborned by *Karûn* to accuſe him wrongfully; that then GOD directed *Moſes*, who had complained to him of this uſage, to command the earth what he pleaſed, and it ſhould obey him; whereupon he ſaid, *O earth, ſwallow them up!* and that immediately the earth opened under *Karûn* and his confederates, and ſwallowed them up, with his palace and all his riches [1]. There goes a tradition, that as *Karûn* ſunk gradually into the ground, firſt to his knees, then to his waiſt, then to his neck, he cried out four ſeveral times, *O* Moſes, *have mercy on me!* but that *Moſes* continued to ſay, *O earth, ſwallow them up*, till at laſt he wholly diſappeared: upon which GOD ſaid to *Moſes*, *Thou hadſt no mercy on* Karûn, *tho' he asked pardon of thee four times; but I would have had compaſſion on him, if he had asked pardon of me but once* [2].

[c] *Several men*;] The original word properly ſignifies any number of perſons from ten to forty. Some pretend theſe keys were a ſufficient load for ſeventy men; and *Abulfeda* ſays forty mules uſed to be employed to carry them.

[d] This paſſage is parallel to that in the New Teſtament, *Make to yourſelves friends of the mammon of unrighteouſneſs; that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlaſting habitations* [3].

[e] *Becauſe of the knowledge which is with me*;] For ſome ſay he was the moſt learned of all the *Iſraelites*, and the beſt verſed in the law, after *Moſes* and *Aaron*; others pretend he was skilled in chymiſtry, or in merchandizing, or other arts of gain; and others ſuppoſe (as the *Jews* alſo fable [4],) that he found out the treaſures of *Joſeph* in *Egypt* [5].

[1] ABU'LFEDA, JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Carun.* [3] *Luke* xvi. 9. [4] *V.* R. GHEDAL. *Shalſh. hakkab. p.* 13. [5] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI.

dance *of riches?* And the wicked ſhall not be aſked *to diſcover* their crimes. And *KARUN* went forth unto his people, in his pomp [a]. *And* they who loved this preſent life, ſaid, Oh that we had the like *wealth*, as hath been given unto KARUN! verily he is maſter of a great fortune. But thoſe on whom knowledge had been beſtowed, anſwered, Alas for you! the reward of GOD *in the next life*, will be better unto him who ſhall believe and do good works: but none ſhall attain the ſame, except thoſe who perſevere with conſtancy. And we cauſed the ground to cleave in ſunder, and to ſwallow up him and his palace: and he had no forces to defend him, beſides GOD; neither was he reſcued *from puniſhment*. And the next morning, thoſe who had coveted his condition the day before, ſaid, Aha! verily GOD beſtoweth abundant proviſion on ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth; and he is ſparing *unto whom he pleaſeth*. Unleſs GOD had been gracious unto us, certainly *the earth* had ſwallowed us up *alſo*. Aha! the unbelievers ſhall not proſper. *As to* this future manſion *of paradiſe*, we will give it unto them who ſeek not to exalt themſelves in the earth, or to do wrong; for the *happy* iſſue ſhall attend the pious. Whoſo doth good, ſhall receive a reward which ſhall exceed the merit thereof: but *as to him* who doth evil, they who work evil ſhall be rewarded *according to the merit* only of that which they ſhall have wrought. Verily he who hath given thee the KORAN for a rule *of faith and practice*, will certainly bring thee back home *unto MECCA* [b]. Say, My LORD beſt knoweth who cometh with a *true* direction, and who is in a manifeſt error. Thou didſt not expect that the book *of the KORAN* ſhould be delivered unto thee: but *thou haſt received it* through the mercy of thy LORD. Be not therefore aſſiſting to the unbelievers; neither let them turn thee aſide from the ſigns of GOD, after they have been ſent down unto thee: and invite *men* unto thy LORD. And be not thou an idolater; neither invoke any other god, together with the *true* GOD: there is no god but he. Every thing ſhall periſh, except himſelf: unto him *belongeth* judgment; and before him ſhall ye be aſſembled *at the laſt day*.

CHAP.

[a] *In his pomp*;] It is ſaid he rode on a white mule adorned with trappings of gold, and that he was cloathed in purple, and attended by four thouſand men, all well mounted and richly dreſt.

[b] *He who hath given thee the* Kôrân, *will bring thee back unto* Mecca;] This verſe, ſome ſay, was revealed to *Mohammed* when he arrived at *Johfa*, in his flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, to comfort him, and ſtill his complaints.

CHAP. XXIX.

Intitled, The Spider [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A. L. M [c]. Do men imagine that it ſhall be ſufficient for them [d] to ſay, We believe; while they be not proved [e]? We heretofore proved thoſe who *were* before them; for GOD will ſurely know them who are ſincere, and he will ſurely know the liars. Do they who work evil think that they ſhall prevent us *from taking vengeance on them?* An ill judgment do they make. Whoſo hopeth to meet GOD, verily GOD's appointed time will certainly come; and he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Whoever ſtriveth *to promote the true religion,* ſtriveth for *the advantage of* his own ſoul; for GOD needeth not any of *his* creatures: and *as to thoſe* who believe and work righteouſneſs, we will expiate their evil deeds from them; and we will give them a reward according to the utmoſt merit of their actions. We have commanded man *to ſhew* kindneſs towards his parents: but if they endeavour to prevail with thee to aſſociate with me that concerning which thou haſt no knowledge, obey them not [f]. Unto me ſhall ye return; and I will declare unto you what ye have done. Thoſe who ſhall believe, and ſhall work righteouſneſs, we will ſurely introduce *into paradiſe,* among the upright. There are ſome men who ſay, We believe in GOD: but when *ſuch a one* is afflicted for GOD's ſake, he eſteemeth the perſecution of men *to be as grievous* as the puniſhment of GOD. Yet if ſucceſs cometh from thy LORD, they ſay, Verily we are with you. Doth not GOD well know that which is in the breaſts of *his* creatures? Verily GOD well knoweth the true believers, and he well knoweth the hypocrites.

The

[a] Tranſient mention is made of this inſect, towards the middle of the chapter.

[b] Some think the firſt ten verſes, ending with theſe words, *And he well knoweth the hypocrites,* were revealed at *Medina,* and the reſt at *Mecca*; and others believe the reverſe.

[c] See the prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, *&c.*

[d] *That it ſhall be ſufficient for them*;] Literally, *That they ſhall be let alone,* &c.

[e] *While they be not proved.*] This paſſage reprehends the impatience of ſome of the prophet's companions, under the hardſhips which they ſuſtained in defence of their religion, and the loſſes which they ſuffered from the infidels; repreſenting to them that ſuch trials and afflictions were neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the ſincere perſon from the hypocrite, and the ſteady from the wavering. Some ſuppoſe it to have been occaſioned by the death of *Mahja, Omar*'s ſlave, killed by an arrow at the battle of *Bedr,* which was deeply lamented and laid to heart by his wife and parents [1].

[f] *If they endeavour to prevail with thee to aſſociate with me, that concerning which thou haſt no knowledge*;] That is, If they endeavour to pervert thee to idolatry. The paſſage is ſaid to have been revealed on account of *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs,* and his mother *Hamna,* who, when ſhe heard that her ſon had embraced *Mohammediſm,* ſwore that ſhe would neither eat nor drink till he returned to his old religion, and kept her oath for three days [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

[2] *Idem.*

The unbelievers ſay unto thoſe who believe, Follow our way; and we will bear your ſins. Howbeit they ſhall not bear any part of their ſins; for they are liars: but they ſhall ſurely bear their own burdens, and *other* burdens beſides their own burdens [a]; and they ſhall be examined, on the day of reſurrection, concerning that which they have falſely deviſed. We heretofore ſent NOAH unto his people; and he tarried among them one thouſand years, ſave fifty years [b]: and the deluge took them away, while they *were* acting unjuſtly; but we delivered him and thoſe who were in the ark, and we made the ſame [c] a ſign unto *all* creatures. *We* alſo *ſent* ABRAHAM; when he ſaid unto his people, Serve GOD, and fear him: this *will be* better for you; if ye underſtand. Ye only worſhip idols beſides GOD, and forge a lie. Verily thoſe which ye worſhip, beſides GOD, are not able to make any proviſion for you: ſeek therefore *your* proviſion from GOD; and ſerve him, and give thanks unto him; unto him ſhall ye return. If ye charge *me* with impoſture [d], verily *ſundry* nations before you *likewiſe* charged *their prophets* with impoſture: but public preaching only *is incumbent* on an apoſtle. Do they not ſee how GOD produceth creatures, and afterwards reſtoreth them [e]? Verily this is eaſy with GOD. Say, Go through the earth, and ſee how he originally produceth creatures: afterwards will GOD reproduce another production; for GOD *is* almighty. He will puniſh whom he pleaſeth, and he will have mercy on whom he pleaſeth. Before him ſhall ye be brought *at the day of judgment:* and ye ſhall not eſcape *his reach*, either in earth, or in heaven [f]; neither ſhall ye have any patron or defender beſides GOD. *As for* thoſe who believe not in the ſigns of GOD, or that they ſhall meet him *at the reſurrection,*

[a] *Other burthens beſides their own;*] viz. The guilt of ſeducing others, which ſhall be added to the guilt of their own obſtinacy, without diminiſhing the guilt of ſuch as ſhall be ſeduced by them.

[b] Noah *tarried among his people nine hundred and fifty years;*] This is true, if the whole life of *Noah* be reckoned; and accordingly *Abu'l-feda* ſays he was ſent to preach in his two hundred and fiftieth year, and that he lived in all nine hundred and fifty: but the text ſeeming to ſpeak of thoſe years only, which he ſpent in preaching to the wicked antediluvians, the commentators ſuppoſe him to have lived much longer. Some ſay the whole length of his life was a thouſand and fifty years; that his miſſion happened in the fortieth year of his age, and that he lived after the flood ſixty years [1]: and others give different numbers; one, in particular, pretending that *Noah* lived near ſixteen hundred years [2].

This circumſtance, ſays *Al Beidâwi*, was mentioned to incourage *Mohammed*, and to aſſure him that GOD, who ſupported *Noah* ſo many years againſt the oppoſition and plots of the antediluvian infidels, would not fail to defend him againſt all attempts of the idolatrous *Meccans* and their partiſans.

[c] *The ſame;*] i. e. The ark.

[d] *If ye charge me with impoſture,* &c.] This ſeems to be part of *Abraham*'s ſpeech to his people: but ſome ſuppoſe that GOD here ſpeaks, by way of apoſtrophe, firſt to the *Koreiſh*, and afterwards to *Mohammed*; and that the parentheſis is continued to theſe words, *And the anſwer of his people was no other,* &c. In which caſe we ſhould have ſaid, *If ye charge* Mohammed your apoſtle *with impoſture,* &c.

[e] *Do they not ſee how* GOD *produceth creatures, and afterwards reſtoreth them?*] The infidels are bid to conſider how GOD cauſeth the fruits of the earth to ſpring forth, and reneweth them every year, as in the preceding; which is an argument of his power to raiſe man, whom he created at firſt, to life again after death, at his own appointed time.

[f] See pſalm cxxxix. 7, &c.

[1] *Idem, Al* ZAMAKH. [2] CAAB, *apud* Yahyam

rection, they ſhall deſpair of my mercy, and for them *is* a painful puniſhment *prepared*. And the anſwer of his people was no other than that they ſaid, Slay him, or burn him. But GOD ſaved him from the fire [a]. Verily herein were ſigns unto people who believed. And *ABRAHAM* ſaid, Ye have taken idols, beſides GOD, *to cement* affection between you in this life: but on the day of reſurrection, the one of you ſhall deny the other, and the one of you ſhall curſe the other; and your abode ſhall be *hell* fire, and there ſhall be none to deliver you. And LOT believed on him. And *ABRAHAM* ſaid, Verily I fly *from my people*, unto *the place which* my LORD *hath commanded me*; for he *is* the mighty, the wiſe. And we gave him ISAAC, and JACOB; and we placed among his deſcendants the gift of prophecy and the ſcriptures: and we gave him his reward in this world; and in the next he ſhall be *one* of the righteous. *We* alſo *ſent* LOT; when he ſaid unto his people, Do ye commit filthineſs which no creature hath committed before you? Do ye approach *luſtfully* unto men, and lay wait in the highways [b], and commit wickedneſs in your aſſembly [c]? And the anſwer of his people was no other than that they ſaid, Bring down the vengeance of GOD upon us, if thou ſpeakeſt truth. *LOT* ſaid, O LORD, defend me againſt the corrupt people. And when our meſſengers came unto ABRAHAM with good tidings [d], they ſaid, We will ſurely deſtroy the inhabitants of this city; for the inhabitants thereof are unjuſt doers. *ABRAHAM* anſwered, Verily LOT *dwelleth* there. They replied, We well know who *dwelleth* therein: we will ſurely deliver him and his family, except his wife; ſhe ſhall be *one* of thoſe who remain behind. And when our meſſengers came unto LOT, he was troubled for them, and his arm was ſtraitened concerning them [e]. But they ſaid, Fear not, neither be grieved; for we will deliver thee and thy family, except thy wife; *for* ſhe ſhall be *one* of thoſe who remain behind. We will ſurely bring down upon the inhabitants of this city vengeance from heaven, for that they have been wicked doers: and we have left thereof a manifeſt ſign [f] unto people who underſtand. And unto *the inhabitants of* MADIAN *we ſent* their brother SHOAIB; and he ſaid *unto them*, O my people, ſerve GOD, and expect the laſt day; and tranſgreſs not, acting corruptly in the earth. But they accuſed him of impoſture; wherefore a ſtorm from heaven [g] aſſailed them, and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and* proſtrate. And *we alſo deſtroyed the tribes of* AD, and THAMUD; and *this* is well known unto you from *what yet remains of* their dwellings. And SATAN prepared their works for them, and turned them aſide from the way *of truth*; although they were

[a] See chap. 21. p. 269.

[b] *And lay wait in the highway*;] Some ſuppoſe the *Sodomites* robbed and murdered the paſſengers; others, that they unnaturally abuſed their bodies.

[c] *And commit wickedneſs in your aſſembly*;] Their meetings being ſcenes of obſcenity and riot.

[d] See chap. 11. p. 182, &c.

[e] See ib. p. 183.

[f] *We have left thereof a ſign*;] *viz.* The ſtory of its deſtruction, handed down by common tradition; or elſe its ruins, or ſome other footſteps of this ſignal judgment: it being pretended that ſeveral of the ſtones, which fell from heaven on thoſe cities, are ſtill to be ſeen, and that the ground where they ſtood appears burnt and blackiſh.

[g] See chap. 7. p. 127.

were ſagacious *people*. And *we likewiſe deſtroyed* KARUN, and PHARAOH, and HAMAN. MOSES came unto them with evident *miracles*; and they behaved themſelves inſolently in the earth: but they could not eſcape *our vengeance*. Every of them did we deſtroy in his ſin. Againſt ſome of them we ſent a violent wind[a]: ſome of them did a terrible noiſe from heaven deſtroy[b]: ſome of them did we cauſe the earth to ſwallow up[c]: and ſome of them we drowned[d]. Neither was GOD *diſpoſed* to treat them unjuſtly; but they dealt unjuſtly with their own ſouls. The likeneſs of thoſe who take *other* patrons beſides GOD, is as the likeneſs of the ſpider, which maketh herſelf a houſe: but the weakeſt of *all* houſes ſurely is the houſe of the ſpider; if they knew *this*. Moreover GOD knoweth what things they invoke, beſides him; and he *is* the mighty, the wiſe. Theſe ſimilitudes do we propound unto men: but none underſtand them, except the wiſe. GOD hath created the heavens and the earth in truth: verily herein *is* a ſign unXXI. to the true believers. * Rehearſe that which hath been revealed unto thee of the book *of the* KORAN: and be conſtant at prayer; for prayer preſerveth *a man* from filthy crimes, and *from* that which is blamable; and the remembring of GOD is ſurely a moſt important *duty*. GOD knoweth that which ye do. Diſpute not againſt thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, unleſs in the mildeſt manner[e]; except againſt ſuch of them as behave injuriouſly *towards you*: and ſay, We believe in the *revelation* which hath been ſent down unto us, and *alſo in that which* hath been ſent down unto you; our GOD and your GOD is one, and unto him are we reſigned. Thus have we ſent down the book *of the* KORAN unto thee: and they unto whom we have given the *former* ſcriptures, believe therein; and of theſe *Arabians alſo there is* who believeth therein: and none reject our ſigns, except the *obſtinate* infidels. Thou couldeſt not read any book before this; neither couldeſt thou write it with thy right hand: then had the gainſayers *juſtly* doubted *of the divine original thereof*. But the ſame *is* evident ſigns in the breaſts of thoſe who have received underſtanding: for none reject our ſigns, except the unjuſt. They ſay, Unleſs a ſign be ſent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe*. Anſwer, Signs are in the power of GOD alone; and I am *no more than* a public preacher. Is it not ſufficient for them that we have ſent down unto thee the book *of the* KORAN, to be read unto them? Verily herein *is* a mercy, and an admonition unto people who believe. Say, GOD is a ſufficient witneſs between me and you: he knoweth whatever is in heaven and earth; and thoſe who believe in vain

[a] *Againſt ſome of them we ſent a violent wind*;] The original word properly ſignifies a wind that *drives the gravel and ſmall ſtones* before it; by which the ſtorm, or ſhower of ſtones, which deſtroyed *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, ſeems to be intended.

[b] *Some of them did a terrible noiſe from heaven deſtroy*;] Which was the end of *Ad* and *Thamud*.

[c] *Some of them did we cauſe the earth to ſwallow up*;] As it did *Karûn*.

[d] *Some of them we drowned*;] As the unbelievers in *Noah*'s time, and *Pharaoh* and his army.

[e] *In the mildeſt manner*;] i. e. Without ill language, or paſſion. This verſe is generally ſuppoſed to have been abrogated by that of *the ſword*; tho' ſome think it relates only to thoſe who are in alliance with the *Moſlems*.

vain *idols*, and deny GOD, they ſhall periſh. They will urge thee to haſten the puniſhment *which they defy thee to bring down upon them* [a]: if *there had* not *been* a determined time *for their reſpite*, the puniſhment had come upon them *before this*; but it ſhall ſurely overtake them ſuddenly, and they ſhall not foreſee it. They urge thee to bring down vengeance ſwiftly *upon them*: but hell ſhall ſurely encompaſs the unbelievers. On a *certain* day *their* puniſhment ſhall ſuddenly aſſail them, *both* from above them, and from under their feet; and *GOD* ſhall ſay, Taſte ye *the reward of* that which ye have wrought. O my ſervants who have believed, verily my earth is ſpacious; wherefore ſerve me [b]. Every ſoul ſhall taſte death: afterwards ſhall ye return unto us; and *as for* thoſe who ſhall have believed, and wrought righteouſneſs, we will ſurely lodge them in the higher apartments of paradiſe; rivers ſhall flow beneath them, *and* they ſhall continue therein for ever. How excellent *will be* the reward of the workers *of righteouſneſs*; who perſevere with patience, and put their truſt in their LORD! How many beaſts *are there*, which provide not their food? *It is* GOD *who* provideth food for them, and for you; and he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Verily, if thou aſk *the Meccans*, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath obliged the ſun and the moon to ſerve *in their courſes*; they will anſwer, GOD. How therefore do they lye, *in acknowledging of other gods?* GOD maketh abundant proviſion for ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth; and is ſparing unto him, *if he pleaſeth*: for GOD knoweth all things [c]. Verily if thou aſk them, who ſendeth rain from heaven, and thereby quickeneth the earth, after it hath been dead; they will anſwer, GOD. Say, GOD be praiſed! But the greater part of them do not underſtand. This preſent life is no other than a toy, and a play-thing; but the future manſion *of paradiſe* is life indeed: if they knew *this*, *they would not prefer the former to the latter*. When they ſail in a ſhip, they call upon GOD, ſincerely exhibiting unto him the *true* religion: but when he bringeth them ſafe to land, behold, they return to their idolatry; to ſhew themſelves ungrateful for that which we have beſtowed on them, and that they may enjoy *the delights of this life*; but they ſhall hereafter know *the iſſue*. Do they not ſee that we have made *the territory of MECCA* an inviolable and ſecure *aſylum*, when men are ſpoiled *in the countries* round about them? Do they therefore believe in that which is vain, and acknowledge not the goodneſs of GOD? But who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth a lie againſt GOD, or denieth the truth, when it hath come unto him? Is there not in hell an abode for the unbelievers? Whoever do their utmoſt endeavour to promote our true religion, we will direct them into our ways; for GOD is with the righteous.

[a] See chap. 6. p. 104.

[b] *My earth is ſpacious; wherefore ſerve me.*] That is, If ye cannot ſerve me in one city or country, fly unto another, where ye may profeſs the true religion in ſafety; for the earth is wide enough, and ye may eaſily find places of refuge. *Mohammed* is ſaid to have declared, That whoever flies for the ſake of his religion, tho' he ſtir but the diſtance of a ſpan, merits paradiſe, and ſhall be the companion of *Abraham* and of himſelf [1].

[c] GOD *knoweth all things*;] And particularly who will make a good, and who will make a bad uſe of their riches.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. XXX.

Intitled, The GREEKS [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A. L. M [c]. The Greeks have been overcome *by the Perſians* [d], in the neareſt

[a] The original word is *al Rûm*; by which the later *Greeks*, or ſubjects of the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire, are here meant; tho' the *Arabs* give the ſame name alſo to the *Romans*, and other *Europæans*.

[b] Some except the verſe beginning at theſe words, *Praiſe be unto* GOD.

[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, *&c.*

[d] *The* Greeks *have been overcome by the* Perſians, *&c.*] The accompliſhment of the prophecy contained in this paſſage, which is very famous among the *Mohammedans*, being inſiſted on by their doctors as a convincing proof that the *Korân* really came down from heaven, it may be excuſable to be a little particular.

The paſſage is ſaid to have been revealed on occaſion of a great victory obtained by the *Perſians* over the *Greeks*, the news whereof coming to *Mecca*, the infidels became ſtrangely elated, and began to abuſe *Mohammed* and his followers, imagining that this ſucceſs of the *Perſians*, who, like themſelves, were idolaters, and ſuppoſed to have no ſcriptures, againſt the *Chriſtians*, who pretended, as well as *Mohammed*, to worſhip one GOD, and to have divine ſcriptures, was an earneſt of their own future ſucceſſes againſt the prophet and thoſe of his religion: to check which vain hopes, it was foretold, in the words of the text, that how improbable ſoever it might ſeem, yet the ſcale ſhould be turned in a few years, and the vanquiſhed *Greeks* prevail as remarkably againſt the *Perſians*.

That this prophecy was exactly fulfilled the commentators fail not to obſerve, tho' they do not exactly agree in the accounts they give of its accompliſhment; the number of years between the two actions being not preciſely determined. Some place the victory gained by the *Perſians* in the fifth year before the *Hejra*, and their defeat by the *Greeks* in the ſecond year after it, when the battle of *Bedr* was fought [1]: others place the former in the third or fourth year before the *Hejra*, and the latter in the end of the ſixth, or beginning of the ſeventh year after it, when the expedition of *al Hodeibiyah* was undertaken [2].

The date of the victory gained by the *Greeks*, in the firſt of theſe accounts, interferes with a ſtory which the commentators tell, of a wager laid by *Abu Becr* with *Obba Ebn Khalf*, who turned this prophecy into ridicule. *Abu Becr* at firſt laid ten young camels that the *Perſians* ſhould receive an overthrow within three years; but on his acquainting *Mohammed* with what he had done, that prophet told him that the word *bed'*, made uſe of in this paſſage, ſignified no determinate number of years, but any number from three to nine, (tho' ſome ſuppoſe the tenth year is included) and therefore adviſed him to prolong the time, and to raiſe the wager; which he accordingly propoſed to *Obba*, and they agreed that the time aſſigned ſhould be nine years, and the wager a hundred camels. Before the time was elapſed, *Obba* died, of a wound he had received at *Ohod*, in the third year of the *Hejra* [3]; but the event afterwards ſhewing that *Abu Becr* had won, he received the camels of *Obba*'s heirs, and brought them in triumph to *Mohammed* [4].

Hiſtory informs us that the ſucceſſes of *Khoſru Parviz*, king of *Perſia*, who carried on a terrible war againſt the *Greek* empire, to revenge the death of *Maurice* his father-in-law, ſlain by *Phocas*, were very great, and continued in an uninterrupted courſe for two and twenty years. Particularly in the year of CHRIST 615, about the

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.* [2] *Al* ZAMAKH. *al* BEIDAWI. [3] *See p.* 298. *not.* e.
[4] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.*

neareſt part of the land [a]; but after their defeat, they ſhall overcome *the others in their turn*, within a few years. Unto GOD *belongeth* the diſpoſal *of this matter*, both for what is paſt, and for what is to come: and on that day ſhall the believers rejoice in the ſucceſs granted by GOD; for he granteth ſucceſs unto whom he pleaſeth, and he *is* the mighty, the merciful. *This is* the promiſe of GOD: GOD will not act contrary to his promiſe; but the greater part of men know not *the veracity of GOD*. They know the outward appearance of this preſent life; but they are careleſs as to the life to come. Do they not conſider within themſelves that GOD hath not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, otherwiſe than in truth, and *hath ſet them* a determined period? Verily a great number of men reject the belief of *their future* meeting their LORD *at the reſurrection*. Do they not paſs through the earth, and ſee what hath been the end of thoſe who *were* before them? They excelled *the* MECCANS in ſtrength, and broke up the earth [b], and inhabited it in greater affluence and proſperity than they inhabit the ſame: and their apoſtles came unto them with evident *miracles*; and GOD was not *diſpoſed* to treat them unjuſtly, but they injured their own ſouls *by their obſtinate infidelity*; and the end of thoſe who had done evil, was evil, becauſe they charged the ſigns of GOD with falſhood, and laughed the ſame to ſcorn. GOD produceth creatures, and will hereafter reſtore them *to life*: then ſhall ye return unto him. And on the day whereon the hour ſhall come, the wicked ſhall be ſtruck dumb for deſpair: and they ſhall have no interceſſors from among the *idols* which they aſſociated *with GOD*; and they ſhall deny *the falſe gods* which they aſſociated *with him*. On the day whereon the hour ſhall come, on that day ſhall *the true believers and the infidels* be ſepa-

 rated:

the beginning of the ſixth year before the *Hejra*, the *Perſians*, having the preceding year conquered *Syria*, made themſelves maſters of *Paleſtine*, and took *Jeruſalem*; which ſeems to be that ſignal advantage gained over the *Greeks* mentioned in this paſſage, as agreeing beſt with the terms here uſed, and moſt likely to alarm the *Arabs* by reaſon of their vicinity to the ſcene of action: and there was ſo little probability, at that time, of the *Greeks* being able to retrieve their loſſes, much leſs to diſtreſs the *Perſians*, that in the following years the arms of the latter made ſtill farther and more conſiderable progreſſes, and at length they laid ſiege to *Conſtantinople* it ſelf. But in the year 625, in which the fourth year of the *Hejra* began, about ten years after the taking of *Jeruſalem*, the *Greeks*, when it was leaſt expected, gained a remarkable victory over the *Perſians*, and not only obliged them to quit the territories of the empire, by carrying the war into their own country, but drove them to the laſt extremity, and ſpoiled the capital city *al Madâyen*; *Heraclius* enjoying, thence forward, a continued ſeries of good fortune, to the depoſition and death of *Khoſru*. For more exact information in theſe matters, and more nicely fixing the dates, either ſo as to correſpond with, or to overturn this pretended prophecy, (neither of which is my buſineſs here,) the reader may have recourſe to the hiſtorians and chronologers [1].

[a] *In the neareſt part of the land*;] Some interpreters, ſuppoſing that the *land* here meant is the land of *Arabia*, or elſe that of the *Greeks*, place the ſcene of action in the confines of *Arabia* and *Syria*, near *Boſtra* and *Adhraât* [2]; others imagine the *land* of *Perſia* is intended, and lay the ſcene in *Meſopotamia*, on the frontiers of that kingdom [3]: but *Ebn Abbas*, with more probability, thinks it was in *Paleſtine*.

[b] *And broke up the earth*;] To dig for water and minerals, and to till the ground for ſeed, *&c* [4].

[1] *V. etiam* ASSEMAN. *Bibl. Orient. t.* 3. *part.* 1. *p.* 411, *&c.* & BOULAINV. *Vie de Mahom. p.* 333, *&c.* [2] YAHYA, *al* BEIDAWI. [3] MOJAHED, *apud* ZAMAKH. JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.

rated: and they who ſhall have believed, and wrought righteouſneſs, ſhall take their pleaſure in a delightful meadow; but *as for* thoſe who ſhall have diſbelieved, and rejected our ſigns, and the meeting of the next life, they ſhall be delivered up to puniſhment. Wherefore glorify GOD, when the evening overtaketh you, and when ye riſe in the morning: and unto him be praiſe in heaven and earth; and at ſun-ſet, and when ye reſt at noon [a]. He bringeth forth the living out of the dead, and he bringeth forth the dead out of the living [b]; and he quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead: and in like manner ſhall ye be brought forth *from your graves*. Of his ſigns *one is*, that he hath created you of duſt; and behold, ye *are become* men, ſpread *over the face of the earth*. And of his ſigns *another is*, that he hath created for you, out of your ſelves, wives, that ye may cohabit with them; and hath put love and compaſſion between you: verily herein are ſigns unto people who conſider. And of his ſigns *are alſo* the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the variety of your languages, and of your complexions [c]: verily herein are ſigns unto men of underſtanding. And of his ſigns *are* your ſleeping by night and by day, and your ſeeking *to provide for yourſelves* of his abundance: verily herein *are* ſigns unto people who hearken. Of his ſigns *others are*, that he ſheweth you the lightening, to *ſtrike* terror, and to *give* hope *of rain*, and that he ſendeth down water from heaven, and quickeneth thereby the earth, after it hath been dead: verily herein *are* ſigns unto people who underſtand. And of his ſigns *this alſo is one*, *namely*, that the heaven and the earth ſtand firm at his command: hereafter, when he ſhall call you out of the earth at one ſummons, behold, ye ſhall come forth. Unto him *are ſubject* whoſoever are in the heavens and on earth: all are obedient unto him. It is he who originally produceth a creature, and afterwards reſtoreth the ſame *to life*: and this is moſt eaſy with him. He juſtly challengeth the moſt exalted compariſon, in heaven and earth [d]; and he *is* the mighty, the wiſe. He propoundeth unto you a compariſon *taken* from yourſelves. Have ye, among the *ſlaves* whom your right hands poſſeſs, any partner in the *ſubſtance* which we have beſtowed on you, ſo that ye become equal *ſharers* therein *with them*, *or that* ye fear them as ye fear one another [e]? Thus do we diſtinctly explain *our* ſigns, unto people who underſtand. But thoſe who act unjuſtly *by attributing companions unto* GOD, follow their own luſts, without knowledge: and who ſhall direct him whom GOD ſhall cauſe to err? They ſhall have none to help them. Wherefore be thou orthodox, and ſet thy face towards the

[a] *Glorify* GOD *in the evening*, &c.] Some are of opinion that the five times of prayer are intended in this paſſage; *the evening* including the time both of the prayer of ſun-ſet, and of the evening prayer properly ſo called, and the word I have rendered *at ſun-ſet*, marking the hour of afternoon prayer, ſince it may be applied alſo to the time a little before ſun-ſet.

[b] See chap. 3. p. 38.

[c] *The variety of your languages and complexions*;] Which are certainly moſt wonderful, and, as I conceive, very hard to be accounted for, if we allow the ſeveral nations in the world to be all the offspring of one man, as we are aſſured by ſcripture they are, without having recourſe to the immediate omnipotency of GOD.

[d] *He juſtly challengeth the moſt exalted compariſon*, &c.] That is, In ſpeaking of him we ought to make uſe of the moſt noble and magnificent expreſſions we can poſſibly deviſe.

[e] See chap. 16. p. 220.

the *true* religion, the inſtitution of GOD, to which he hath created mankind diſpoſed: there is no change in what GOD hath created [a]. This *is* the right religion; but the greater part of men know *it* not. *And be ye* turned unto him, and fear him, and be conſtant at prayer, and be not idolaters. Of thoſe who have made a ſchiſm in their religion, and are *divided* into *various* ſects; every ſect rejoice in their own *opinion*. When adverſity befalleth men, they call upon their LORD, turning unto him: afterwards, when he hath cauſed them to taſte of his mercy, behold, a part of them aſſociate *other deities* with their LORD; to ſhew themſelves ungrateful for the *favours* which we have beſtowed on them. Enjoy therefore *the vain pleaſures of this life*; but hereafter ſhall ye know *the conſequence*. Have we ſent down unto them any authority, which ſpeaketh of the *falſe gods* which they aſſociate with him [b]? When we cauſe men to taſte mercy, they rejoice therein; but if evil befalleth them, for that which their hands have before committed, behold, they deſpair [c]. Do they not ſee that GOD beſtoweth proviſion abundantly on whom he pleaſeth, and is ſparing *unto whom he pleaſeth?* Verily herein *are* ſigns unto people who believe. Give unto him who is of kin *to thee* his reaſonable due; and alſo to the poor, and the ſtranger: this is better for thoſe who ſeek the face of GOD; and they ſhall proſper. Whatever ye ſhall give in uſury [d], to be an increaſe of men's ſubſtance, ſhall not be increaſed by *the bleſſing of* GOD: but whatever ye ſhall give in alms, for GOD's ſake, they ſhall receive a twofold *reward*. *It is* GOD who hath created you, and hath provided food for you: hereafter will he cauſe you to die; and after that will he raiſe you again to life. *Is there* any of your falſe gods, who is able to do the leaſt of theſe things? Praiſe be unto him; and far be he removed from what they aſſociate *with him!* Corruption [e] hath appeared by land and by ſea, for *the crimes* which men's hands have committed; that it might make them to taſte [f] a part of the *fruits of that* which they have wrought, that peradventure they might turn *from their evil ways*. Say, Go through the earth, and ſee what hath been the end of thoſe who have been before *you*: the greater part of them were idolaters. Set thy face therefore towards the right religion, before the day cometh, which none can put back from GOD. On that day ſhall they be ſeparated into two companies: whoever ſhall have been an unbeliever, on him *ſhall* his unbelief *be charged*; and whoever ſhall have

[a] *The inſtitution of* GOD, *to which he hath created mankind diſpoſed*, &c.] i. e. The immutable law, or rule, to which man is naturally diſpoſed to conform, and which every one would embrace, as moſt fit for a rational creature, if it were not for the prejudices of education. The *Mohammedans* have a tradition that their prophet uſed to ſay, *That every perſon is born naturally diſpoſed to become a* Moſlem; *but that a man's parents make him a* Jew, *a* Chriſtian, *or a* Magian.

[b] *Have we ſent down unto them any authority, ſpeaking of the falſe gods*, &c.] That is, Have we either by the mouth of any prophet, or by any written revelation, commanded or incouraged the worſhip of more gods than one?

[c] *They deſpair*;] And ſeek not to regain the favour of GOD by timely repentance.

[d] *In uſury*;] Or by way of bribe. The word may include any ſort of extortion or illicit gain.

[e] *Corruption*;] viz. Miſchief and public calamities; ſuch as famine, peſtilence, droughts, ſhipwracks, *&c.* Or erroneous doctrines, or a general depravity of manners.

[f] *That it might make them to taſte*, &c.] Some copies read, in the firſt perſon plural, *That we might cauſe them to taſte*, &c.

have done that which is right, ſhall ſpread themſelves *couches of repoſe in paradiſe*; that he may reward thoſe who ſhall believe, and work righteouſneſs, of his abundant liberality; for he loveth not the unbelievers. Of his ſigns *one is*, that he ſendeth the winds, bearing welcome tidings *of rain*, that he may cauſe you to taſte of his mercy; and that ſhips may ſail at his command, that ye may ſeek *to inrich your ſelves* of his abundance *by commerce*; and that ye may give thanks. We ſent apoſtles, before thee, ünto their *reſpective* people, and they came unto them with evident proofs: and we took vengeance on thoſe who did wickedly; and it was incumbent on us to aſſiſt the true believers. *It is* GOD who ſendeth the winds, and raiſeth the clouds, and ſpreadeth the ſame in the heaven, as he pleaſeth; and *afterwards* diſperſeth the ſame: and thou mayeſt ſee the rain iſſuing from the midſt thereof; and when he poureth the ſame down on ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth, behold, they are filled with joy; although before it was ſent down unto them, before *ſuch relief*, they were deſpairing. Conſider therefore the traces of GOD's mercy; how he quickeneth the earth, after its *ſtate of* death: verily the ſame will raiſe the dead; for he is almighty. Yet if we ſhould ſend a *blaſting* wind, and they ſhould ſee *their corn* yellow *and burnt up*, they would ſurely become ungrateful, after *our former favours*. Thou canſt not make the dead to hear, neither canſt thou make the deaf to hear *thy* call, when they retire and turn their backs; neither canſt thou direct the blind out of their error: thou ſhalt make none to hear, except him who ſhall believe in our ſigns; for they are reſigned *unto us*. *It is* GOD who created you in weakneſs, and after weakneſs hath given *you* ſtrength; and after ſtrength, he will *again* reduce *you* to weakneſs, and grey hairs: he createth that which he pleaſeth; and he *is* the wiſe, the powerful. On the day whereon the *laſt* hour ſhall come, the wicked will ſwear that they have not tarried [a] above an hour: in like manner did they utter lies *in their life-time*. But thoſe on whom knowledge hath been beſtowed, and faith, will ſay, Ye have tarried, according to the book of GOD [b], until the day of reſurrection: for this *is* the day of reſurrection; but ye knew *it* not. On that day their excuſe ſhall not avail thoſe who have acted unjuſtly; neither ſhall they be invited *any more* to make themſelves acceptable *unto GOD*. And now have we propounded unto men, in this KORAN, parables of every kind: yet if thou bring them a verſe *thereof*, the unbelievers will ſurely ſay, Ye *are* no other than publiſhers of vain falſhoods. Thus hath GOD ſealed up the hearts of thoſe who believe not. But do thou, *O MOHAMMED*, perſevere with conſtancy, for the promiſe of GOD is true; and let not thoſe induce thee to waver, who have no certain knowledge.

CHAP.

[a] *That they have not tarried;*] viz. In the world or in their graves. See chap. 23. p. 287.

[b] *According to the book of* GOD;] That is, According to his fore-knowledge and decree in the preſerved Table; or according to what is ſaid in the *Korân*, where the ſtate of the dead is expreſſed by theſe words [1], *Behind them there ſhall be a bar, until the day of reſurrection* [2].

[1] *Chap.* 23. *p.* 286.

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. XXXI.

Intitled, LOKMAN [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A. L. M [c]. Theſe are the ſigns of the wiſe book, a direction, and a mercy unto the righteous; who obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, and have firm aſſurance in the life to come: theſe are directed by their LORD, and they ſhall proſper. There is a man who purchaſeth a ludicrous ſtory [d], that he may ſeduce *men* from the way of GOD, without knowledge, and may laugh the ſame to ſcorn: theſe ſhall ſuffer a ſhameful puniſhment. And when our ſigns are rehearſed unto him, he diſdainfully turneth his back, as though he heard them not, as though there were a deafneſs in his ears: wherefore denounce unto him a grievous puniſhment. But they who ſhall believe, and work righteouſneſs, ſhall enjoy gardens of pleaſure; they ſhall continue therein for ever: *this is* the certain promiſe of GOD; and he *is* the mighty, the wiſe. He hath created the heavens without viſible pillars *to ſuſtain them*, and hath thrown on the earth *mountains* firmly rooted, leſt it ſhould move with you [e]; and he hath repleniſhed the ſame with all kinds of beaſts: and we ſend down rain from heaven, and cauſe every kind of noble *vegetable* to ſpring forth therein. This is the creation of GOD: ſhew me now what they have created, who *are worſhipped* beſides him? verily the ungodly are in a manifeſt error. We heretofore beſtowed wiſdom on LOKMAN [f], *and commanded*

[a] The chapter is ſo intitled from a perſon of this name mentioned therein, of whom more immediately.

[b] Some except the fourth verſe, beginning at theſe words, *Who obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and give alms,* &c. And others three verſes, beginning at theſe words, *If all the trees in the earth were pens,* &c.

[c] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, *&c.*

[d] *A ludicrous ſtory* ;] i. e. Vain and ſilly fables. The paſſage was revealed, it is ſaid, on occaſion of *al Nodar Ebn al Hareth*, who having brought from *Perſia* the romance of *Roſtam* and *Iſfandiyar*, the two heroes of that country, recited it in the aſſemblies of the *Koreiſh*, highly extolling the power and ſplendor of the ancient *Perſian* kings, and preferring their ſtories to thoſe of *Ad* and *Thamud*, *David* and *Solomon*, and the reſt which are told in the *Korân*. Some ſay that *al Nodar* bought ſinging-girls, and carried them to thoſe who were inclined to become *Moſlems*, to divert them from their purpoſe by ſongs and tales [1].

[e] *He hath thrown on the earth mountains firmly rooted,* &c.] See chap. 16. p. 215. A learned writer [2], in his notes on this paſſage, ſays the original word *rawâſiya*, which the commentators in general will have to ſignify *ſtable mountains*, ſeems properly to expreſs the *Hebrew* word *mechonim*, i. e. *baſes*, or *foundations*; and therefore he thinks the *Korân* has here tranſlated that paſſage of the Pſalms, *He laid the foundations of the earth, that it ſhould not be moved for ever* [3]. This is not the only inſtance which might be given, that the *Mohammedan* doctors are not always the beſt interpreters of their own ſcriptures.

[f] *Lokmân* ;] The *Arab* writers ſay, that *Lokmân* was the ſon of *Baûra*, who was the ſon or grandſon of a ſiſter or aunt of *Job*; and that he lived

[1] *Idem.* [2] GOL. *in Append. ad Erpenii Gram. p.* 187. [3] *Pſal.* civ. 5.

manded him, ſaying, Be thou thankful unto GOD: for whoever is thankful, ſhall be thankful to *the advantage of* his own ſoul; and if any ſhall be unthankful, verily GOD is ſelf-ſufficient, and worthy to be praiſed. And *remember* when LOKMAN ſaid unto his ſon [a], as he admoniſhed him, O my ſon, Give not a partner unto GOD; for polytheiſm *is* a great impiety. We have commanded man concerning his parents [b], (his mother carrieth him *in her womb* with weakneſs and faintneſs, and he is weaned in two years,) *ſaying,* Be grateful unto me, and to thy parents. Unto me ſhall all come *to be judged.* But if *thy parents* endeavour to prevail on thee to aſſociate with me that concerning which thou haſt no knowledge, obey them not: bear them company in this world in what ſhall be reaſonable [c]; but follow the way of him who ſincerely turneth unto me [d]. Hereafter unto me ſhall ye return, and then will I declare unto you that which ye have done. O my ſon, verily *every matter, whether good or bad,* though it be of the weight of a grain of muſtard-ſeed, and be *hidden* in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, GOD will

lived ſeveral centuries, and to the time of *David,* with whom he was converſant in *Paleſtine.* According to the deſcription they give of his perſon, he muſt have been deformed enough; for they ſay he was of a black complexion, (whence ſome call him an *Ethiopian,*) with thick lips, and ſplay feet: but in return, he received from GOD wiſdom and eloquence in a great degree; which ſome pretend were given him in a viſion, on his making choice of wiſdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the *Mohammedans* therefore hold him to have been no prophet, but only a wiſe man. As to his condition, they ſay he was a ſlave, but obtained his liberty on the following occaſion. His maſter having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him ſuch exact obedience as to eat it all; at which his maſter being ſurprized, asked him how he could eat ſo nauſeous a fruit? To which he replied, it was no wonder, that he ſhould for once accept a bitter fruit from the ſame hand from which he had received ſo many favours [1]. The commentators mention ſeveral quick repartees of *Lokmân,* which, together with the circumſtances abovementioned, agree ſo well with what *Maximus Planudes* has written of *Eſop,* that from thence, and from the fables attributed to *Lokmân* by the orientals, the latter has been generally thought to have been no other than the *Eſop* of the *Greeks.* However that be, (for I think the matter will bear a diſpute,) I am of opinion that *Planudes* borrowed great part of his life of *Eſop* from the traditions he met with in the eaſt concerning *Lokmân,* concluding them to have been the ſame perſon, becauſe they were both ſlaves, and ſuppoſed to be the writers of thoſe fables which go under their reſpective names, and bear a great reſemblance to one another; for it has long ſince been obſerved by learned men, that the greater part of that monk's performance is an abſurd romance, and ſupported by no evidence of the ancient writers [2].

[a] *His ſon;*] Whom ſome name *Anâm,* (which comes pretty near the *Ennus* of *Planudes,*) ſome *Aſhcam,* and others *Mathan.*

[b] *We have commanded man concerning his parents,* &c.] The two verſes which begin at theſe words, and end with the following, *viz. And then will I declare unto you that which ye have done,* are no part of *Lokmân*'s advice to his ſon, but are inſerted by way of parentheſis, as very pertinent and proper to be repeated here, to ſhew the hainouſneſs of idolatry: they are to be read (excepting ſome additions) in the twenty ninth chapter, and were originally revealed on account of *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs,* as has been already obſerved [3].

[c] *Bear them company in what ſhall be reaſonable;*] That is, Shew them all deference and obedience, ſo far as may be conſiſtent with thy duty towards GOD.

[d] *Follow the way of him who is ſincerely turned unto me;*] The perſon particularly meant here was *Abu Becr,* at whoſe perſuaſion *Saad* had become a *Moſlem.*

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. *al* BEIDAWI, *&c. V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 516. *&* MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 547. [2] *V. la vie d'Eſope, par Mr. de* MEZIRIAC, *&* BAYLE, *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Eſope. Rem. B.* [3] *See chap.* 29. *p.* 325. *and the notes thereon.*

will bring the ſame *to light*; for GOD *is* clear-ſighted *and* knowing. O my ſon, be conſtant at prayer, and command that which is juſt, and forbid that which is evil: and be patient under the *afflictions* which ſhall befall thee; for this *is* a duty abſolutely incumbent *on all men.* Diſtort not thy face *out of contempt* to men, neither walk in the earth with inſolence; for GOD loveth no arrogant, vain-glorious perſon. And be moderate in thy pace: and lower thy voice; for the moſt ungrateful of *all* voices ſurely *is* the voice of aſſes [a]. Do ye not ſee that GOD hath ſubjected whatever is in heaven and on earth to your ſervice, and hath abundantly poured on you his favours, *both* outwardly and inwardly [b]? *There are* ſome men who diſpute concerning GOD without knowledge, and without a direction, and without an inlightening book. And when it is ſaid unto them, Follow that which GOD hath revealed; they anſwer, Nay, we will follow that which we found our fathers to practiſe. What, though the devil invite them to the torment of hell? Whoever reſigneth himſelf unto GOD, being a worker of righteouſneſs, taketh hold on a ſtrong handle; and unto GOD *belongeth* the iſſue of *all* things. But whoever ſhall be an unbeliever, let not his unbelief grieve thee: unto us ſhall they return; then will we declare unto them that which they have done, for GOD knoweth the innermoſt parts of the breaſts *of men.* We will ſuffer them to enjoy *this world* for a little while: afterwards we will drive them to a ſevere puniſhment. If thou aſk them who hath created the heavens and the earth, they will ſurely anſwer, GOD. Say, GOD be praiſed! But the greater part of them do not underſtand. Unto GOD *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and earth: for GOD *is* the ſelf-ſufficient, the praiſe-worthy. If whatever trees *are* in the earth *were* pens, and he ſhould after that ſwell the ſea into ſeven ſeas *of ink*, the words of GOD would not be exhauſted [c]; for GOD *is* mighty, *and* wiſe. Your creation and your reſuſcitation are but as *the creation and reſuſcitation of* one ſoul [d]: verily GOD *both* heareth *and* ſeeth. Doſt thou not ſee that GOD cauſeth the night to ſucceed the day, and cauſeth the day to ſucceed the night, and compelleth the ſun and the moon to ſerve *you?* Each *of thoſe luminaries* haſteneth *in its courſe* to a determined period: and GOD *is* well-acquainted with that which ye do. This *is declared concerning the divine knowledge and power*, for that GOD is the true Being, and for that whatever ye invoke, beſides him, *is* vanity; and for that GOD is the high, the great GOD. Doſt thou not ſee that the ſhips run in the ſea, through the favour of GOD, that he may ſhew you of his ſigns? Verily herein *are* ſigns, unto every patient, grateful perſon. When waves cover them, like overſhadowing *clouds*,

[a] *The voice of aſſes*;] To the braying of which animal the *Arabs* liken a loud and diſagreeable voice.

[b] *Both outwardly and inwardly*;] i. e. All kinds of bleſſings, regarding as well the mind as the body.

[c] *If whatever trees are in the earth were pens*, &c.] This paſſage is ſaid to have been revealed in anſwer to the *Jews*, who inſiſted that all knowledge was contained in the law [1].

[d] *As the creation and reſuſcitation of one ſoul*;] GOD being able to produce a million of worlds by the ſingle word *Kun*, i. e. *Be*, and to raiſe the dead in general by the ſingle word *Kum*, i. e. *Ariſe*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

they call upon GOD, exhibiting the pure religion unto him; but when he bringeth them ſafe to land, *there* is of them who halteth *between the true faith and idolatry*. Howbeit, none rejecteth our ſigns, except every perfidious, ungrateful perſon. O men, fear your LORD, and dread the day whereon a father ſhall not make ſatisfaction for his ſon, neither ſhall a ſon make ſatisfaction for his father at all: the promiſe of GOD is aſſuredly true. Let not this preſent life, therefore, deceive you; neither let the deceiver [a] deceive you concerning GOD. Verily the knowledge of the hour *of judgment* is with GOD: and he cauſeth the rain to deſcend, *at his own appointed time*; and he knoweth what *is* in the wombs *of females*. No ſoul knoweth what it ſhall gain on the morrow; neither doth any ſoul know in what land it ſhall die [b]: but GOD *is* knowing *and* fully acquainted *with all things*.

[a] *The deceiver*;] viz. The devil.

[b] In this paſſage five things are enumerated which are known to GOD alone: *viz.* The time of the day of judgment; the time of rain; what is forming in the womb, as whether it be male or female, *&c.* what ſhall happen on the morrow; and where any perſon ſhall die. Theſe the *Arabs*, according to a tradition of their prophet, call *the five keys of ſecret knowledge*. The paſſage, it is ſaid, was occaſioned by *al Hareth Ebn Amru*, who propounded queſtions of this nature to *Mohammed*.

As to the laſt particular, *al Beidâwi* relates the following ſtory. The angel of death paſſing once by *Solomon* in a viſible ſhape, and looking at one who was ſitting with him, the man asked who he was, and upon *Solomon*'s acquainting him that it was the angel of death, ſaid, He ſeems to want me; wherefore order the wind to carry me from hence into *India*: which being accordingly done, the angel ſaid to *Solomon*, I looked ſo earneſtly at the man out of wonder; becauſe I was commanded to take his ſoul in *India*, and found him with thee in *Paleſtine*.

CHAP. XXXII.

Intitled, Adoration [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A. L. M [b]. The revelation of *this* book, *there is* no doubt thereof, *is* from the LORD of all creatures. Will they ſay, *MOHAMMED* hath forged it? Nay, it is the truth from thy LORD, that thou mayeſt preach to a people, unto whom no preacher hath come before thee [c]; peradventure they will be directed. *It is* GOD who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, in ſix days; and then aſcended *his* throne. Ye have no patron or interceſſor beſides him. Will ye not therefore conſider? He governeth *all* things from heaven even to the earth: hereafter ſhall they return unto him, on the day whoſe length ſhall be a thouſand years [d], of thoſe

[a] The title is taken from the middle of the chapter, where the believers are ſaid *to fall down adoring*.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, *&c.*

[c] See chap. 28. p. 321.

[d] *A thouſand years*;] As to the reconciliation of this paſſage with another [1], which ſeems contradictory,

[1] *Chap.* 70.

thoſe which ye compute. This *is* he who knoweth the future, and the preſent; the mighty, the merciful. *It is he* who hath made every thing which he hath created exceeding good; and firſt created man of clay, and afterwards made his poſterity of an extract of deſpicable water [a]; and then formed him *into proper ſhape*, and breathed of his ſpirit into him; and hath given you *the ſenſes of* hearing and ſeeing, and hearts *to underſtand*. How ſmall thanks do ye return! And they ſay, When we ſhall lie hidden in the earth, ſhall we be *raiſed thence* a new creature? Yea, they deny the meeting of their LORD *at the reſurrection*. Say, The angel of death [b], who is ſet over you, ſhall cauſe you to die: then ſhall ye be brought back unto your LORD. If thou couldeſt ſee, when the wicked ſhall bow down their heads before their LORD, *ſaying*, O LORD, we have ſeen, and have heard: ſuffer us therefore to return *into the world*, and we will work that which is right; ſince we are now certain *of the truth of what hath been preached to us: thou wouldſt ſee an amazing ſight*. If we had pleaſed, we had certainly given unto every ſoul its direction: but the word *which hath proceeded* from me muſt neceſſarily be fulfilled, *when I ſaid*, Verily I will fill hell with genii and men, altogether [c]. Taſte therefore *the torment prepared for you*, becauſe ye have forgotten the coming of this your day: we alſo have forgotten you; taſte therefore a puniſhment of eternal duration, for that which ye have wrought. Verily they only believe in our ſigns, who, when they are warned thereby, fall down adoring, and celebrate the praiſe of their LORD, and are not elated with pride: their ſides are raiſed from *their* beds, calling on their LORD with fear and with hope; and they diſtribute alms out of what we have beſtowed on them. No ſoul [d] knoweth the complete ſatisfaction [e] which is ſecretly prepared for them, as a reward for that which they have wrought. Shall he therefore, who is a true believer, *be* as he who is an impious tranſgreſſor? They ſhall not be held equal. As to thoſe who believe, and do that which is right, they ſhall have gardens of *perpetual* abode, an ample recompenſe for that which they ſhall have wrought: but as for thoſe who impiouſly

contradictory, ſee the Preliminary Diſcourſe, §. IV. p. 84.

Some, however, do not interpret the paſſage before us of the reſurrection, but ſuppoſe that the words here deſcribe the making and executing of the decrees of GOD, which are ſent down from heaven to earth, and are returned (or *aſcend*, as the verb properly ſignifies,) back to him, after they have been put in execution, and preſent themſelves, as it were, ſo executed, to his knowledge, in the ſpace of a day with GOD, but with man, of a thouſand years. Others imagine this ſpace to be the time which the angels, who carry the divine decrees, and bring them back executed, take in deſcending and reaſcending, becauſe the diſtance from heaven to earth is a journey of five hundred years: and others fancy that the angels bring down at once decrees for a thouſand years to come, which being expired, they return back for freſh orders, *&c* [1].

[a] *An extract of deſpicable water*;] i. e. Seed.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 72.

[c] See chap. 7. p. 118. and chap. 11. p. 187.

[d] *No ſoul*;] Not even an angel of thoſe who approach neareſt GOD's throne, nor any prophet who hath been ſent by him [2].

[e] *The complete ſatisfaction*;] Literally, *The joy of the eyes*. The commentators fail not, on occaſion of this paſſage, to produce that ſaying of their prophet, which was originally none of his own; GOD *ſaith, I have prepared for my righteous ſervants, what eye hath not ſeen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath entred into the heart of man to conceive*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*.

piouſly tranſgreſs, their abode *ſhall be hell* fire; ſo often as they ſhall endeavour to get thereout, they ſhall be dragged back into the ſame, and it ſhall be ſaid unto them, Taſte ye the torment of *hell* fire, which ye rejected as a falſhood. And we will cauſe them to taſte the nearer puniſhment *of this world*, beſides the more grievous puniſhment *of the next*; peradventure they will repent. Who is more unjuſt than he who is warned by the ſigns of his LORD, and then turneth aſide from the ſame? We will ſurely take vengeance on the wicked. We heretofore delivered the book *of the law* unto MOSES; wherefore be not thou in doubt as to the revelation thereof[a]: and we ordained the ſame *to be* a direction unto the children of ISRAEL; and we appointed teachers from among them, who ſhould direct *the people* at our command, when they had perſevered with patience, and had firmly believed in our ſigns. Verily thy LORD will judge between them, on the day of reſurrection, concerning that wherein they have diſagreed. Is it not known unto them how many generations we have deſtroyed before them, through whoſe dwellings they walk[b]? Verily herein are ſigns: will they not therefore hearken? Do they not ſee that we drive rain unto a land bare of graſs and parched up, and thereby produce corn, of which their cattle eat, and themſelves *alſo*? Will they not therefore regard? The *infidels* ſay *to the true believers*, When *will* this deciſion *be made between us*, if ye ſpeak truth? Anſwer, On the day of *that* deciſion[c], the faith of thoſe who ſhall have diſbelieved ſhall not avail them; neither ſhall they be reſpited *any longer*. Wherefore avoid them, and expect *the iſſue*: verily they expect *to obtain ſome advantage over thee*.

CHAP.

[a] *Be not thou in doubt as to the revelation thereof*;] Or, as ſome interpret it, *of the revelation of the* Korân *to thy ſelf*; ſince the delivery of the law to *Moſes* proves that the revelation of the *Korân* to thee is not the firſt inſtance of the kind. Others think the words ſhould be tranſlated thus, *Be not thou in doubt as to thy meeting of that prophet*; ſuppoſing that the interview between *Moſes* and *Mohammed* in the ſixth heaven, when the latter took his night-journey thither, is here intended [1].

[b] *Through whoſe dwellings they walk*;] The *Meccans* frequently paſſing by the places where the *Adites*, *Thamudites*, *Midianites*, *Sodomites*, &c. once dwelt.

[c] *On the day of that deciſion*;] That is, On the day of judgment: tho' ſome ſuppoſe the day here intended to be that of the victory at *Bedr*, or elſe that of the taking of *Mecca*, when ſeveral of thoſe who had been proſcribed were put to death without remiſſion [2].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. p. 55.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Intitled, The Confederates [a]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O Prophet, fear GOD, and obey not the unbelievers and the hypocrites [b]: verily GOD is knowing *and* wiſe. But follow that which is revealed unto thee from thy LORD; for GOD is well-acquainted with that which ye do: and put thy truſt in GOD; for GOD is a ſufficient protector. GOD hath not given a man two hearts within him; neither hath he made your wives (ſome of whom ye divorce, regarding them thereafter as your mothers) your *true* mothers; nor hath he made your adopted ſons your *true* ſons [c]. This *is* your ſaying in your mouths: but GOD ſpeaketh the truth; and he directeth the *right* way. Call *ſuch as are adopted*, the ſons of their *natural* fathers: this *will be* more juſt in the ſight of GOD. And if ye know not their fathers, *let them be as* your brethren in religion, and your companions: and it ſhall be no crime in you, that ye err [d] *in this matter*; but that *ſhall be criminal* which your hearts

[a] Part of this chapter was revealed on occaſion of the war of the Ditch, which happened in the fifth year of the *Hejra*, when *Medina* was beſieged, for above twenty days, by the joint and *confederate* forces of ſeveral *Jewiſh* tribes, and of the inhabitants of *Mecca*, *Najd*, and *Tehâma*, at the inſtigation of the *Jews* of the tribe of *Nadhîr*, who had been driven out of their ſettlement near *Medina*, by *Mohammed*, the year before [1].

[b] *Obey not the unbelievers and hypocrites*;] It is related that *Abu Sofiân*, *Acrema Ebn Abi Jahl*, and *Abu'l A'war al Salami* having an amicable interview with *Mohammed*, at which were preſent alſo *Abdallah Ebn Obba*, *Moatteb Ebn Koſheir*, and *Jadd Ebn Kais*, they propoſed to the prophet, that if he would leave off preaching againſt the worſhip of their gods, and acknowledge them to be mediators, they would give him and his LORD no farther diſturbance; upon which theſe words were revealed [2].

[c] GOD *hath not given a man two hearts*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed to aboliſh two cuſtoms among the old *Arabs*. The firſt was their manner of divorcing their wives, when they had no mind to let them go out of their houſe, or to marry again: and this the husband did by ſaying to the woman, *Thou art hence-forward to me, as the back of my mother*; after which words pronounced he abſtained from her bed, and regarded her in all reſpects as his mother, and ſhe became related to all his kindred in the ſame degree as if ſhe had been really ſo. The other cuſtom was the holding their adopted ſons to be as nearly related to them as their natural ſons, ſo that the ſame impediments of marriage aroſe from that ſuppoſed relation, in the prohibited degrees, as it would have done in the caſe of a genuine ſon. The latter *Mohammed* had a peculiar reaſon to aboliſh, *viz.* his marrying the divorced wife of his freed-man *Zeid*, who was alſo his adopted ſon; of which more will be ſaid by and by. By the declaration which introduces this paſſage, that GOD *has not given a man two hearts*, is meant, that a man cannot have the ſame affection for ſuppoſed parents, and adopted children, as for thoſe who are really ſo. They tell us the *Arabs* uſed to ſay of a prudent and acute perſon, that he had two hearts; whence one *Abu Mâmer*, or, as others write, *Jemîl Ebn Aſad al Fihri*, was ſurnamed *Dhu'lkalbein*, or *the man with two hearts* [3].

[d] *That ye err*;] Through ignorance or miſtake; or, That ye *have erred* for the time paſt.

[1] *V.* ABU'LFED'AE *Vit. Moh. p.* 73. & GAGNIER, *Vie de Mahomet*, *l.* 4. *c.* 1. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.*

hearts purpoſely deſign; for GOD is gracious *and* merciful. The prophet *is* nigher unto the true believers than their own ſouls [a]; and his wives *are* their mothers [b]. Thoſe who are related by conſanguinity *are* nigher of kin the one of them unto the others, according to the book of GOD, than the *other* true believers, and the Mohâjerûn [c]: unleſs that ye do what is fitting and reaſonable to your relations *in general*. This is written in the book *of GOD* [d]. *Remember* when we accepted their covenant from the prophets [e], and from thee, *O MOHAMMED*, and from NOAH, and ABRAHAM, and MOSES, and JESUS the ſon of MARY, and received from them a firm covenant [f]; that *GOD* may examine the ſpeakers of truth concerning their veracity [g]: and he hath prepared a painful torment for the unbelievers. O true believers, remember the favour of GOD towards you, when armies *of infidels* came againſt you [h], and we ſent againſt them a wind, and hoſts *of angels* which ye ſaw not [i]: and GOD

[a] *The prophet is nigher unto the true believers than their own ſouls*;] Commanding them nothing but what is for their intereſt and advantage, and being more ſollicitous for their preſent and future happineſs even than themſelves; for which reaſon he ought to be dear to them, and deſerves their utmoſt love and reſpect. In ſome copies theſe words are added, *And he is a father unto them*; every prophet being the ſpiritual father of his people, who are therefore brethren. It is ſaid that this paſſage was revealed on ſome of *Mohammed*'s followers telling him, when he ſummoned them to attend him in the expedition of *Tabûc* [1], that they would ask leave of their fathers and mothers [2].

[b] *His wives are their mothers*;] Tho' the ſpiritual relation between *Mohammed* and his people, declared in the preceding words, created no impediment to prevent his taking to wife ſuch women among them as he thought fit; yet the commentators are of opinion that they are here forbidden to marry any of his wives [3].

[c] *Thoſe who are related by conſanguinity are nigher of kin unto one another, according to the book of* GOD, *than the true believers and the Mohâjerûn.*] Theſe words, which alſo occur, excepting the latter part of the ſentence, in the eighth chapter, abrogate that law concerning inheritances, publiſhed in the ſame chapter, whereby the *Mohâjerûn* and *Anſârs* were to be the heirs of one another, excluſive of their nearer relations who were infidels [4].

[d] *In the book of* GOD;] i. e. In the preſerved Table, or the *Korân*; or, as others ſuppoſe, in the Pentateuch.

[e] *When we received their covenant from the prophets*;] *Jallalo'ddin* ſuppoſes this covenant was made when *Adam*'s poſterity were drawn forth from his loins, and appeared before GOD like ſmall ants [5]: but *Marracci* conjectures that the covenant here meant, was the ſame which the *Talmudiſts* pretend all the prophets entred into with GOD on mount *Sinai*, where they were all aſſembled in perſon with *Moſes* [6].

[f] *A firm covenant*;] Whereby they undertook to execute their ſeveral commiſſions, and promiſed to preach the religion commanded them by GOD.

[g] *That* GOD *may examine the ſpeakers of truth concerning their veracity*;] i. e. That he may at the day of judgment demand of the prophets in what manner they executed their ſeveral commiſſions, and how they were received by their people: or, as the words may alſo import, that he may examine thoſe who believed on them, concerning their belief, and reward them accordingly.

[h] *When armies of infidels came againſt you*;] Theſe were the forces of the *Koreiſh* and the tribe of *Ghatfân*, confederated with the *Jews* of *al Nadhîr* and *Koreidha*, who beſieged *Medina* to the number of twelve thouſand men, in the expedition called the *war of the ditch*.

[i] *We ſent againſt them a wind and hoſts of angels*, &c.] On the enemies approach, *Mohammed*, by the advice of *Salmân* the *Perſian*, ordered a deep ditch or intrenchment to be dug round *Medina*, for the ſecurity of the city, and went out to defend it with three thouſand men. Both ſides remained in their camps near a month, without any other acts of hoſtility than ſhooting of arrows, and ſlinging of ſtones; till, in a winter's

[1] *See chap.* 9. *p.* 154. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. VI. [4] *See chap.* 8. *p.* 148. [5] *See chap.* 7. *p.* 135. [6] *See chap.* 3. *p.* 46.

GOD beheld that which ye did. When they came againſt you from above you, and from below you [a], and when *your* ſight became troubled, and *your* hearts came even to *your* throats *for fear*, and ye imagined of GOD *various* imaginations [b]. There were the faithful tried, and made to tremble with a violent trembling. And when the hypocrites, and thoſe in whoſe heart was an infirmity, ſaid, GOD and his apoſtle have made you no other than a fallacious promiſe [c]. And when a party of them [d] ſaid, O inhabitants of YATHREB [e], *there is* no place *of ſecurity* for you *here*; wherefore return *home*: And a part of them aſked leave of the prophet *to depart*, ſaying, Verily our houſes are defenceleſs *and expoſed to the enemy*: but they were not defenceleſs; *and* their intention was no other than to fly. If *the city* had been entred upon them *by the enemy* from the parts adjacent, and they had been aſked to deſert *the true believers, and to fight againſt them*; they had ſurely conſented thereto: but they had not, *in ſuch caſe*, remained in the ſame [f], but a little while. They had before made a covenant with GOD, that they would not turn *their* backs [g]: and the *performance of their* covenant with GOD ſhall be examined into *hereafter*. Say, Flight ſhall not profit you, if ye fly from death or from ſlaughter: and *if it would*, yet ſhall ye not enjoy *this world* but a little. Say, Who *is* he who ſhall defend you againſt GOD, if he is pleaſed *to bring* evil on you, or is pleaſed *to ſhew* mercy towards you? They ſhall find

winter's night, GOD ſent a piercing cold eaſt wind, which benummed the limbs of the confederates, blew the duſt in their faces, extinguiſhed their fires, overturned their tents, and put their horſes in diſorder, the angels at the ſame time crying *Allah acbar* round about their camp; whereupon *Toleiha Ebn Khowailed* the *Aſadite* ſaid aloud, Mohammed *is going to attack you with inchantments, wherefore provide for your ſafety by flight:* and accordingly the *Koreiſh* firſt, and afterwards the *Ghatfânites*, broke up the ſiege, and returned home; which retreat was alſo not a little owing to the diſſenſions among the confederate forces, the raiſing and fomenting whereof the *Mohammedans* alſo aſcribe to GOD. It is related that when *Mohammed* heard that his enemies were retired, he ſaid, *I have obtained ſucceſs by means of the eaſt wind*; *and* Ad *periſhed by the weſt wind* [1].

[a] *When they came againſt you from above you, and from below you.*] The *Ghatfânites* pitched on the eaſt ſide of the town, on the higher part of the valley; and the *Koreiſh* on the weſt ſide, on the lower part of the valley [2].

[b] *Ye imagined of* GOD *various imaginations*;] The ſincere and thoſe who were more firm of heart fearing they ſhould not be able to ſtand the trial; and the weaker-hearted and hypocrites thinking themſelves delivered up to ſlaughter and deſtruction.

[c] *When the hypocrites ſaid,* GOD *and his apoſtle have made you no other than a fallacious promiſe.*] The perſon who uttered theſe words, 'tis ſaid, was *Moatteb Ebn Koſheir*, who told his fellows that *Mohammed* had promiſed them the ſpoils of the *Perſians* and the *Greeks*, whereas now not one of them dared to ſtir out of their intrenchment [3].

[d] *When a party of them ſaid*, &c.] viz. *Aws Ebn Keidhi*, and his adherents.

[e] *Yathreb*;] This was the ancient and proper name of *Medina*, or of the territory wherein it ſtands. Some ſuppoſe the town was ſo named from its founder, *Yathreb* the ſon of *Kâbiya*, the ſon of *Mahlayel*, the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Sem*, the ſon of *Noah*; tho' others tell us it was built by the *Amalekites* [4].

[f] *In the ſame*;] i. e. In the city; or, in their apoſtaſy and rebellion, becauſe the *Moſlems* would ſurely ſucceed at laſt.

[g] *They had made a covenant with* GOD, *&c.*] The perſons meant here were *Banu Haretha*, who having behaved very ill and run away on a certain occaſion, promiſed they would do ſo no more [5].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 77, *&c.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem. V.* ABULF. *ubi ſup. p.* 76. [4] AHMED EBN YUSOF. *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 4. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

find none to patronize or protect them, beſides GOD. GOD already knoweth thoſe among you who hinder *others from following his apoſtle*, and who ſay unto their brethren, Come hither unto us; and who come not to battle, except a little [a]; being covetous towards you [b]: but when fear cometh *on them*, thou ſeeſt them look unto thee *for aſſiſtance*, their eyes rolling about, like *the eyes* of him who fainteth by reaſon of *the agonies of* death: yet when *their* fear is paſt, they inveigh againſt you with ſharp tongues; being covetous of the beſt *and moſt valuable part of the ſpoils*. Theſe believe not *ſincerely*; wherefore GOD hath rendred their works of no avail; and this is eaſy with GOD. They imagined that the confederates would not depart *and raiſe the ſiege*: and if the confederates ſhould come *another time*, they would wiſh to live in the deſarts among the Arabs who dwell in tents [c], *and there* to inquire after news concerning you; and although they were with you *this time*, yet they fought not, except a little. Ye have in the apoſtle of GOD an excellent example [d], unto him who hopeth in GOD, and the laſt day, and remembreth GOD frequently. When the true believers ſaw the confederates, they ſaid, This *is* what GOD and his apoſtle have foretold us [e]; and GOD and his apoſtle have ſpoken the truth: and it only encreaſed their faith and reſignation. Of the true believers *ſome* men juſtly performed what they had promiſed unto GOD [f]; and ſome of them have finiſhed their courſe [g], and ſome of them wait *the ſame advantage* [h]; and they changed not *their promiſe*, by deviating *therefrom in the leaſt*: that GOD may reward the juſt performers *of their covenant* for their fidelity; and may puniſh the hypocritical, if he pleaſeth, or may be turned unto them; for GOD *is* ready to forgive, *and* merciful. GOD hath driven back the infidels in their wrath: they obtained no advantage; and GOD was *a* ſufficient *protector* unto the faithful in battle; for GOD

[a] *And who come not to battle, except a little*;] Either coming to the army in ſmall numbers; or ſtaying with them but a little while, and then returning on ſome feigned excuſe; or behaving ill in time of action. Some expoſitors take theſe words to be part of the ſpeech of the hypocrites, reflecting on *Mohammed*'s companions for lying idle in the trenches, and not attacking the enemy.

[b] *Being covetous towards you*;] i. e. Sparing of their aſſiſtance either in perſon or with their purſe; or, being greedy after the booty.

[c] *They would wiſh to live in the deſarts*, &c.] That they might be abſent, and not obliged to go to war.

[d] *Ye have in the apoſtle of* GOD *an excellent example*;] viz. Of firmneſs in time of danger, of confidence in the divine aſſiſtance, and of piety by fervent prayer for the ſame.

[e] *This is what* GOD *and his apoſtle have foretold us*;] Namely, That we muſt not expect to enter paradiſe, without undergoing ſome trials and tribulations [1]. There is a tradition that *Mohammed* actually foretold this expedition of the confederates ſome time before, and the ſucceſs of it [2].

[f] *Some men juſtly performed what they had promiſed unto* GOD;] By ſtanding firm with the prophet, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſing the enemies of the true religion, according to their engagement.

[g] *Some of them have finiſhed their courſe*;] Or, as the words may be tranſlated, *have fulfilled their vow*, or *paid their debt* to nature, by falling martyrs in battle; as did *Hamza*, *Mohammed*'s uncle, *Maſab Ebn Omair*, and *Ans Ebn al Nadr* [3], who were ſlain at the battle of *Obod*. The martyrs at the war of the ditch were ſix, including *Saad Ebn Moâdh*, who died of his wound about a month after [4].

[h] *And ſome wait for the ſame advantage*;] As *Othmân* and *Telha* [5].

[1] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 24, *chap.* 3. *p.* 52, *chap.* 29. *p.* 325, *&c.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*
[4] ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 79. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

GOD is ſtrong *and* mighty. And he hath cauſed ſuch of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, as aſſiſted *the confederates*, to come down out of their fortreſſes [a], and he caſt into their hearts terror *and diſmay* [b]: a part *of them* ye ſlew, and a part ye made captives; and *GOD* hath cauſed you to inherit their land, and their houſes, and their wealth [c], and a land on which ye have not trodden [d]; for GOD is almighty. O prophet, ſay unto thy wives, If ye ſeek this preſent life, and the pomp thereof, come, I will make a handſome proviſion for you, and I will diſmiſs you with an honourable diſmiſſion [e]: but

 if

[a] *Such of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, as aſſiſted the confederates;*] Theſe were the *Jews* of the tribe of *Koreidha*, who, tho' they were in league with *Mohammed*, had, at the inceſſant perſuaſion of *Caab Ebn Aſad*, a principal man among them, perfidiouſly gone over to his enemies in this war of the ditch; and were ſeverely puniſhed for it. For the next morning after the confederate forces had decamped, *Mohammed* and his men returned to *Medina*, and laying down their arms, began to refreſh themſelves after their fatigue; upon which *Gabriel* came to the prophet, and asked him whether he had ſuffered his people to lay down their arms, when the angels had not laid down theirs; and ordered him to go immediately againſt the *Koradhites*, aſſuring him that himſelf would lead the way. *Mohammed*, in obedience to the divine command, having cauſed public proclamation to be made that every one ſhould pray that afternoon for ſucceſs againſt the ſons of *Koreidha*, ſet forward on the expedition without loſs of time; and being arrived at the fortreſs of the *Koradhites*, beſieged them for twenty five days, at the end of which thoſe people, being in great terror and diſtreſs, capitulated, and at length, not daring to truſt to *Mohammed*'s mercy, ſurrendred at the diſcretion of *Saad Ebn Moadh* [1], hoping that he, being the prince of the tribe of *Aws*, their old friends and confederates, would have ſome regard for them: but they were deceived; for *Saad* being greatly incenſed at their breach of faith, had begged of GOD that he might not die of the wound he had received at the ditch, till he ſaw vengeance taken on the *Koradhites*, and therefore adjudged that the men ſhould be put to the ſword, the women and children made ſlaves, and their goods be divided among the *Moſlems*; which ſentence *Mohammed* had no ſooner heard, than he cried out, *That* Saad *had pronounced the ſentence of* GOD: and the ſame was accordingly executed, the number of the men who were ſlain, amounting to ſix hundred, or, as others ſay, to ſeven hundred, or very near; among whom were *Hoyai Ebn Akhtab* a great enemy of *Mohammed*'s, and *Caab Ebn Aſad*, who had been the chief occaſion of the revolt of their tribe: and ſoon after *Saad*, who had given judgment againſt them, died, his wound, which had been skinned over, opening again [2].

[b] *And caſt into their hearts terror and diſmay.*] This was the work of *Gabriel*, who, according to his promiſe, went before the army of *Moſlems*. It is ſaid that *Mohammed*, a little before he came to the ſettlement of the *Koradhites*, asking ſome of his men whether any body had paſſed them, they anſwered, that *Dohya Ebn Kholeifa* the *Calbite* had juſt paſſed by them, mounted on a white mule, with houſings of ſattin: to which he replied, *That perſon was the angel* Gabriel, *who is ſent to the ſons of* Koreidha, *to ſhake their caſtles, and to ſtrike their hearts with fear and conſternation* [3].

[c] *And* GOD *hath cauſed you to inherit their land*, &c.] Their immoveable poſſeſſions *Mohammed* gave to the *Mohâjerin*, ſaying, that the *Anſârs* were in their own houſes, but that the others were deſtitute of habitations. The moveables were divided among his followers, but he remitted the fifth part, which was uſual to be taken in other caſes [4].

[d] *A land on which ye have not trodden;*] By which ſome ſuppoſe *Perſia* and *Greece* are meant; others, *Khaibar*; and others, whatever lands the *Moſlems* may conquer till the day of judgment [5].

[e] *O prophet, ſay unto thy wives, If ye ſeek this preſent life*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed on *Mohammed*'s wives asking for more ſumptuous cloaths, and an additional allowance for their expences: and he had no ſooner received it, than he gave them their option, either to continue with him, or to be divorced, beginning with *Ayeſha*, who choſe GOD *and his apoſtle*, and the reſt followed her example; upon which the prophet thanked them.

[1] *See chap.* 8. *p.* 142.
[2] *Al* BEIDAWI, ABULF. *Vit. Moh. p.* 77. *&c. V.* GAGNIER. *Vie de Mah. l.* 4. *c.* 2.
[3] EBN ISHAK.
[4] *Al* BEIDAWI.
[5] *Idem*

if ye ſeek GOD and his apoſtle, and the life to come, verily GOD hath prepared for ſuch of you as work righteouſneſs, a great reward. O wives of the prophet, whoſoever of you ſhall commit a manifeſt wickedneſs, the puniſhment *thereof* ſhall be doubled unto her twofold [a]; and this is eaſy with
XXII. GOD: * but whoſoever of you ſhall be obedient unto GOD and his apoſtle, and ſhall do that which is right, we will give her her reward twice [b], and we have prepared for her an honourable proviſion *in paradiſe*. O wives of the prophet, ye are not as other women: if ye fear GOD, be not too complaiſant in ſpeech, leſt he ſhould covet, in whoſe heart is a diſeaſe *of incontinence*; but ſpeak the ſpeech which is convenient. And ſit ſtill in your houſes; and ſet not out your ſelves with the oſtentation of the former *time of* ignorance [c]: and obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and give alms; and obey GOD, and his apoſtle; for GOD deſireth only to remove from you the abomination *of vanity, ſince ye are* the houſhold *of the prophet*, and to purify you by a *perfect* purification [d]. And remember that which is read in your houſes, of the ſigns of GOD, and of the wiſdom *revealed in the* KORAN; for GOD is clear-ſighted, *and* well-acquainted *with your actions*. Verily the Moſlems of either ſex, and the true believers of either ſex, and the devout men, and the devout women, and the men of veracity, and the women of veracity, and the patient *men*, and the patient *women*, and the humble *men* and the humble *women*, and the alms-givers of either ſex, and the *men* who faſt, and the *women* who faſt, and the chaſte *men*, and the chaſte *women*, and thoſe of either ſex who remember GOD frequently; for them hath GOD prepared forgiveneſs, and a great reward. It is not *fit* for a true believer of either ſex, when GOD and his apoſtle have decreed a thing, that they ſhould have the liberty of chooſing a *different* matter of their own [e]: and whoever is diſobedient unto GOD

them, and the following words were revealed; *viz. It ſhall not be lawful for thee to take other women to wife hereafter* [1], &c. From hence ſome have concluded, that a wife who has her option given her, and chooſes to ſtay with her husband, ſhall not be divorced; tho' others are of a contrary opinion [2].

[a] *Her puniſhment ſhall be doubled*;] For the crime would be more enormous and unpardonable in them, becauſe of their ſuperior condition, and the grace which they have received from GOD; whence it is that the puniſhment of a free perſon is ordained to be double to that of a ſlave [3], and prophets are more ſeverely reprimanded for their faults than other men [4].

[b] *We will give her her reward twice*;] viz. Once for her obedience, and a ſecond time for her conjugal affection to the prophet, and handſome behaviour to him.

[c] *With the oſtentation of the former time of ignorance*;] That is, In the old time of idolatry. Some ſuppoſe the times before the flood, or the time of *Abraham* to be here intended, when women adorned themſelves with all their finery, and went abroad into the ſtreets to ſhew themſelves to the men [5].

[d] GOD *deſireth to remove from you the abomination*, &c.] The pronouns of the ſecond perſon in this part of the paſſage being of the maſculine gender, the *Shiites* pretend the ſentence has no connexion with the foregoing or the following words; and will have it that by *the houſehold of the prophet* are particularly meant *Fâtema* and *Ali*, and their two ſons *Haſan* and *Hoſein*, to whom theſe words are directed [6].

[e] *It is not fit for a true believer, when* GOD *and his apoſtle have decreed a thing, that they ſhould have the liberty of chooſing*, &c.] This verſe was

[1] *See after, in this chap. p.* 349. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *See chap.* 4. *p.* 64. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Idem.* [6] *Idem.*

GOD and his apoſtle, ſurely erreth with a manifeſt error. And *remember* when thou ſaidſt to him unto whom GOD had been gracious [a], and on whom thou *alſo* hadſt conferred favours [b], Keep thy wife to thy ſelf, and fear GOD: and thou didſt conceal that in thy mind which GOD had *determined* to diſcover [c], and didſt fear men; whereas it *was* more juſt that thou ſhouldſt fear GOD. But when ZEID [d] had determined the matter concerning her, *and had reſolved to divorce her*, we joined her in marriage unto thee [e]; leſt a crime ſhould be *charged* on the true believers, in *marrying* the wives of their adopted *ſons*, when they have determined the matter concerning them [f]: and

was revealed on account of *Zeinab* (or *Zenobia*) the daughter of *Jahaſh*, and wife of *Zeid*, *Mohammed*'s freed-man, whom the prophet ſought in marriage, but received a repulſe from the lady and her brother *Abdallah*, they being at firſt averſe to the match; for which they are here reprehended. The mother of *Zeinab*, it is ſaid, was *Amîma*, the daughter of *Abd'almotalleb*, and aunt to *Mohammed* [1].

[a] *When thou ſaidſt to him unto whom* GOD *had been gracious*;] viz. *Zeid Ebn Haretha*, on whom GOD had beſtowed the grace early to become a *Moſlem*.

[b] *And on whom thou hadſt conferred favours*;] By giving him his liberty, and adopting him for thy ſon, *&c.*

Zeid was of the tribe of *Calb*, a branch of the *Khodaites*, deſcended from *Hamyar* the ſon of *Saba*; and being taken in his childhood by a party of free-booters, was bought by *Mohammed*, or, as others ſay, by his wife *Khadijah* before ſhe married him. Some years after, *Haretha*, hearing where his ſon was, took a journey to *Mecca*, and offered a conſiderable ſum for his ranſom; whereupon *Mohammed* ſaid, *Let* Zeid *come hither; and if he chooſes to go with you, take him without ranſom: but if it be his choice to ſtay with me, why ſhould I not keep him?* And *Zeid* being come, declared that he would ſtay with his Maſter, who treated him as if he were his only ſon. *Mohammed* no ſooner heard this, but he took *Zeid* by the hand, and led him to the *black ſtone* of the *Caaba*, where he publickly adopted him for his ſon, and conſtituted him his heir; with which the father acquieſced, and returned home well-ſatisfied. From this time *Zeid* was called the ſon of *Mohammed*, till the publication of *Iſlâm*; after which the prophet gave him to wife *Zeinab* [2].

[c] *And thou didſt conceal that in thy mind which* GOD *had determined to diſcover*;] Namely, thy affection to *Zeinab*. The whole intrigue is artfully enough unfolded in this paſſage; the ſtory is as follows.

Some years after his marriage, *Mohammed* going to *Zeid*'s houſe on ſome affair, and not finding him at home, accidentally caſt his eyes on *Zeinab*, who was then in a dreſs which diſcovered her beauty to advantage, and was ſo ſmitten at the ſight, that he could not forbear crying out, GOD *be praiſed, who turneth the hearts of men as he pleaſeth!* This *Zeinab* failed not to acquaint her husband with, on his return home; whereupon *Zeid*, after mature reflection, thought he could do no leſs than part with his wife, in favour of his benefactor; and therefore reſolved to divorce her, and acquainted *Mohammed* with his reſolution: but he, apprehending the ſcandal it might raiſe, offered to diſſuade him from it, and endeavoured to ſtifle the flames which inwardly conſumed him; but at length, his love for her being authorized by this revelation, he acquieſced, and after the term of her divorce was expired, married her, in the latter end of the 5th year of the *Hejra* [3].

[d] *Zeid*;] It is obſerved that this is the only perſon, of all *Mohammed*'s companions, whoſe name is mentioned in the *Korân*.

[e] *We joined her in marriage unto thee*;] Whence *Zeinab* uſed to vaunt herſelf above the prophet's other wives, ſaying, that GOD had made the match between *Mohammed* and herſelf, whereas their matches were made by their relations [4].

[f] *Leſt a crime ſhould be charged on the true believers, in marrying the wives of their adopted ſons*, &c.] For this feigned relation, as has been obſerved, created an impediment of marriage among the old *Arabs* within the prohibited degrees, in the ſame manner as if it had been real; and therefore *Mohammed*'s marrying *Zeinab*, who had been his adopted ſon's wife, occaſioned great ſcandal among his followers, which was much heightened by the *Jews* and hypocrites: but the cuſtom is here declared unreaſonable, and aboliſhed for the future.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* JANNABI. *V.* GAGNIER, *Vie de Mah. l.* 4 *c.* 2
[3] *Al* BEIDAWI, *al* JANNABI, *&c.* [4] *Idem.*

the command of GOD is to be performed. No crime is *to be charged* on the prophet, as to what GOD hath allowed him, *conformable to* the ordinance of GOD with regard to thoſe who preceded *him*, (for the command of GOD is a determinate decree,) who brought the meſſages of GOD, and feared him, and feared none beſides GOD: and GOD is a ſufficient accountant. MOHAMMED is not the father of any man among you; but the apoſtle of GOD, and the ſeal of the prophets: and GOD knoweth all things. O true believers, remember GOD with a frequent remembrance, and celebrate his praiſe morning and evening. It is he who is gracious unto you, and his angels *intercede for you*, that he may lead you forth from darkneſs into light; and he is merciful towards the true believers. Their ſalutation, on the day *whereon* they ſhall meet him, *ſhall be*, Peace! and he hath prepared for them an honourable recompenſe. O prophet, verily we have ſent thee *to be* a witneſs, and a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats, and an inviter unto GOD, through his good pleaſure, and a ſhining light. Bear good tidings therefore unto the true believers, that they ſhall receive great abundance from GOD. And obey not the unbelievers, and the hypocrites, and mind not their evil treatment: but truſt in GOD; and GOD is a ſufficient protector. O true believers, when ye marry *women who are* believers, and afterwards put them away, before ye have touched them, *there is* no term preſcribed you to fulfil towards them [a] *after their divorce:* but make them a preſent [b], and diſmiſs them freely, with an honourable diſmiſſion. O prophet, we have allowed thee thy wives unto whom thou haſt given their dower, and alſo the *ſlaves* which thy right hand poſſeſſeth, of the *booty* which GOD hath granted thee [c]; and the daughters of thy uncle, and the daughters of thy aunts, both on thy father's ſide, and on thy mother's ſide, who have fled with thee *from* MECCA [d], and any *other* believing woman, if ſhe give herſelf unto the prophet [e]; in caſe the prophet deſireth to take her to wife. *This is* a peculiar

[a] *There is no time preſcribed you to fulfil towards them*;] That is, Ye are not obliged to keep them any certain time before ye diſmiſs them, as ye are thoſe with whom the marriage has been conſummated. See chap. 2. p. 26.

[b] *Make them a preſent*;] i. e. If no dower has been aſſigned them: for if a dower has been aſſigned, the husband is obliged, according to the *Sonna*, to give the woman half the dower agreed on, beſides a preſent [1]. This is ſtill to be underſtood of ſuch women with whom the marriage has not been conſummated.

[c] *The ſlaves, of the booty which* GOD *hath granted thee*;] It is ſaid, therefore, that the women ſlaves which he ſhould buy are not included in this grant.

[d] *Who have fled with thee from* Mecca;] But not the others. It is related of *Omm Hâni*, the daughter of *Abu Taleb*, that ſhe ſhould ſay, *The apoſtle of* GOD *courted me for his wife; but I excuſed myſelf to him, and he accepted of my excuſe: afterwards this verſe was revealed; but he was not thereby allowed to marry me, becauſe I fled not with him* [2].

It may be obſerved that Dr. *Prideaux* is much miſtaken, when he aſſerts that *Mohammed* in this chapter brings in GOD exempting him from the law in the fourth chapter [3], whereby the *Moſlems* are forbidden to marry within certain degrees, and giving him an eſpecial privilege to take to wife the daughter of his brother, or the daughter of his ſiſter [4].

[e] *And any believing woman, if ſhe give herſelf unto the prophet*;] Without demanding any dower. According to a tradition of *Ebn Abbas*, the prophet, however, married no woman without aſſigning

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Pag.* 63. [4] *See* PRID. *Life of Mah. p.* 116.

liar privilege *granted* unto thee, above the reſt of the true believers [a]. We know what we have ordained them concerning their wives, and the *ſlaves* whom their right hands poſſeſs: leſt it ſhould be *deemed* a crime in thee *to make uſe of the privilege granted thee*; for GOD is gracious *and* merciful. Thou mayeſt poſtpone the turn of ſuch of *thy wives* as thou ſhalt pleaſe, *in being called to thy bed*; and thou mayeſt take unto thee her whom thou ſhalt pleaſe, and her whom thou ſhalt deſire of thoſe whom thou ſhalt have *before* rejected: and *it ſhall be* no crime in thee [b]. This *will be* more eaſy, that they may be intirely content, and may not be grieved, but may be well pleaſed with what thou ſhalt give every of them: GOD knoweth whatever *is* in your hearts; and GOD is knowing *and* gracious. It ſhall not be lawful for thee *to take other* women *to wife* hereafter [c], nor to exchange *any* of *thy* wives for them [d], although their beauty pleaſe thee; except the *ſlaves* whom thy right hand ſhall poſſeſs: and GOD obſerveth all things. O true believers, enter not the houſes of the prophet, unleſs it be permitted you to *eat* meat *with him*, without waiting his convenient time: but when ye are invited, then enter. And when ye ſhall have eaten, diſperſe yourſelves; and *ſtay* not to enter into familiar diſcourſe: for this incommodeth the prophet. He is aſhamed *to bid* you *depart*; but GOD is not aſhamed of the truth. And when ye aſk of *the prophet's wives* what ye may have occaſion

ſigning her a dower. The commentators are not agreed who was the woman particularly meant in this paſſage; but they name four who are ſuppoſed to have thus *given themſelves* to the prophet, *viz. Maimûna Bint al Hareth*, *Zeinab Bint Khozaima*, *Ghozîa Bint Jâber*, ſurnamed *Omm Shoraic*, (which three he actually married,) and *Khawla Bint Hakim*, whom, as it ſeems, he rejected.

[a] *This is a peculiar privilege granted thee, above the reſt of the true believers*;] For no *Moſlem* can legally marry above four wives, whether free women or ſlaves; whereas *Mohammed* is, by the preceding paſſage, left at liberty to take as many as he pleaſed, tho' with ſome reſtrictions.

[b] *Thou mayeſt poſtpone the turn of ſuch of thy wives as thou ſhalt pleaſe*, &c.] By this paſſage ſome farther privileges were granted unto *Mohammed*; for, whereas other men are obliged to carry themſelves equally towards their wives [1], in caſe they had more than one, particularly as to the duties of the marriage bed, to which each has a right to be called in her turn, (which right was acknowledged in the moſt early ages [2],) and cannot take again a wife whom they have divorced the third time, till ſhe has been married to another and divorced by him [3], the prophet was left abſolutely at liberty to deal with them in theſe and other reſpects as he thought fit.

[c] *It ſhall not be lawful for thee to take other women to wife hereafter*, &c.] The commentators differ as to the expreſs meaning of theſe words. Some think *Mohammed* was thereby forbidden to take any more wives than nine, which number he then had, and is ſuppoſed to have been his ſtint, as four was that of other men; ſome imagine that after this prohibition, tho' any of the wives he then had ſhould die, or be divorced, yet he could not marry another in her room; ſome think he was only forbidden from this time forward to marry any other woman than one of the four ſorts mentioned in the preceding paſſage; and others [4] are of opinion that this verſe is abrogated by the two preceding verſes, or one of them, and was revealed before them, tho' it be read after them [5].

[d] *Nor to exchange any of thy wives for them*;] By divorcing her and marrying another. *Al Zamakhſhari* tells us, that ſome are of opinion this prohibition is to be underſtood of a particular kind of exchange uſed among the idolatrous *Arabs*, whereby two men made a mutual exchange of their wives without any other formality.

[1] *See Kor. chap. 4. p. 60, &c.* [2] *See Geneſ. xxx. 14, &c.* [3] *See chap. 2. p. 37.*
[4] *As* ABU'L KASEM HEBATALLAH. [5] *As* AL ZAMAKH. *&* AL BEIDAWI, JALALO'DDIN, *&c.*

caſion for, aſk *it* of them from behind a curtain [a]. This will be more pure for your hearts and their hearts. Neither is it *fit* for you to give any uneaſineſs to the apoſtle of GOD, or to marry his wives after him for ever [b]: for this would be a grievous thing in the ſight of GOD. Whether ye divulge a thing, or conceal it, verily GOD knoweth all things. *It ſhall be* no crime in them as to their fathers, or their ſons, or their brothers, or their brothers ſons, or their ſiſters ſons, or their women, or the *ſlaves* which their right hands poſſeſs, *if they ſpeak to them unvailed* [c]: and fear ye GOD [d]; for GOD is witneſs of all things. Verily GOD and his angels bleſs the prophet: O true believers, do ye *alſo* bleſs him, and ſalute *him* with *a reſpectful* ſalutation [e]. *As to* thoſe who offend GOD and his apoſtle, GOD ſhall curſe them in this world and in the next; and he hath prepared for them a ſhameful puniſhment. And they who ſhall injure the true believers of either ſex, without their deſerving it, ſhall ſurely bear *the guilt of* calumny and a manifeſt injuſtice [f]. O prophet, ſpeak unto thy wives, and thy daughters, and the wives of the true believers, that they caſt their outer garments [g] over them *when they walk abroad*; this *will be* more proper, that they may be known *to be matrons of reputation*, and may not be affronted *by unſeemly words or actions*. GOD is gracious *and* merciful. Verily if the hypocrites, and thoſe in whoſe hearts is an infirmity, and they who raiſe diſturbances in MEDINA, do not deſiſt; we will ſurely ſtir thee up againſt them, *to chaſtiſe them:* henceforth they ſhall not *be ſuffered to* dwell near thee therein, except for a little *time*, *and* being accurſed; wherever they are found they ſhall be taken, and killed with a *general* ſlaughter, *according to* the ſentence of GOD concerning thoſe who have been before; and thou ſhalt not find any change in the ſentence of GOD. Men will aſk thee concerning the *approach of the laſt* hour: anſwer, Verily the

[a] *Aſk it of them from behind a curtain*;] That is, Let there be a curtain drawn between you, or let them be vailed, while ye talk with them. As the deſign of the former precept was to prevent the impertinence of troubleſome viſiters, the deſign of this was to guard againſt too near an intercourſe or familiarity between his wives and his followers; and was occaſioned, it is ſaid, by the hand of one of his companions accidentally touching that of *Ayeſha*, which gave the prophet ſome uneaſineſs [1].

[b] *Neither is it fit for you to marry his wives after him*;] i. e. Either ſuch as he ſhall divorce in his life-time, or his widows after his death. This was another privilege peculiar to the prophet.

It is related, that in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, *Aſhath Ebn Kais* married the woman whom *Mohammed* had diſmiſſed without conſummating his marriage with her [2]; upon which the *Khalif* at firſt was thinking to ſtone her, but afterwards changed his mind, on its being repreſented to him that this prohibition related only to ſuch women to whom the prophet had gone in [3].

[c] See chap. 24. p. 291.

[d] *Fear ye* GOD;] The words are directed to the prophet's wives.

[e] *Bleſs the prophet, and ſalute him*;] Hence the *Mohammedans* ſeldom mention his name without adding, *On whom be the bleſſing of* GOD *and peace!* or the like words.

[f] *They who ſhall injure the true believers*, &c.] This verſe was revealed, according to ſome, on occaſion of certain hypocrites who had ſlandered *Ali*; or, according to others, on occaſion of thoſe who falſely accuſed *Ayeſha* [4], &c.

[g] *Their outer garments*;] The original word properly ſignifies the large wrappers, uſually of white linnen, with which the women in the eaſt cover themſelves from head to foot when they go abroad.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See before, p.* 348. *not.* e. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *See chap.* 24.

the knowledge thereof *is* with GOD alone; and he will not inform thee: peradventure the hour is nigh *at hand.* Verily GOD hath curſed the infidels, and hath prepared for them a fierce fire, wherein they ſhall remain for ever: they ſhall find no patron or defender. On the day *whereon* their faces ſhall be rolled in *hell* fire, they ſhall ſay, O that we had obeyed GOD, and had obeyed *his* apoſtle! And they ſhall ſay, O LORD, verily we have obeyed our lords, and our great men; and they have ſeduced us from the *right* way. O LORD, give them the double of *our* puniſhment; and curſe them with a heavy curſe! O true believers, be not as thoſe who injured MOSES; but GOD cleared him from *the ſcandal* which they had ſpoken *concerning him* [a]; and he was of great conſideration in the ſight of GOD [b]. O true believers, fear GOD, and ſpeak words well-directed; that *GOD* may correct your works for you, and may forgive you your ſins: and whoever ſhall obey GOD and his apoſtle, ſhall enjoy great felicity. We propoſed the faith unto the heavens, and the earth, and the mountains: and they refuſed to undertake the ſame, and were afraid thereof; but man undertook it [c]: verily he was unjuſt *to himſelf*, and fooliſh:

[a] *Be not as thoſe who injured* MOSES, *&c.*] The commentators are not agreed what this injury was. Some ſay that *Moſes* uſing to waſh himſelf apart, certain malicious people gave out that he had a rupture (or, ſay others, that he was a leper, or an hermaphrodite,) and for that reaſon was aſhamed to waſh with them: but GOD cleared him from this aſperſion, by cauſing the ſtone on which he had laid his cloaths while he waſhed, to run away with them into the camp, whither *Moſes* followed it naked; and by that means the *Iſraelites*, in the midſt of whom he was gotten ere he was aware, plainly perceived the falſhood of the report. Others ſuppoſe *Karûn*'s accuſation of *Moſes* is here intended [1], or elſe the ſuſpicion of *Aaron*'s murder, which was caſt on *Moſes* becauſe he was with him when he died on mount *Hor*; of which latter he was juſtified by the angels bringing his body and expoſing it to public view, or, ſay ſome, by the teſtimony of *Aaron* himſelf, who was raiſed to life for that purpoſe [2].

The paſſage is ſaid to have been occaſioned by ſome reflections which were caſt on *Mohammed*, on his dividing certain ſpoils; and that when they came to his ear, he ſaid, GOD *be merciful unto my brother* Moſes: *he was wronged more than this, and bore it with patience* [3].

[b] *He was of great conſideration in the ſight of* GOD;] Some copies for *inda* read *abda*, according to which the words ſhould be tranſlated, *And he was an illuſtrious ſervant of* GOD.

[c] *We propoſed the faith unto the heavens, and the earth, and the mountains*, &c.] By faith is here underſtood entire obedience to the law of GOD, which is repreſented to be of ſo high concern, (no leſs than eternal happineſs or miſery depending on the obſervance or neglect thereof,) and ſo difficult in the performance, that if GOD ſhould propoſe the ſame, on the conditions annexed, to the vaſter parts of the creation, and they had underſtanding to comprehend the offer, they would decline it, and not dare to take on them a duty, the failing wherein muſt be attended with ſo terrible a conſequence; and yet man is ſaid to have undertaken it, notwithſtanding his weakneſs and the infirmities of his nature. Some imagine this propoſal is not hypothetical, but was actually made to the heavens, earth, and mountains, which at their firſt creation were endued with reaſon, and that GOD told them he had made a law, and had created paradiſe for the recompenſe of ſuch as were obedient to it, and hell for the puniſhment of the diſobedient; to which they anſwered, they were content to be obliged to perform the ſervices for which they were created, but would not undertake to fulfil the divine law on thoſe conditions, and therefore deſired neither reward nor puniſhment; they add, that when *Adam* was created, the ſame offer was made him, and he accepted it [4]. The commentators have other explications of this paſſage, which it would be too prolix to tranſcribe.

[1] *See chap.* 28. *p.* 323. [2] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Al* BOKHARI.
[4] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI.

fooliſh [a]: that GOD may puniſh the hypocritical men, and the hypocritical women, and the idolaters, and the idolatreſſes; and that GOD may be turned unto the true believers, both men and women; for GOD is gracious *and* merciful.

[a] *He was unjuſt to himſelf and fooliſh*;] Unjuſt to himſelf, in not fulfilling his engagements and obeying the law he had accepted; and fooliſh, in not conſidering the conſequence of his diſobedience and neglect.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Intitled, SABA [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

PRAISE be to GOD, unto whom *belongeth* whatever *is* in the heavens and on earth: and unto him *be* praiſe in the world to come; for he *is* wiſe *and* intelligent. He knoweth whatſoever entreth into the earth [b], and whatſoever cometh out of the ſame [c], and whatſoever deſcendeth from heaven [d], and whatſoever aſcendeth thereto [e]: and he *is* merciful *and* ready to forgive. The unbelievers ſay, The hour *of judgment* will not come unto us. Anſwer, Yea, by my LORD, it will ſurely come unto you; *it is he* who knoweth the hidden ſecret: the weight of an ant, either in heaven or in earth, is not abſent from him, nor any thing leſſer than this or greater, but *the ſame is written* in the perſpicuous book *of his decrees*; that he may recompenſe thoſe who ſhall have believed, and wrought righteouſneſs: they ſhall receive pardon, and an honourable proviſion. But they who endeavour to render our ſigns of none effect, ſhall receive a puniſhment of painful torment. Thoſe unto whom knowledge hath been given, ſee that the book which hath been revealed unto thee from thy LORD is the truth, and directeth into the glorious and laudable way. The unbelievers ſay *to one another*, Shall we ſhew you a man who ſhall propheſy unto you, that when ye ſhall have been diſperſed with a total diſperſion, ye ſhall *be raiſed* a new creature? He hath forged a lie concerning GOD, or rather he is diſtracted. But they who believe not in the life to come, ſhall *fall* into puniſhment and a wide error. Have they not therefore conſidered what is before them, and what is behind them, of the heaven and the earth? If we pleaſe, we will cauſe the earth to open and ſwallow them up, or will cauſe

[a] Mention is made of the people of *Saba* in the fifteenth verſe.

[b] *Whatſoever entreth into the earth*;] As the rain, hidden treaſures, the dead, *&c.*

[c] *And whatſoever cometh out of the ſame*;] As animals, plants, metals, ſpring-water, *&c.*

[d] *Whatſoever deſcendeth from heaven*;] As the angels, ſcriptures, decrees of GOD, rain, thunder and lightning, *&c.*

[e] *And whatſoever aſcendeth thereto*;] As the angels, men's works, vapours, ſmoke, *&c* [1].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

cauſe a piece of the heaven to fall upon them: verily herein is a ſign unto every ſervant, who turneth *unto* GOD. We heretofore beſtowed on DAVID excellence from us: *and we ſaid*, O mountains, ſing alternate praiſes with him; and *we obliged* the birds *alſo to join therein* [a]. And we ſoftened the iron for him, *ſaying*, Make *thereof* complete coats of mail [b], and rightly diſpoſe the ſmall plates *which compoſe the ſame*: and work ye righteouſneſs, *O family of DAVID*; for I ſee that which ye do. And *we made* the wind *ſubject* unto SOLOMON [c]: *it blew* in the morning for a month, and in the evening for a month. And we made a fountain of molten braſs to flow for him [d]. And ſome of the genii *were obliged* to work in his preſence, by the will of his LORD; and whoever of them turned aſide from our command, we will cauſe him to taſte the pain of hell fire [e]. They made for him whatever he pleaſed, of palaces, and ſtatues [f], and large diſhes like fiſhponds [g], and cauldrons ſtanding firm *on their trevets* [h]; *and we ſaid*, Work *righteouſneſs*, O family of DAVID, with thankſgiving; for few of my ſervants are thankful. And when we had decreed that *SOLOMON* ſhould die, nothing diſcovered his death unto them, except the creeping thing of the earth, which gnawed his ſtaff [i]. And when

Z z *his*

[a] See chap. 21. p. 270.

[b] See ibid. p. 271.

[c] See ibid. and chap. 27. p. 311.

[d] *A fountain of molten braſs*;] This fountain they ſay was in *Yaman*, and flowed three days in a month [1].

[e] *We will cauſe him to taſte the pain of hell fire*;] Or, as ſome expound the words, *We cauſed him to taſte the pain of burning*; by which they underſtand the correction the diſobedient *genii* received at the hands of the angel ſet over them, who whipped them with a whip of fire.

[f] *Statues*;] Some ſuppoſe theſe were images of the angels and prophets, and that the making of them was not then forbidden; or elſe that they were not ſuch images as were forbidden by the law. Some ſay theſe ſpirits made him two lions, which were placed at the foot of his throne, and two eagles, which were ſet above it; and that when he mounted it the lions ſtretched out their paws, and when he ſat down the eagles ſhaded him with their wings [2].

[g] *Diſhes like fiſhponds*;] Being ſo monſtrouſly large that a thouſand men might eat out of each of them at once.

[h] *And cauldrons ſtanding firm on their trevets*;] Theſe cauldrons, they ſay, were cut out of the mountains of *Yaman*, and were ſo vaſtly big that they could not be moved; and people went up to them by ſteps [3].

[i] *Nothing diſcovered his death, but the creeping thing of the earth, which gnawed his ſtaff*;] The commentators, to explain this paſſage, tell us, That *David*, having laid the foundations of the temple of *Jeruſalem*, which was to be in lieu of the tabernacle of *Moſes*, when he died, left it to be finiſhed by his ſon *Solomon*; who employed the *genii* in the work: that *Solomon*, before the edifice was quite compleated, perceiving his end drew nigh, begged of GOD that his death might be concealed from the *genii* till they had intirely finiſhed it: that GOD therefore ſo ordered it, that *Solomon* died as he ſtood at his prayers, leaning on his ſtaff, which ſupported the body in that poſture a full year; and the *genii*, ſuppoſing him to be alive, continued their work during that term, at the expiration whereof the temple being perfectly compleated, a worm, which had gotten into the ſtaff, eat it through, and the corps fell to the ground and diſcovered the king's death [4].

Poſſibly this fable of the temple's being built by *genii*, and not by men, might take its riſe from what is mentioned in ſcripture, that *the houſe was built of ſtone made ready before it was brought thither; ſo that there was neither hammer, nor ax, nor any tool of iron heard in the houſe while it was building* [5]: the *Rabbins* indeed tell us of a worm, which might aſſiſt the workmen, its vertue being ſuch as to cauſe the rocks and ſtones to fly in ſunder [6]. Whether the worm which gnawed *Solomon*'s ſtaff, were of the ſame breed with this other, I know not; but the ſtory has perfectly the air of a *Jewiſh* invention.

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem*. [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [5] 1 *Kings*, vi. 7. [6] *V.* KIMHI, *in loc.* BUXT. *Lex. Talm. p.* 2456. & SCHICKARDI *Tarich reg. Perſ. p.* 62.

his body fell down, the genii plainly perceived that if they had known that which is ſecret, they had not continued in a vile puniſhment [a]. *The deſcendants of* SABA [b] had heretofore a ſign in their dwellings; *namely*, two gardens, on the right hand and on the left [c]: *and it was ſaid unto them*, Eat ye of the proviſion of your LORD, and give thanks unto him; *ye have* a good country, and a gracious LORD. But they turned aſide *from what we had commanded them*; wherefore we ſent againſt them the inundation of AL AREM [d], and we changed their two gardens for them into two gardens producing bitter fruit, and tamariſks [e], and ſome little *fruit* of the lote-tree. This we gave them in reward, becauſe they were ungrateful: is any *thus* rewarded except the ungrateful? And we placed between them and the cities which we have bleſſed [f], cities ſituate near each other; and we made the journey eaſy between them [g], *ſaying*, Travel through the ſame by night and by day, in ſecurity. But they ſaid, O LORD, put a *greater* diſtance between our journeys [h]: and they were unjuſt unto themſelves; and we made them the ſubject of diſcourſe, and diſperſed them with a total diſperſion [i]. Verily herein are

[a] *They had not continued in a vile puniſhment*;] i. e. They had not continued in ſervile ſubjection to the command of *Solomon*, nor had gone on with the work of the temple.

[b] *The deſcendants of* Saba;] *Saba* was the ſon of *Yaſhhab*, the ſon of *Yârab*, the ſon of *Kahtân*, whoſe poſterity dwelt in *Yaman*, in the city of *Mâreb*, called alſo *Saba*, about three days journey from *Sanaa*.

[c] *Two gardens, one on the right hand, and the other on the left*;] That is, two tracts of land, one on this ſide of their city, and the other on that, planted with trees, and made into gardens, which lay ſo thick and cloſe together, that each tract ſeemed to be one continued garden: or, it may be, every houſe had a garden on each hand of it [1].

[d] *The inundation of* al Arem;] The commentators ſet down ſeveral ſignifications of the word *al Arem*, which are ſcarce worth mentioning: it moſt properly ſignifies *mounds* or *dams* for the ſtopping or containing of water, and is here uſed for that ſtupendous *mound* or building which formed the vaſt reſervoir above the city of *Saba*, deſcribed in another place [2], and which, for the great impiety, pride, and inſolence of the inhabitants, was broken down in the night by a mighty flood, and occaſioned a terrible deſtruction [3]. *Al Beidâwi* ſuppoſes this mound was the work of queen *Balkis*, and that the above-mentioned cataſtrophe happened after the time of JESUS CHRIST; wherein he ſeems to be miſtaken.

[e] *Tamariſks*;] A low ſhrub bearing no fruit, and delighting in ſaltiſh and barren ground.

[f] *The cities which we have bleſſed*;] viz. The cities of *Syria*.

[g] *We made the journey eaſy between them*;] By reaſon of their near diſtance, ſo that during the whole journey a traveller might reſt in one town during the heat of the day, and in another at night; nor was he obliged to carry proviſions with him [4].

[h] *Put a greater diſtance between our journeys*;] This petition they made out of covetouſneſs, that the poor being obliged to be longer on the road, they might make greater advantage in letting out their cattle, and furniſhing the travellers with proviſion: and GOD was pleaſed to puniſh them by granting them their wiſh, and permitting moſt of the cities, which were between *Saba* and *Syria*, to be ruined and abandoned [5].

[i] *We made them the ſubject of diſcourſe, and diſperſed them with a total diſperſion*;] For the neighbouring nations juſtly wondred at ſo ſudden and unforeſeen a revolution in the affairs of this once flouriſhing people: whence it became a proverbial ſaying, to expreſs a total diſperſion, that *they were gone and ſcattered like* Saba [6].

Of the deſcendants of *Saba* who quitted their country, and ſought new ſettlements on this inundation, the tribe of *Ghaſſân* went into *Syria*, the tribe of *Anmâr* to *Yathreb*, the tribe of *Jodhâm* to

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 10. [3] *See ibid.* [4] JALLAI. *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] *Idem.* [6] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* GOL. *not. in Alfrag. p.* 87.

are ſigns, unto every patient, grateful perſon. And EBLIS found his opinion of them to be true [a]: and they followed him, except a party of the true believers [b]: and he had no power over them, unleſs *to tempt them*, that we might know him who believed in the life to come, from him who doubted thereof. Thy LORD obſerveth all things. Say *unto the idolaters*, Call upon thoſe whom ye imagine *to be gods*, beſides GOD: they are not maſters of the weight of an ant in heaven or on earth, neither have they any ſhare in *the creation or government of* the ſame; nor is any of them aſſiſtant to him *therein*. No interceſſion will be of ſervice in his preſence, except *the interceſſion* of him to whom he ſhall grant permiſſion *to intercede for others* [c]: *and they ſhall wait in ſuſpenſe* until, when the terror ſhall be taken off from their hearts [d], they ſhall ſay *to one another*, What doth your LORD ſay? They ſhall anſwer, That which is juſt: and he *is* the high, the great GOD. Say, Who provideth food for you from heaven and earth? Anſwer, GOD: and either we, or ye, follow *the true* direction, or *are* in a manifeſt error. Say, Ye ſhall not be examined concerning what we ſhall have committed: neither ſhall we be examined concerning what ye ſhall have done. Say, Our LORD will aſſemble us together *at the laſt day*: then will he judge between us with truth; and he is the judge, the knowing. Say, Shew me thoſe whom ye have joined *as* partners with him? Nay; rather he is the mighty, the wiſe GOD. We have not ſent thee otherwiſe than unto mankind in general, a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats: but the greater part of men do not underſtand. And they ſay, When *will* this threat *be fulfilled*, if ye ſpeak truth? Anſwer, A threat *is denounced* unto you of a day which ye ſhall not retard one hour, neither ſhall ye haſten. The unbelievers ſay, We will by no means believe in this KORAN, nor in that which *hath been revealed* before it [e]. But if thou couldeſt ſee when the unjuſt doers ſhall be ſet before their LORD! They will iterate diſcourſe with one another: thoſe who were eſteemed weak ſhall ſay unto thoſe who behaved themſelves arrogantly [f], *Had it* not *been for* you, verily we had been true believers.

to *Tehâmah*, the tribe of *al Azd* to *Omân* [1], the tribe of *Tay* to *Najd*, the tribe of *Khozâah* to *Batn Marr* near *Mecca*, *Banu Amela* to a mountain, thence called the mountain of *Amela*, near *Damaſcus*, and others went to *Hira* in *Irâk* [2]; &c.

[a] Eblîs *found his opinion of them to be true*;] Either his opinion of the *Sabæans*, when he ſaw them addicted to pride and ingratitude, and the ſatisfying their luſts; or elſe the opinion he entertained of all mankind at the fall of *Adam*, or at his creation, when he heard the angels ſay, *Wilt thou place in the earth one who will do evil therein, and ſhed blood* [3]?

[b] *Except a party of the true believers*;] Who were ſaved from the common deſtruction.

[c] See chap. 19. p. 255.

[d] *When the terror ſhall be taken off from their hearts*;] i. e. From the hearts of the interceſſors, and of thoſe for whom GOD ſhall allow them to intercede, by the permiſſion which he ſhall then grant them; for no angel or prophet ſhall dare to ſpeak at the laſt day without the divine leave.

[e] *Nor in that which hath been revealed before it*;] It is ſaid that the infidels of *Mecca*, having inquired of the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* concerning the miſſion of *Mohammed*, were aſſured by them, that they found him deſcribed as the prophet who ſhould come, both in the Pentateuch and in the Goſpel; at which they were very angry, and brake out into the words here recorded [+].

[f] See chap. 14. p. 207. not. a.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *V.* POC. *ſpec. p.* 42, 45, & 66. [3] *See chap.* 2. *p.* 4. *chap.* 7. *p.* 117. *and chap.* 15. *p.* 212, &c. [+] *Al* BEIDAWI.

lievers. They who behaved themſelves arrogantly ſhall ſay unto thoſe who were eſteemed weak, Did we turn you aſide from the *true* direction, after it had come unto you? On the contrary, ye acted wickedly *of your own free choice*. And they who were eſteemed weak ſhall ſay unto thoſe who behaved with arrogance, Nay, but the crafty plot *which ye deviſed* by night and by day, *occaſioned our ruin*; when ye commanded us that we ſhould not believe in GOD, and that we ſhould ſet up *other gods as* equals unto him. And they ſhall conceal their repentance [a], after they ſhall have ſeen the puniſhment *prepared for them*. And we will put yokes on the necks of thoſe who ſhall have diſbelieved: ſhall they be rewarded any otherwiſe than *according to* what they ſhall have wrought? We have ſent no warner unto *any* city, but the inhabitants thereof who lived in affluence ſaid, Verily we believe not that with which ye are ſent. And *thoſe of MECCA alſo* ſay, We abound in riches and children more *than ye*; and we ſhall not be puniſhed *hereafter*. Anſwer, Verily my LORD will beſtow proviſion in abundance unto whom he pleaſeth, and will be ſparing *unto whom he pleaſeth:* but the greater part of men know not *this*. Neither your riches nor your children *are the things* which ſhall cauſe you to draw nigh unto us with a near approach: only whoever believeth, and worketh righteouſneſs, they ſhall receive a double reward for that which they ſhall have wrought; and they ſhall *dwell* in ſecurity, in the upper apartments *of paradiſe*. But they who ſhall endeavour to render our ſigns of none effect, ſhall be delivered up to puniſhment. Say, Verily my LORD will beſtow proviſion in abundance unto whom he pleaſeth of his ſervants, and will be ſparing unto *whom he pleaſeth:* and whatever thing ye ſhall give in alms, he will return it; and he is the beſt provider of food. On a certain day he ſhall gather them all together: then ſhall he ſay unto the angels, Did theſe worſhip you? *And the angels* ſhall anſwer, GOD forbid! thou art our friend, and not theſe: but they worſhipped devils; the greater part of them believed in them. On this day the one of you ſhall not be able either to profit or to hurt the other. And we will ſay unto thoſe who have acted unjuſtly, Taſte ye the pain of *hell* fire, which ye rejected as a falſhood. When our evident ſigns are read unto them, they ſay *of thee, O MOHAMMED*, This is no other than a man, who ſeeketh to turn you aſide from *the gods* which your fathers worſhipped. And they ſay *of the KORAN*, This is no other than a lie blaſphemouſly forged. And the unbelievers ſay of the truth, when it is come unto them, This is no other than manifeſt ſorcery: yet we have given them no books *of ſcripture* wherein to exerciſe themſelves, nor have we ſent unto them any warner before thee. They who were before them *in like manner* accuſed *their prophets* of impoſture: but *theſe* have not arrived unto the tenth part of *the riches and ſtrength* which we had beſtowed on *the former:* and they accuſed my apoſtles of impoſture; and how *ſevere* was my vengeance! Say, Verily I adviſe you unto one thing, *namely*, that ye ſtand before GOD by two and two, and ſingly [b]; and

[a] See chap. 10. p. 171. not. a.

[b] *That ye ſtand before* GOD *by two and two, or ſingly*, &c.] i. e. That ye ſet your ſelves to deliberate and judge of me and my pretenſions

and then conſider ſeriouſly, *and you will find that* there is no madneſs in your companion *MOHAMMED*: he *is* no other than a warner unto you, *ſent* before a ſevere puniſhment. Say, I aſk not of you any reward *for my preaching* [a]; it is your own, *either to give or not* [b]: my reward *is to be expected* from GOD alone; and he is witneſs over all things. Say, Verily my LORD ſendeth down the truth *to his prophets: he is* the knower of ſecrets. Say, Truth is come, and falſhood is vaniſhed, and ſhall not return *any more*. Say, If I err, verily I ſhall err only againſt my own ſoul: but if I be *rightly* directed, *it will be* by that which my LORD revealeth unto me; for he is ready to hear, and nigh *unto thoſe who call upon him*. If thou couldſt ſee, when the *unbelievers* ſhall tremble [c], and *ſhall find* no refuge, and ſhall be taken from a near place [d], and ſhall ſay, We believe in him! But how ſhall they receive *the faith* from a diſtant place [e]: ſince they had before denied him, and reviled the myſteries of faith, from a diſtant place? And a bar ſhall be placed between them and that which they ſhall deſire; as it hath been done with thoſe who *behaved* like them heretofore: becauſe they have been in a doubt which hath cauſed ſcandal.

ſions coolly and ſincerely, as in the ſight of GOD, without paſſion or prejudice. The reaſon why they are ordered to conſider either alone, or by two and two, at moſt, together, is, becauſe in larger aſſemblies, where noiſe, paſſion, and prejudice generally prevail, men have not that freedom of judgment which they have in private [1].

[a] *I ask not of you any reward*, &c.] *Mohammed*, having in the preceding words anſwered the imputation of madneſs, or vain enthuſiaſm, by appealing to their cooler thoughts of him and his actions, endeavours, by theſe, to clear himſelf of the ſuſpicion of any worldly view or intereſt, declaring that he deſired no ſalary or ſupport from them, for executing his commiſſion, but expected his wages from GOD alone.

[b] See chap 25. p. 301.

[c] *When the unbelievers ſhall tremble*;] viz. At their death, or the day of judgment, or the battle of *Bedr* [2].

[d] *And ſhall be taken from a near place*;] That is, from the outſide of the earth to the inſide thereof; or, from before GOD's tribunal to hell fire; or, from the plain of *Bedr* to the well into which the dead bodies of the ſlain were thrown [3].

[e] *From a diſtant place*;] i. e. When they are in the other world; whereas faith is to be received in this.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

CHAP. XXXV.

Intitled, The Creator [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

PRAISE be unto GOD, the Creator of heaven and earth; who maketh the angels *his* meſſengers, furniſhed with two, and three, and four *pair* of wings [b]: GOD

[a] Some intitle this chapter *The Angels*: both words occur in the firſt verſe.

[b] *Furniſhed with two, three, and four pair of wings*;] That is, Some angels have a greater, and

GOD maketh what addition he pleaſeth unto *his* creatures; for GOD *is* almighty. The mercy which GOD ſhall freely beſtow on mankind, *there is* none who can with-hold; and what he ſhall with-hold, *there is* none who can beſtow, beſides him: and he *is* the mighty, the wiſe. O men, remember the favour of GOD towards you: is there any creator, beſides GOD, who provideth food for you from heaven and earth? *There is* no GOD but he: how therefore are ye turned aſide *from acknowledging his unity?* If they accuſe thee of impoſture, apoſtles before thee have alſo been accuſed of impoſture: and unto GOD ſhall *all* things return. O men, verily the promiſe of GOD is true: let not therefore the preſent life deceive you, neither let the deceiver deceive you concerning GOD: for SATAN *is* an enemy unto you; wherefore hold him for an enemy: he only inviteth his confederates to be the inhabitants of hell. For thoſe who believe not *there is prepared* a ſevere torment: but for thoſe who ſhall believe and do that which is right, *is prepared* mercy and a great reward. Shall he therefore for whom his evil work hath been prepared, and who imagineth it to be good, *be as he who is rightly diſpoſed, and diſcerneth the truth?* Verily GOD will cauſe to err whom he pleaſeth, and will direct whom he pleaſeth. Let not thy ſoul therefore be ſpent in ſighs for their ſakes, *on account of their obſtinacy*; for GOD well knoweth that which they do. *It is* GOD who ſendeth the winds, and raiſeth a cloud; and we drive the ſame unto a dead country, and thereby quicken the earth after it hath been dead: ſo *ſhall* the reſurrection *be* [a]. Whoever deſireth excellence; unto GOD *doth* all excellence *belong:* unto him aſcendeth the good ſpeech; and the righteous work will he exalt. But as for them who deviſe wicked *plots* [b], they ſhall ſuffer a ſevere puniſhment; and the device of thoſe *men* ſhall be rendred vain. GOD created you *firſt* of the duſt, and afterwards of ſeed [c]: and he hath made you man and wife. No female conceiveth, or bringeth forth, but with his knowledge. Nor is any thing added unto the age of him whoſe life is prolonged, neither is any thing diminiſhed from his age, but *the ſame is written* in the book *of GOD's decrees.* Verily this is eaſy with GOD. The two ſeas are not to be held in compariſon: this *is* freſh *and* ſweet, pleaſant to drink; but that *is* ſalt *and* bitter [d]: yet out of each of them ye eat fiſh [e], and take ornaments [f] for you to wear. Thou ſeeſt the ſhips alſo plowing *the waves* thereof, that ye may ſeek *to enrich yourſelves by commerce,* of the abundance *of GOD:* peradventure ye will be thankful. He cauſeth the night to ſucceed the day, and he cauſeth the day to ſucceed the night; and he obligeth the ſun and the moon to perform their ſervices: each

and ſome a leſſer number of wings, according to their different orders; the words not being deſigned to expreſs the particular number. *Gabriel* is ſaid to have appeared to *Mohammed,* on the night he made his journey to heaven, with no leſs than ſix hundred wings [1].

[a] See chap. 29. p. 326. not. e.

[b] *Who deviſe wicked plots;*] As the *Koreiſh* did againſt *Mohammed.* See chap. 8. p. 142. not. h.

[c] See chap. 22. p. 274.

[d] *The two ſeas,* &c.] That is, The two collective bodies of ſalt water and freſh. See chap. 25. p. 300.

[e] See chap. 16. p. 215. not. e.

[f] *Ornaments;*] As pearls and coral.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

each *of them* runneth an appointed courſe. This is GOD, your LORD: his *is* the kingdom. But the *idols* which ye invoke beſides him, have not the power even over the ſkin of a date-ſtone: if ye invoke them, they will not hear your calling; and although they ſhould hear, yet they would not anſwer you. On the day of reſurrection they ſhall diſclaim your having aſſociated *them with GOD:* and none ſhall declare unto thee *the truth*, like one who is well-acquainted *therewith*. O men, ye have need of GOD; but GOD is ſelf-ſufficient, and to be praiſed. If he pleaſeth, he can take you away, and produce a new creature *in your ſtead:* neither *will* this *be* difficult with GOD. A burthened *ſoul* ſhall not bear the burthen of another: and if a heavy-burthened *ſoul* call *on another* to bear part of its *burthen*, no part thereof ſhall be born *by the perſon who ſhall be called on*, although he be *ever ſo nearly* related. Thou ſhalt admoniſh thoſe who fear their LORD in ſecret, and are conſtant at prayer: and whoever cleanſeth himſelf *from the guilt of diſobedience*, cleanſeth himſelf to *the advantage of* his own ſoul; for all ſhall be aſſembled before GOD *at the laſt day*. The blind and the ſeeing ſhall not be held equal; neither darkneſs and light; nor the cool ſhade and the ſcorching wind: neither ſhall the living and the dead be held equal [a]. GOD ſhall cauſe him to hear whom he pleaſeth: but thou ſhalt not make thoſe to hear who are in *their* graves [b]. Thou *art* no other than a preacher: verily we have ſent thee with truth, a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats. *There hath been* no nation, but a preacher hath in paſt times been *converſant* among them: if they charge thee with impoſture, they who were before them likewiſe charged *their apoſtles* with impoſture. Their apoſtles came unto them with evident *miracles*, and with *divine* writings [c], and with the inlightening book [d]: afterwards I chaſtiſed thoſe who were unbelievers; and how *ſevere* was my vengeance! Doſt thou not ſee that GOD ſendeth down rain from heaven; and that we thereby produce fruits of various colours [e]? In the mountains alſo *there are* ſome tracks white and red, of various colours [f]; and *others are* of a deep black: and of men, and beaſts, and cattle *there are* whoſe colours *are* in like manner various. Such only of his ſervants fear GOD, as are indued with underſtanding: verily GOD *is* mighty, *and* ready to forgive. Verily they who read the book of GOD, and are conſtant at prayer, and give alms out of what we have beſtowed on them, *both* in ſecret and openly, hope for a merchandize which ſhall not periſh: that GOD may fully pay them their wages, and make them a *ſuperabundant* addition of his liberality; for he *is* ready to forgive

[a] *The blind and the ſeeing ſhall not be held equal*, &c.] This paſſage expreſſes the great difference between a true believer and an infidel, truth and vanity, and their future reward and puniſhment.

[b] *Thoſe who are in their graves*;] i. e. Thoſe who obſtinately perſiſt in their unbelief, who are compared to the dead.

[c] *Divine writings*;] As the volumes delivered to *Abraham*, and to other prophets before *Moſes*.

[d] *The inlightening book*;] viz. The Law, or the Goſpel.

[e] *Of various colours*;] That is, Of different kinds. See chap. 16. p. 215.

[f] *Of various colours*;] Being more or leſs intenſe [1].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

give *the faults of his ſervants, and* to requite *their endeavours.* That which we have revealed unto thee of the book *of the* KORAN, is the truth, confirming the *ſcriptures* which *were revealed* before it: for GOD knoweth *and* regardeth his ſervants. And we have given the book *of the* KORAN in heritage unto ſuch of our ſervants as we have choſen: of them *there is one* who injureth his own ſoul [a]; and *there is another* of them who keepeth the middle way [b]; and *there is another* of them who out-ſtrippeth *others* in good *works*, by the permiſſion of GOD. This is the great excellence. They ſhall be introduced into gardens of perpetual abode; they ſhall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold and pearls, and their cloathing therein *ſhall be of* ſilk: and they ſhall ſay, Praiſe be unto GOD, who hath taken away ſorrow from us! verily our LORD *is* ready to forgive *the ſinners, and* to reward *the obedient:* who hath cauſed us to take up our reſt in a dwelling of *eternal* ſtability, through his bounty, wherein no labour ſhall touch us, neither ſhall any wearineſs affect us. But for the unbelievers *is prepared* the fire of hell: it ſhall not be decreed them to die *a ſecond time*; neither ſhall *any part* of the puniſhment thereof be made lighter unto them. Thus ſhall every infidel be rewarded. And they ſhall cry out aloud in *hell, ſaying,* LORD, take us hence, and we will work righteouſneſs, and not what we have *formerly* wrought. *But it ſhall be anſwered them,* Did we not grant you lives of length ſufficient, that whoever would be warned might be warned therein; and did not the preacher [c] come unto you? taſte therefore *the pains of hell.* And the unjuſt ſhall have no protector. Verily GOD knoweth the ſecrets *both* of heaven and earth, for he knoweth the innermoſt parts of the breaſts *of men.* It is he who hath made you to ſucceed in the earth. Whoever ſhall diſbelieve, on him *be* his unbelief: and their unbelief ſhall only gain the unbelievers greater indignation in the ſight of their LORD; and their unbelief ſhall only increaſe the perdition of the unbelievers. Say, What think ye of your deities which ye invoke beſides GOD? Shew me what *part* of the earth they have created. Or had they any ſhare in *the creation of* the heavens? Have we given unto *the idolaters* any book *of revelations,* ſo that they *may rely* on any proof therefrom *to authorize their practice?* Nay: but the ungodly make unto one another only deceitful promiſes. Verily GOD ſuſtaineth the heavens and the earth, leſt they fail: and if they ſhould fail, none could ſupport the ſame beſides him; he is gracious *and* merciful. *The* KOREISH ſwore by GOD, with a moſt ſolemn oath, that if a preacher had come unto them, they would ſurely have been more *willingly* directed than any nation: but now a preacher is come unto them, it hath only increaſed in them *their* averſion *from the truth, their* arrogance in the earth, and *their* contriving of evil; but the contrivance of evil ſhall only encompaſs the authors thereof. Do they expect any other than the puniſhment awarded againſt the *unbelievers* of former times? For thou ſhalt not find any change in the ordinance of GOD; neither ſhalt thou find any variation in

[a] *Who injureth his own ſoul*;] By not practiſing what he is taught and commanded in the *Korân.*

[b] *Who keepeth the middle way*;] That is, Who meaneth well, and performeth his duty for the moſt part, but not perfectly

[c] *The preacher*;] viz. *Mohammed.*

in the ordinance of GOD. Have they not gone through the earth, and ſeen what hath been the end of thoſe who were before them; although they were more mighty in ſtrength than they? GOD is not to be fruſtrated by any thing either in heaven or on earth; for he is wiſe *and* powerful. If GOD ſhould puniſh men according to what they deſerve, he would not leave on the back of *the earth* ſo much as a beaſt: but he reſpiteth them to a determined time; and when their time ſhall come, verily GOD will regard his ſervants.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Intitled, Y. S; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

Y. S [a]. *I ſwear* by the inſtructive KORAN, that thou art *one* of the meſſengers *of* GOD, *ſent* to *ſhew* the right way. *This is* a revelation of the moſt mighty, the merciful *GOD:* that thou mayeſt warn a people whoſe fathers were not warned, and who live in negligence. *Our* ſentence [b] hath juſtly been pronounced againſt the greater part of them; wherefore they ſhall not believe. We have put yokes [c] on their necks, which *come* up to *their* chins; and they are forced to hold up their heads: and we have ſet a bar before them, and a bar behind them [d]; and we have covered them with darkneſs; wherefore they ſhall not ſee [e]. *It ſhall be* equal unto them whether thou preach unto them, or do not preach unto them; they ſhall not believe. But thou ſhalt preach *with effect* unto him only who followeth the admonition *of the KORAN,* and feareth the Merciful in ſecret. Wherefore bear good tidings unto him, of mercy, and an honourable reward. Verily we will reſtore the

[a] The meaning of theſe letters is unknown [1]: ſome, however, from a tradition of *Ebn Abbas,* pretend they ſtand for *Ya inſân,* i. e. *O man.* This chapter, it is ſaid, had ſeveral other titles given it by *Mohammed* himſelf, and particularly that of *The heart of the* Korân. The *Mohammedans* read it to dying perſons in their laſt agony [2].

[b] *Our ſentence;*] viz. The ſentence of damnation, which GOD pronounced againſt the greater part of genii and men, at the fall of *Adam* [3].

[c] *Yokes;*] Or collars, ſuch as are deſcribed pag. 201. not. a.

[d] *We have ſet a bar before them, and a bar behind them;*] That is, We have placed obſtacles to prevent their looking either forwards or backwards. The whole paſſage repreſents the blindneſs and invincible obſtinacy, with which GOD juſtly curſes perverſe and reprobate men.

[e] It is ſaid that when the *Koreiſh,* in purſuance of a reſolution they had taken, had ſent a ſelect number to beſet *Mohammed*'s houſe, and to kill him [4], the prophet, having cauſed *Ali* to lie down on his bed to deceive the aſſaſſins, went out and threw a handful of duſt at them, repeating the nine firſt verſes of this chapter, which end here; and that they were thereupon ſtricken with blindneſs, ſo that they could not ſee him [5].

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. III. *p.* 59, *&c.*
[2] *V.* BOBOV. *De viſit. ægrot. p.* 17.
[3] *See chap.* 7. *p.* 118, *chap.* 11. *p.* 187, *&c.*
[4] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 50. [5] *V.* ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 50.

dead to life, and will write down *their works* which they ſhall have ſent before them, and their footſteps *which they ſhall have left behind them* [a]; and every thing do we ſet down in a plain regiſter. Propound unto them as an example the inhabitants of the city *of* ANTIOCH, when the apoſtles *of* JESUS came thereto [b]: when we ſent unto them two *of the ſaid apoſtles* [c]; but they charged them with impoſture. Wherefore we ſtrengthened *them* with a third [d]. And they ſaid, Verily we *are* ſent unto you *by* GOD. *The inhabitants* anſwered, Ye are no other than men, as we *are*; neither hath the Merciful revealed any thing *unto you*: ye only publiſh a lye. The *apoſtles* replied, Our LORD knoweth that we *are* really ſent unto you: and our duty is only public preaching. *Thoſe of* ANTIOCH ſaid, Verily we preſage evil from you: if ye deſiſt not *from preaching*, we will ſurely ſtone you, and a painful puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on you by us. The *apoſtles* anſwered, Your evil preſage is with yourſelves [e]: although ye be warned, *will ye perſiſt in your errors?* Verily ye *are* a people who tranſgreſs *exceedingly*. And a certain man [f] came haſtily

[a] *And the footſteps which they ſhall have left behind them*;] As their good or evil example, doctrine, *&c.*

[b] *When the apoſtles of* JESUS *came to* Antioch;] To explain this paſſage, the commentators tell the following ſtory.

The people of *Antioch* being idolaters, JESUS ſent two of his diſciples thither to preach to them: and when they drew near the city, they found *Habîb* ſurnamed *al Najjâr*, or the *carpenter*, feeding ſheep, and acquainted him with their errand; whereupon he asked them what proof they had of their veracity, and they told him they could cure the ſick, and the blind, and the lepers; and to demonſtrate the truth of what they ſaid, they laid their hands on a child of his, who was ſick, and immediately reſtored him to health. *Habîb* was convinced by this miracle, and believed; after which they went into the city and preached the worſhip of one true GOD, curing a great number of people of ſeveral infirmities: but at length, the affair coming to the prince's ear, he ordered them to be impriſoned, for endeavouring to ſeduce the people. When JESUS heard of this, he ſent another of his diſciples, generally ſuppoſed to have been *Simon Peter*; who coming to *Antioch*, and appearing as a zealous idolater, ſoon inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the inhabitants and of their prince, and at length took an oppertunity to deſire the prince would order the two perſons, who, as he was informed, had been put in priſon for broaching new opinions, to be brought before him to be examined; and accordingly they were brought: when *Peter*, having previouſly warned them to take no notice that they knew him, asked them who ſent them; to which they anſwered, GOD, who had created all things, and had no companion: he then required ſome convincing proof of their miſſion, upon which they reſtored a blind perſon to his ſight, and performed ſome other miracles, with which *Peter* ſeemed not to be ſatified, for that, according to ſome, he did the very ſame miracles himſelf, but declared that if their GOD could enable them to raiſe the dead, he would believe them; which condition the two apoſtles accepting, a lad was brought who had been dead ſeven days, and at their prayers he was raiſed to life, and thereupon *Peter* acknowledged himſelf convinced, and ran and demoliſhed the idols, a great many of the people following him, and embracing the true faith; but thoſe who believed not, were deſtroyed by the cry of the angel *Gabriel* [1].

[c] *We ſent unto them two apoſtles*;] Some ſay theſe two were *John* and *Paul*; but others name different perſons.

[d] *A third*;] viz. *Simon Peter*.

[e] *Your evil preſage is with yourſelves*;] i. e. If any evil befal you, it will be the conſequence of your own obſtinacy and unbelief. See chap. 27. p. 313. not. h.

[f] *A certain man*;] This was *Habîb al Najjâr*, whoſe martyrdom is here deſcribed: his tomb is ſtill ſhewn near *Antioch*, and is much viſited by the *Mohammedans* [2],

[1] *Al Zamakh.*, *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c. Vid. etiam* MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 580. [2] *V.* SCHULTENS, *Indic. Geogr. ad calcem Vitæ Saladini, voce Antiochia.*

haſtily from the farther parts of the city, *and* ſaid, O my people, follow the meſſengers *of* GOD; follow him who demandeth not any reward of you: for theſe are *rightly* directed. * What *reaſon* have I that I ſhould not worſhip XXIII.
him who hath created me? for unto him ſhall ye return. Shall I take *other* gods beſides him? If the Merciful be pleaſed to afflict me, their interceſſion will not avail me at all, neither can they deliver *me:* then ſhould I be in a manifeſt error. Verily I believe in your LORD; wherefore hearken unto me. *But they ſtoned him: and as he died,* it was ſaid *unto him,* Enter thou into paradiſe. *And* he ſaid, O that my people knew how merciful GOD hath been unto me! for he hath highly honoured me. And we ſent not down againſt his people, after *they had ſlain* him, an army from heaven, nor *the other inſtruments of deſtruction* which we ſent down *on unbelievers in former days* [a]: there was only one cry *of* GABRIEL *from heaven,* and behold, they *became* utterly extinct. O the miſery of men! No apoſtle cometh unto them, but they laugh him to ſcorn. Do they not conſider how many generations we have deſtroyed before them? Verily they ſhall not return unto them: but all of them in general *ſhall be* aſſembled before us. *One* ſign *of the reſurrection* unto them *is* the dead earth [b]: we quicken the ſame *by the rain,* and produce thereout *various ſorts of* grain, of which they eat. And we make therein gardens of palm-trees, and vines; and we cauſe ſprings to guſh forth in the ſame: that they may eat of the fruits thereof, and of the labour of their hands. Will they not therefore give thanks? Praiſe be unto him who hath created all the different kinds, *both* of *vegetables,* which the earth bringeth forth, and of their own ſpecies, *by forming the two ſexes,* and alſo *the various ſorts* of things which they know not. The night alſo *is* a ſign unto them: we withdraw the day from the ſame, and behold, they *are* covered with darkneſs: and the ſun haſteneth to his place of reſt [c]. This *is* the diſpoſition of the mighty, the wiſe GOD. And for the moon have we appointed *certain* manſions [d], until ſhe *change and* return *to be* like the old branch of a palm-tree [e]. It is not expedient that the ſun ſhould overtake the moon *in her courſe;* neither doth the night outſtrip the day: but each *of theſe luminaries* moveth in a *peculiar* orbit. *It is* a ſign alſo unto them, that we carry their offſpring in the ſhip filled *with merchandize* [f]; and that we have made for

[a] *Nor the other inſtruments of deſtruction, which we ſent down on unbelievers in former days;*] As a deluge, or a ſhower of ſtones, or a ſuffocating wind, *&c.* The words may alſo be tranſlated, *Nor did we determine to ſend down* ſuch executioners of our juſtice.

[b] See chap. 29. p. 326. not. e.

[c] *The ſun haſteneth to his place of reſt;*] That is, he haſteneth to run his daily courſe: the ſetting of the ſun reſembling a traveller's going to reſt. Some copies vary in this place, and inſtead of *limoſtakarrin laha,* read *la moſtakarra laha;* according to which the ſentence ſhould be rendered, *The ſun runneth* his courſe without ceaſing, *and hath not a place of reſt.*

[d] *Certain manſions;*] viz. Theſe are twenty eight conſtellations, through one of which the moon paſſes every night, thence called the *manſions* or *houſes of the moon* [1].

[e] *Until ſhe return to be like the branch of an old palm-tree;*] For when a palm-branch grows old, it ſhrinks, and becomes crooked and yellow, not ill repreſenting the appearance of the new moon.

[f] *That we carry their offſpring in the ſhip filled with merchandize;*] Some ſuppoſe that the deliverance

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 31.

them *other conveniencies* like unto it [a], whereon they ride. If we pleaſe, we drown them, and *there is* none to help them; neither are they delivered, unleſs through our mercy, and that they may enjoy *life* for a ſeaſon. When it is ſaid unto them, Fear that which is before you, and that which is behind you [b], that ye may obtain mercy; *they withdraw from thee:* and thou doſt not bring them one ſign, of the ſigns of their LORD, but they turn aſide from the ſame. And when it is ſaid unto them, Give alms of that which GOD hath beſtowed on you; the unbelievers ſay unto thoſe who believe, *by way of mockery*, Shall we feed him whom GOD can feed, if he pleaſeth [c]? Verily ye *are* in no other than a manifeſt error. And they ſay, When will this promiſe *of the reſurrection be fulfilled*, if ye ſpeak truth? They only wait for one ſounding *of the trumpet* [d], which ſhall overtake them while they are diſputing together; and they ſhall not *have time to* make any diſpoſition *of their effects*, neither ſhall they return to their family. And the trumpet ſhall be ſounded *again* [e]; and behold they ſhall come forth from *their* graves, and haſten unto their LORD. They ſhall ſay, Alas for us! who hath awakened us from our bed [f]? This is what the Merciful promiſed *us*; and *his* apoſtles ſpoke the truth. It ſhall be but one ſound *of the trumpet*, and behold, they *ſhall be* all aſſembled before us. On this day no ſoul ſhall be unjuſtly treated in the leaſt; neither ſhall ye be rewarded, but according to what ye ſhall have wrought. On this day the inhabitants of paradiſe ſhall be wholly taken up with joy: they and their wives *ſhall reſt* in ſhady groves, leaning on magnificent couches. There ſhall they have fruit, and they ſhall obtain whatever they ſhall deſire. Peace *ſhall be* the word ſpoken *unto the righteous*, by a merciful LORD: but *he ſhall ſay unto the wicked*, Be ye ſeparated this day, O ye wicked, *from the righteous*. Did I not command you, O ſons of ADAM, that ye ſhould not worſhip SATAN; becauſe he *was* an open enemy unto you? And *did I not ſay*, Worſhip me; this *is* the right way? But now hath he ſeduced a great multitude of you: did ye not therefore underſtand? This is hell, with which ye were threatened: be ye caſt into the ſame this day, to be burned; for that ye have been unbelievers. On this day we will ſeal up their mouths, *that they ſhall not open them in their own defence*; and their hands ſhall ſpeak unto us, and their feet ſhall bear witneſs

deliverance of *Noah* and his companions in the ark, is here intended: and then the words ſhould be tranſlated, *That we carried their progeny in the ark filled with living creatures.*

[a] *Other conveniencies like unto it;*] As camels, which are the *land-ſhips*; or leſſer veſſels and boats.

[b] *Fear that which is before you, and that which is behind you;*] i. e. The puniſhment of this world and of the next.

[c] *Shall we feed him whom* GOD *can feed if he pleaſes?*] When the poor *Moſlems* asked alms of the richer *Koreiſh*, they told them that if GOD could provide for them, as they imagined, and did not, it was an argument that they deſerved not his favour ſo well as themſelves: whereas GOD permits ſome to be in want, to try the rich and exerciſe their charity.

[d] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 82, 83. and the notes to chap. 39.

[e] See ibid.

[f] *Who hath awakened us from our bed?*] For they ſhall ſleep during the interval between theſe two blaſts of the trumpet, and ſhall feel no pain [1].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN.

witneſs of that which they have committed [a]. If we pleaſed we could put out their eyes, and they might run with emulation in the way *they uſe to take*; and how ſhould they ſee *their error?* And if we pleaſed we could transform them *into other ſhapes*, in their places *where they ſhould be found*; and they ſhould not be able to depart: neither ſhould they repent [b]. Unto whomſoever we grant a long life, him do we cauſe to bow down his body *through age*. Will they not therefore underſtand? We have not taught *MOHAMMED* the art of poetry [c]; nor is it expedient for him *to be a poet*. This *book is* no other than an admonition *from GOD*, and a perſpicuous KORAN; that he may warn him who is living [d]: and the ſentence *of condemnation* will be juſtly executed on the unbelievers. Do they not conſider that we have created for them, among the things which our hands have wrought, cattle *of ſeveral kinds*, of which they are poſſeſſors; and that we have put the ſame in ſubjection under them? Some of them *are* for their riding; and on ſome of them do they feed: and they receive *other* advantages therefrom; and *of their milk do they* drink. Will they not, therefore, be thankful? They have taken *other* gods, beſides GOD, *in hopes* that they may be aſſiſted *by them*; but they are not able to give them any aſſiſtance: yet *are* they a party of troops ready to *defend* them. Let not their ſpeech, therefore, grieve thee: we know that which they privately conceal, and that which they publickly diſcover. Doth not man know that we have created him of ſeed? yet behold, he is an open diſputer *againſt the reſurrection*; and he propoundeth unto us a compariſon, and forgetteth his creation. He ſaith, Who ſhall reſtore bones to life, when they are rotten [e]? Anſwer, He ſhall reſtore them to life, who produced them the firſt time: for he is ſkilled in every *kind of* creation: who giveth you fire out of the green tree [f], and behold, ye kindle *your fewel* from thence. Is not he who hath created the heavens and the earth, able to create *new creatures* like unto them? Yea certainly: for he *is* the wiſe Creator. His command, when he willeth a thing, *is* only that he ſaith unto it, Be; and it is. Wherefore praiſe be unto him, in whoſe hand is the kingdom of all things, and unto whom ye ſhall return *at the laſt day*.

CHAP.

[a] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 88.

[b] *If we pleaſed we could put out their eyes*, &c.] That is, They deſerve to be thus treated for their infidelity and diſobedience; but we bear with them out of mercy, and grant them reſpit.

[c] *We have not taught* Mohammed *the art of poetry.*] This is in anſwer to the infidels, who pretended the *Korân* was only a poetical compoſition.

[d] *Him who is living*;] i. e. Indued with underſtanding; the ſtupid and careleſs being like dead perſons [1].

[e] See chap. 16. p. 215. not. a.

[f] *Who giveth you fire out of the green tree.*] The uſual way of ſtriking fire in the eaſt, is by rubbing together two pieces of wood, one of which is commonly of the tree called *Markh*, and the other of that called *Afâr*: and it will ſucceed even though the wood be green and wet [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *V.* HYDE, *de Rel. Vet. Perſ. c.* 25. *p.* 333, &c.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Intitled, Thoſe who rank themſelves in order; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY *the angels* who rank themſelves in order [a]; and by thoſe who drive forward and diſpel *the clouds* [b]; and by thoſe who read *the* KORAN for an admonition; verily your GOD is one: the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever *is* between them, and the LORD of the eaſt [c]. We have adorned the lower heaven with the ornament of the ſtars: and *we have placed therein* a guard, againſt every rebellious devil; that they may not liſten to *the diſcourſe of* the exalted princes, (for they are darted at from every ſide, to repel *them*, and a laſting torment *is prepared* for them;) except him who catcheth a word by ſtealth, and is purſued by a ſhining flame [d]. Aſk *the* MECCANS, therefore, whether they *be* ſtronger by nature, or *the angels* whom we have created? We have ſurely created them of ſtiff clay. Thou wondreſt at *GOD's power and their obſtinacy*; but they mock *at the arguments urged to convince them:* when they are warned, they do not take warning; and when they ſee any ſign, they ſcoff *thereat*, and ſay, This *is* no other than manifeſt ſorcery: after we ſhall be dead, and become duſt and bones, ſhall we really *be* raiſed to life, and our fore-fathers alſo? Anſwer, Yea: and ye *ſhall then be* deſpicable. There ſhall be but one blaſt *of the trumpet*, and they ſhall ſee *themſelves raiſed:* and they ſhall ſay, Alas for us! this *is* the day of judgment; this is the day of diſtinction *between the righteous and the wicked*, which ye rejected as a falſhood. Gather together thoſe who have acted unjuſtly, and their comerades, and the *idols* which they worſhipped beſides GOD, and direct them in the way to hell: and ſet them *before GOD's tribunal*; for they *ſhall be* called to account. What aileth

[a] *By the angels who rank themſelves in order,* &c.] Some underſtand by theſe words the *ſouls of men* who *range themſelves* in obedience to GOD's laws, and *put away* from them all infidelity and corrupt doings; or the *ſouls* of thoſe who *rank themſelves* in battle array, to fight for the true religion, and *puſh on* their horſes to charge the infidels, *&c* [1].

[b] *Who drive forward the clouds;*] Or, who *put in motion* all bodies, in the upper and lower world, according to the divine command; or, who *keep off* men from diſobedience to GOD, by inſpiring them with good thoughts and inclinations; or, who drive away the devils from them, *&c.* [2].

[c] *The eaſt;*] The original word, being in the plural number, is ſuppoſed to ſignify the different points of the horizon, from whence the ſun riſes in the courſe of the year, which are in number 360 (equal to the number of days in the old civil year) and have as many correſponding points where it ſucceſſively ſets, during that ſpace [3]. *Marracci* groundleſly imagines this interpretation to be built on the error of the plurality of worlds [4].

[d] See chap. 15. p. 211.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem,* YAHYA. [4] MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 589.

aileth you that ye defend not one another? But on this day they ſhall ſubmit themſelves *to the judgment of* GOD: and they ſhall draw nigh unto one another, and ſhall diſpute among themſelves. *And the ſeduced* ſhall ſay *unto thoſe who ſeduced them*, Verily ye came unto us with preſages of proſperity [a]; *and the ſeducers* ſhall anſwer, Nay, rather ye were not true believers: for we had no power over you *to compel you*; but ye were people who *voluntarily* tranſgreſſed: wherefore the ſentence of our LORD hath been juſtly pronounced againſt us, *and* we ſhall ſurely taſte *his vengeance*. We ſeduced you; *but* we alſo erred ourſelves. They *ſhall both* therefore *be* made partakers of the *ſame* puniſhment on that day. Thus will we deal with the wicked: becauſe, when it is ſaid unto them, There is no god beſides *the true* GOD, they ſwell with arrogance, and ſay, Shall we abandon our gods for a diſtracted poet? Nay; he cometh with the truth, and beareth witneſs to the *former* apoſtles. Ye ſhall ſurely taſt the painful torment *of hell*; and ye ſhall not be rewarded, but according to your works. But *as for* the ſincere ſervants of GOD, they ſhall have a certain proviſion *in paradiſe*, *namely*, *delicious* fruits: and they *ſhall be* honoured: *they ſhall be placed* in gardens of pleaſure, *leaning* on couches, oppoſite to one another [b]: a cup ſhall be carried round unto them, *filled* from a limpid fountain, for the delight of thoſe who drink: it ſhall not oppreſs the underſtanding, neither ſhall they be inebriated therewith. And near them *ſhall lie the virgins of paradiſe*, refraining their looks *from beholding any beſides their ſpouſes*, having large black eyes, *and* reſembling the eggs *of an oſtrich* covered *with feathers from the duſt* [c]. And they ſhall turn the one unto the other, and ſhall aſk one another queſtions. And one of them ſhall ſay, Verily I had an intimate friend *while I lived in the world*, who ſaid *unto me*, Art thou one of thoſe who aſſerteſt the truth *of the reſurrection?* After we ſhall be dead, and reduced to duſt and bones, ſhall we ſurely be judged? *Then* he ſhall ſay *to his companions*, Will ye look down? And he ſhall look down, and ſhall ſee him in the midſt of hell: *and* he ſhall ſay *unto him*, By GOD, it wanted little but thou hadſt drawn me into ruin; and *had it* not *been* for the grace of my LORD, I had ſurely been *one* of thoſe who have been delivered up *to eternal torment*. Shall we die any other than our firſt death; or do we ſuffer any puniſhment? Verily this is great felicity: for *the obtaining* a *felicity* like this let the labourers labour. Is this a better entertainment, or the tree of AL ZAKKUM [d]? Verily we have deſigned the ſame for an occaſion of diſpute unto the unjuſt [e]. It is a tree which iſſueth from the bottom of hell: the fruit thereof reſembleth the

[a] *With preſages of proſperity*;] Literally, *from the right-hand*. The words may alſo be rendred, *with force*, to compel us; or, *with an oath*, ſwearing that ye were in the right.

[b] See chap. 15. p. 212. not. e.

[c] *Reſembling the eggs of an oſtrich*, &c.] This may ſeem an odd compariſon to an *European*; but the orientals think nothing comes ſo near the colour of a fine woman's skin, as that of an oſtrich's egg when kept perfectly clean.

[d] *Al Zakkûm*.] There is a thorny tree ſo called, which grows in *Tehâma*, and bears fruit like an almond, but extremely bitter; and therefore the ſame name is given to this infernal tree.

[e] *An occaſion of diſpute*;] The infidels not conceiving how a tree could grow in hell, where the ſtones themſelves ſerve for fewel.

the heads of devils [a]; and *the damned* ſhall eat of the ſame, and ſhall fill *their* bellies therewith; and *there ſhall be given* them thereon a mixture of filthy and boiling water to drink: afterwards ſhall they return into hell [b]. They found their fathers going aſtray, and they trod haſtily in their foot-ſteps: for the greater part of the ancients erred before them. And we ſent warners unto them heretofore: and ſee how *miſerable* was the end of thoſe who were warned; except the ſincere ſervants of GOD. NOAH called on us in former days, and we heard him graciouſly: and we delivered him and his family out of the great diſtreſs; and we cauſed his off-ſpring *to be* thoſe who ſurvived *to people the earth:* and we left *the following ſalutation to be beſtowed* on him by the lateſt poſterity, *namely*, Peace *be* on NOAH among all creatures! Thus do we reward the righteous; for he *was one* of our ſervants the true believers. Afterwards we drowned the others. ABRAHAM alſo *was* of his religion [c]: when he came unto his LORD with a perfect heart. When he ſaid unto his father and his people, What do ye worſhip? Do ye chooſe falſe gods preferably to *the true* GOD? What therefore *is* your opinion of the LORD of all creatures? And he looked and obſerved the ſtars, and ſaid, Verily I *ſhall be* ſick [d], *and ſhall not aſſiſt at your ſacrifices:* and they turned their backs and departed from him [e]. And *ABRAHAM* went privately to their gods, and ſaid *ſcoffingly unto them*, Do ye not eat *of the meat which is ſet before you?* What aileth you that ye ſpeak not? And he turned upon them, and ſtruck *them* with his right hand, *and demoliſhed them.* And *the people* came haſtily unto him: *and* he ſaid, Do ye worſhip the *images* which ye carve? whereas GOD hath created you, and alſo that which ye make. They ſaid, Build a pile for him, and caſt him into the glowing fire. And they deviſed a plot againſt him; but we made them the inferior, *and delivered him* [f]. And *ABRAHAM* ſaid, Verily I *am* going unto my LORD [g], who will direct me. O LORD, grant me a righteous *iſſue.* Wherefore we acquainted him *that he ſhould have a ſon, who ſhould be* a meek youth. And when he had attained to *years of* diſcretion [h], *and could join in acts of religion* with him; *ABRAHAM* ſaid *unto him*, O my ſon, verily I ſaw in a dream that I ſhould offer thee in ſacrifice:

[a] *Of devils;*] Or of ſerpents ugly to behold: the original word ſignifies both.

[b] *Afterwards ſhall they return into hell.*] Some ſuppoſe that the entertainment above mentioned will be the welcome given the damned before they enter that place; and others, that they will be ſuffered to come out of hell from time to time, to drink their ſcalding liquor.

[c] Abraham *alſo was of his religion;*] For *Noah* and he agreed in the fundamental points both of faith and practice; tho' the ſpace between them was no leſs than 2640 years [1].

[d] *And he obſerved the ſtars, and ſaid, I ſhall be ſick;*] He made as if he gathered ſo much from the aſpect of the heavens (the people being greatly addicted to the ſuperſtitions of aſtrology) and made it his excuſe for being abſent from their feſtival, to which they had invited him.

[e] *And they turned their backs,* &c.] Fearing he had ſome contagious diſtemper [2].

[f] See chap. 21. p. 268, *&c.*

[g] *Unto my* LORD;] i. e. Whither he hath commanded me.

[h] *To years of diſcretion;*] He was then thirteen years old [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

fice [a]: conſider therefore what thou art of opinion *I ſhould do.* He anſwered, O my father, do what thou art commanded: thou ſhalt find me, if GOD pleaſe, a patient perſon. And when they had ſubmitted themſelves *to the divine will*, and *ABRAHAM* had laid *his ſon* proſtrate on his face [b], we cried unto him, O ABRAHAM, now haſt thou verified the viſion. Thus do we reward the righteous. Verily this was a manifeſt trial. And we ranſomed him with a noble victim [c]. And we left *the following ſalutation to be beſtowed* on him by the lateſt poſterity, *namely*, Peace *be* on ABRAHAM! Thus do we reward the righteous: for he *was one* of our faithful ſervants. And we rejoiced him with the promiſe of ISAAC, a righteous prophet; and we bleſſed him and ISAAC: and of their off-ſpring *were* ſome righteous doers, and *others* who manifeſtly injured their own ſouls. We were alſo gracious unto MOSES and AARON, heretofore: and we delivered them and their people from a great diſtreſs. And we aſſiſted them *againſt the EGYPTIANS*; and they became the conquerors. And we gave them the perſpicuous book *of the law*, and we directed them into the right way: and we left *the following ſalutation to be beſtowed* on them by the lateſt poſterity, *namely*, Peace *be* on MOSES and AARON! Thus do we reward the righteous; for they *were two* of our faithful ſervants. And ELIAS [d] *was alſo one* of thoſe

 who

[a] *I dreamed that I ſhould ſacrifice thee,* &c.] The commentators ſay, that *Abraham* was ordered in a viſion, which he ſaw on the eighth night of the month *Dhu'lhajja*, to ſacrifice his ſon; and to aſſure him that this was not from the devil, as he was inclined to ſuſpect, the ſame viſion was repeated a ſecond time the next night, when he *knew* it to be from GOD, and alſo a third time the night following, when he reſolved to obey it, and to *ſacrifice* his ſon: and hence ſome think the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of *Dhu'lhajja* are called *Yawm altarwiya*, *yawm arafat*, and *yawm alnehr*, that is, *the day of the viſion*, *the day of knowledge*, and *the day of the ſacrifice*.

It is the moſt received opinion among the *Mohammedans* that the ſon whom *Abraham* offered, was *Iſmael*, and not *Iſaac*; *Iſmael* being his only ſon at that time: for the promiſe of *Iſaac*'s birth is mentioned lower, as ſubſequent in time to this tranſaction. They alſo alledge the teſtimony of their prophet, who is reported to have ſaid *I am the ſon of the two who were offered in ſacrifice*; meaning his great anceſtor, *Iſmael*, and his own father *Abd'allah*: for *Abd'almotallcb* had made a vow, that if GOD would permit him to find out and open the well *Zemzem*, and ſhould give him ten ſons, he would ſacrifice one of them; accordingly, when he had obtained his deſire in both reſpects, he caſt lots on his ſons, and the lot falling on *Abd'allah*, he redeemed him by offering an hundred camels, which was therefore ordered to be the price of a man's blood in the *Sonna* [1].

[b] *And had laid him proſtrate on his face.*] The commentators add, that *Abraham* went ſo far as to draw the knife with all his ſtrength acroſs the lad's throat; but was miraculouſly hindred from hurting him [2].

[c] *A noble victim;*] The epithet of *great* or *noble* is here added, either becauſe it was large and fat, or becauſe it was accepted as the ranſom of a prophet. Some ſuppoſe this victim was a ram, and, if we may believe a common tradition, the very ſame which *Abel* ſacrificed; having been brought to *Abraham* out of paradiſe: others fancy it was a wild-goat, which came down from mount *Thabîr*, near *Mecca*: for the *Mohammedans* lay the ſcene of this tranſaction in the valley of *Mina*; as a proof of which they tell us that the horns of the victim were hung up on the ſpout of the *Caaba*, where they remained till they were burnt, together with that building, in the days of *Abda'llah Ebn Zobeir* [3]; tho' others aſſure us that they had been before taken down by *Mohammed* himſelf, to remove all occaſion of idolatry [4].

[d] *Elias;*] This prophet the *Mohammedans* generally ſuppoſe to be the ſame with *al Khedr*, and

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN, *al* ZAMAKH. [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *Iidem.* [4] *V.* D'HERE. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Iſmail.*

who were ſent *by us*. When he ſaid unto his people, Do ye not fear GOD? Do ye invoke BAAL, and forſake the moſt excellent Creator? GOD *is* your LORD, and the LORD of your fore-fathers. But they accuſed him of impoſture: wherefore they ſhall be delivered up *to eternal puniſhment*; except the ſincere ſervants of GOD. And we left *the following ſalutation to be beſtowed* on him by the lateſt poſterity, *namely*, Peace *be* on ILYASIN [a]! Thus do we reward the righteous: for he *was one* of our faithful ſervants. And LOT *was alſo one* of thoſe who were ſent *by us*. When we delivered him and his whole family, except an old woman, *his wife*, *who periſhed* among thoſe that remained behind: afterwards we deſtroyed the others [b]. And ye, *O people of MECCA*, paſs by *the places where they once dwelt*, as ye journey in the morning, and by night: will ye not therefore underſtand? JONAS *was alſo one* of thoſe who were ſent *by us* [c]. When he fled [d] into the loaded ſhip; and *thoſe who were on board* caſt lots among themſelves [e], and he was condemned [f]: and the fiſh ſwallowed him [g]; for he was worthy of reprehenſion. And if he had not been *one* of thoſe who praiſed GOD [h], verily he had remained in the belly thereof until the day of reſurrection. And we caſt him on the naked *ſhore*, and he *was* ſick [i]: and we cauſed a plant of a gourd [k] to grow up over him; and we ſent him to an hundred thouſand

and confound him with *Phineas* [1], and ſometimes with *Edris*, or *Enoch*. Some ſay he was the ſon of *Yaſin*, and nearly related to *Aaron*; and others ſuppoſe him to have been a different perſon. He was ſent to the inhabitants of *Baalbec* in *Syria*, the *Heliopolis* of the *Greeks*, to reclaim them from the worſhip of their idol *Baal*, or the ſun, whoſe name makes part of that of the city, which was anciently called *Becc* [2].

[a] *Ilyaſin*;] The commentators do not well know what to make of this word. Some think it is the plural of *Elias*, or, as the *Arabs* write it, *Ilyâs*, and that both that prophet and his followers, or thoſe who reſembled him, are meant thereby: others divide the word, and read *âl Yaſin*, i. e. *the family* of *Yaſin*, who was the father of *Elias* according to an opinion mentioned above: and others imagine it ſignifies *Mohammed*, or the *Korân*, or ſome other book of ſcripture. But the moſt probable conjecture is, that *Ilyâs* and *Ilyâſin* are the ſame name, or deſign one and the ſame perſon, as *Sinai* and *Sinin* denote one and the ſame mountain; the laſt ſyllable being added here, to keep up the rhime, or cadence, at the cloſe of the verſe.

[b] See chap. 7. p. 125, *&c.* and chap. 11. p. 183, *&c.*

[c] See chap. 10. p. 174.

[d] See chap. 21. p. 272.

[e] *They caſt lots*;] *Al Beidawi* ſays the ſhip ſtood ſtock ſtill, wherefore they concluded that they had a fugitive ſervant on board, and caſt lots to find him out.

[f] *He was condemned*;] i. e. He was taken by the lot.

[g] *The fiſh ſwallowed him*;] When the lot fell on *Jonas*, he cried out, *I am the fugitive*; and immediately threw himſelf into the ſea [3].

[h] *One of thoſe who praiſed* GOD;] The words ſeem to relate particularly to *Jonas*'s ſupplication while in the whale's belly [4].

[i] *He was ſick*;] By reaſon of what he had ſuffered; his body becoming like that of a new-born child [5]. It is ſaid that the fiſh, after it had ſwallowed *Jonas*, ſwam after the ſhip with its head above water, that the prophet might breathe; who continued to praiſe GOD till the fiſh came to land, and vomited him out.

The opinions of the *Mohammedan* writers, as to the time *Jonas* continued in the fiſh's belly, differ very much: ſome ſuppoſe it was a part of a day; others three days, others ſeven, others twenty, and others forty [6].

[k] *A gourd*;] The original word properly ſignifies a plant which ſpreads it ſelf upon the ground, having no erect ſtalk or ſtem to ſup-

port

[1] *See chap.* 18. *p.* 245. not. a. [2] JALLAL. *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *See chap.* 21. *p.* 272. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] *Idem.*

ſand *perſons*, or they were a greater number, and they believed: wherefore we granted them to enjoy *this life*, for a ſeaſon. Inquire of the *MECCANS* whether thy LORD hath daughters, and they ſons [a]? Have we created the angels of the female ſex? and *were* they witneſſes *thereof?* Do they not ſay of their own falſe invention, GOD hath begotten *iſſue?* and are they not really liars? Hath he choſen daughters preferably to ſons? Ye have no *reaſon* to judge thus. Will ye not therefore be admoniſhed? Or have ye a manifeſt proof *of what ye ſay?* Produce now your book *of revelations*, if ye ſpeak truth. And they make him to be of kin unto the genii [b]; whereas the genii know that they *who affirm ſuch things*, ſhall be delivered up *to eternal puniſhment*; (far be that from GOD, which they affirm *of him!*) except the ſincere ſervants of GOD. Moreover ye and that which ye worſhip ſhall not ſeduce *any* concerning *GOD*, except him who *is deſtined* to be burned in hell. There *is* none of us, but hath an appointed place: we range ourſelves in order, *attending the commands of GOD*; and we celebrate *the divine praiſe* [c]. *The infidels* ſaid, If we had been favoured with a book of divine revelations, of *thoſe which were delivered to* the ancients, we had ſurely been ſincere ſervants of GOD: yet *now the KORAN is revealed*, they believe not therein; but hereafter ſhall they know *the conſequence of their unbelief*. Our word hath formerly been given unto our ſervants the apoſtles; that they ſhould certainly be aſſiſted *againſt the infidels*, and that our armies ſhould ſurely be the conquerors. Turn aſide therefore from them, for a ſeaſon: and ſee *the calamities which ſhall afflict* them; for they ſhall ſee *thy future ſucceſs and proſperity*. Do they therefore ſeek to haſten our vengeance? Verily when it ſhall deſcend into their courts, an evil morning *ſhall it be* unto thoſe who were warned *in vain*. Turn aſide from them therefore for a ſeaſon; and ſee: hereafter ſhall they ſee *thy ſucceſs and their puniſhment*. Praiſe be unto thy LORD, the LORD who is far exalted above

port it; and particularly *a gourd*: tho' ſome imagine *Jonas*'s plant to have been a fig; and others the ſmall tree or ſhrub called *Mauz* [1], which bears very large leaves, and excellent fruit [2]. The commentators add, that this plant withered the next morning, and that *Jonas* being much concerned at it, GOD made a remonſtrance to him in behalf of the *Ninivites*, agreeable to what is recorded in ſcripture.

[a] See chap. 16. p. 218.

[b] *The Genii*;] That is, the angels, who are alſo comprehended under the name of *genii*, being a ſpecies of them. Some ſay that the infidels went ſo far as to aſſert that GOD and the devil were brothers [3]; which blaſphemous expreſſion may have been occaſioned by the *magian* notions.

[c] *There is none of us, but hath an appointed place*, &c.] Theſe words are ſuppoſed to be ſpoken by the angels, diſclaiming the worſhip paid to them by the idolaters, and declaring that they have each their ſtation and office appointed them by GOD, whoſe commands they are at all times ready to execute, and whoſe praiſes they continually ſing. There are ſome expoſitors, however, who think they are the words of *Mohammed* and his followers; the meaning being, that each of them has a place deſtined for him in paradiſe, and that they are the men who range themſelves in order before GOD, to worſhip and pray to him, and who celebrate his praiſe, by rejecting every falſe notion derogatory to the divine wiſdom and power.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *V.* J. LEON. *Deſcr. Afric. lib.* 9. GAB. SIONIT. *de Urb. Orient. ad calcem Geogr. Nub. p.* 55. & HOTTINGER. *Hiſt. Orient. p.* 78, *&c.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

what they affirm *of him!* And peace *be* on *his* apoſtles! And praiſe *be* unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures!

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Intitled S; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

S[a]. By the KORAN full of admonition[b]. Verily the unbelievers *are addicted to* pride and contention. How many generations have we deſtroyed before them; and they cried *for mercy*, but it was not a time to eſcape. They wonder that a warner from among themſelves hath come unto them. And the unbelievers ſaid, This *man is* a ſorcerer, *and* a liar: doth he affirm the gods *to be but* one GOD? Surely this *is* a wonderful thing. And the chief men among them departed[c], *ſaying to one another*, Go, and perſevere in *the worſhip of* your gods: verily this is the thing which is deſigned[d]. We have not heard *any thing like* this in the laſt religion[e]: this *is* no other than a *falſe* contrivance. Hath an admonition been ſent unto him *preferably to any other* among us? Verily they are in a doubt concerning my admonition: but they have not yet taſted my vengeance. Are the treaſuries of the mercy of thy LORD, the mighty, the munificent *GOD*, in their hands? Is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and of whatever is between them, in their poſſeſſion? *If it be ſo*, let them aſcend by ſteps *unto heaven. But* any army of the confederates ſhall *even* here be put to flight. The people of NOAH, and *the tribe of* AD, and PHARAOH the contriver of the ſtakes[f], and *the tribe of* THAMUD, and the people of LOT, and

[a] The meaning of this letter is unknown [1]: ſome gueſs it ſtands for *Sidk*, i. e. *Truth*; or for *Sadaka*, i. e. *he* (viz. *Mohammed*) *ſpeaketh the truth*: and others propoſe different conjectures, all equally uncertain.

[b] *By the* Koran, *&c.*] Something muſt be underſtood to anſwer this oath, which the commentators variouſly ſupply.

[c] *The chief men among them departed*, &c.] On the converſion of *Omar*, the *Koreiſh* being greatly irritated, the moſt conſiderable of them went in a body to *Abu Taleb*, to complain to him of his nephew *Mohammed*'s proceedings; but being confounded and put to ſilence by the prophet's arguments, they left the aſſembly, and encouraged one another in their obſtinacy [2].

[d] *This is the thing which is deſigned*;] Namely, To draw us from their worſhip.

[e] *In the laſt religion*;] i. e. In the religion which we received from our fathers; or, in the religion of JESUS, which was the laſt before the miſſion of *Mohammed* [3].

[f] *The contriver of the ſtakes*;] For they ſay *Pharaoh* uſed to tie thoſe he had a mind to puniſh, by the hands and feet to four ſtakes fixed in the ground, and ſo tormented them [4]. Some interpret the words, which may alſo be tranſlated the *lord* or *maſter of the ſtakes*, figuratively, of the firm eſtabliſhment of *Pharaoh*'s kingdom; becauſe the *Arabs* fix their tents with ſtakes [5]: but they may poſſibly intend that prince's *obſtinacy*, and *hardneſs of heart*.

[1] *See the Prel. Diſc.* §. III. *p.* 59, *&c.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] JALLALO'DDIN. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

and the inhabitants of the wood *near* MADIAN[a], accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture before them: theſe were the confederates *againſt the meſſengers of* GOD. All *of them did no other* than accuſe *their* apoſtles of falſhood: wherefore my vengeance hath been juſtly executed *upon them.* And theſe wait only for one ſounding *of the trumpet*; which there ſhall be no deferring. And they *ſcoffingly* ſay, O LORD, haſten our ſentence unto us, before the day of account. Do thou patiently bear that which they utter: and remind *them* of our ſervant DAVID, indued with ſtrength[b]; for he *was* one who ſeriouſly turned himſelf *unto* GOD. We compelled the mountains to celebrate *our* praiſe with him, in the evening and at ſun-riſe, and alſo the birds, which gathered themſelves together *unto him*[c]: all *of them* returned frequently unto him *for this purpoſe.* And we eſtabliſhed his kingdom, and gave him wiſdom and eloquence of ſpeech. Hath the ſtory of the *two* adverſaries[d] come to *thy knowledge*; when they aſcended over the wall into the upper apartment, when they went in unto DAVID, and he was afraid of them[e]? They ſaid, Fear not: *we are* two adverſaries *who have a controverſy to be decided.* The one of us hath wronged the other: wherefore judge between us with truth, and be not unjuſt; and direct us into the even way. This my brother had ninety and nine ſheep; and I had only one ewe: and he ſaid, Give her me to keep; and he prevailed againſt me in the diſcourſe *which we had together.* DAVID anſwered, Verily he hath wronged thee, in demanding thine ewe *as an addition* to his own ſheep: and many of them who are concerned together *in buſineſs*, wrong one another, except thoſe who believe and do that which is right; but how few are they! And DAVID perceived that we had tried him *by this parable*, and he aſked pardon of his LORD: and he fell down and bowed himſelf, and repented[f]. Wherefore we forgave him this *fault*; and he *ſhall be* admitted to approach near unto us, and *ſhall have* an excellent place of abode *in paradiſe.* O DAVID, verily we have appointed thee a ſovereign prince in the earth: judge therefore between men with truth; and follow not *thy own* luſt, leſt it cauſe thee to err from the way of GOD: for thoſe who err from the way of GOD, ſhall ſuffer a ſevere puniſhment, becauſe they have forgotten the day of account.

We

[a] See chap. 15. p. 213.

[b] *Indued with ſtrength*;] The commentators ſuppoſe that ability to undergo the frequent practice of religious exerciſes is here meant. They ſay *David* uſed to faſt every other day, and to ſpend one half of the night in prayer [1].

[c] See chap. 21. p. 270.

[d] *The two adverſaries*;] Theſe were two angels, who came unto *David* in the ſhape of men, to demand judgment in the feigned controverſy aftermentioned. It is no other than *Nathan*'s parable to *David* [2], a little diſguiſed.

[e] *He was afraid of them*;] Becauſe they came ſuddenly upon him, on a day of privacy; when the doors were guarded, and no perſon admitted to diſturb his devotions. For *David*, they ſay, divided his time regularly, ſetting apart one day for the ſervice of GOD, another day for rendring juſtice to his people, another day for preaching to them, and another day for his own affairs [3].

[f] *And* David *perceived that we had tried him*, &c.] The crime of which *David* had been guilty, was the taking the wife of *Uriah*, and ordering her husband to be ſet in the front of the battle to be ſlain [4].

Some ſuppoſe this ſtory was told to ſerve as an admonition to *Mohammed*, who, it ſeems, was apt to covet what was another's.

[1] *Iidem Interp.* [2] 2 *Sam.* xii. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Iidem.*

We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, in vain [a]. This *is* the opinion of the unbelievers: but woe unto thoſe who believe not, becauſe of the fire *of hell*. Shall we deal with thoſe who believe and do good works, as with thoſe who act corruptly in the earth? Shall we deal with the pious as with the wicked? A bleſſed book have we ſent down unto thee, *O* MOHAMMED, that they may attentively meditate on the ſigns thereof, and that *men* of underſtanding may be warned. And we gave unto DAVID SOLOMON; how excellent a ſervant! for he frequently turned himſelf *unto* GOD. When the *horſes* ſtanding on three feet, and touching the ground with the edge of the fourth foot, *and* ſwift in the courſe, were ſet in parade before him in the evening [b], he ſaid, Verily I have loved the love of *earthly* good above the remembrance of my LORD; *and have ſpent the time in viewing theſe horſes*, until *the ſun* is hidden by the vail of *night*: bring the *horſes* back unto me. *And when they were brought back*, he began to cut off *their* legs and *their* necks. We alſo tried SOLOMON, and placed on his throne a *counterfeit* body [c]: afterwards he turned *unto* GOD, *and* ſaid,

[a] *We have not created the heavens and the earth in vain;*] So as to permit injuſtice to go unpuniſhed, and righteouſneſs unrewarded.

[b] *When the horſes were ſet in parade before him*, &c.] Some ſay that *Solomon* brought theſe horſes, being a thouſand in number, from *Damaſcus* and *Niſibis*, which cities he had taken; others ſay that they were left him by his father, who took them from the *Amalekites*; while others, who prefer the marvellous, pretend that they came up out of the ſea, and had wings. However, *Solomon*, having one day a mind to view theſe horſes, ordered them to be brought before him, and was ſo taken up with them that he ſpent the remainder of the day, till after ſun-ſet, in looking on them; by which means he neglected the prayer, which ought to have been ſaid at that time, till it was too late: but when he perceived his omiſſion, he was ſo greatly concerned at it, that ordering the horſes to be brought back, he killed them all as an offering to GOD, except only a hundred of the beſt of them. But GOD made him ample amends for the loſs of theſe horſes, by giving him dominion over the winds [1].

[c] *We placed on his throne a counterfeit body*, &c.] The moſt received expoſition of this paſſage is taken from the following *Talmudic* fable [2].

Solomon, having taken *Sidon*, and ſlain the king of that city, brought away his daughter *Jerâda*, who became his favourite; and becauſe ſhe ceaſed not to lament her father's loſs, he ordered the devils to make an image of him for her conſolation: which being done, and placed in her chamber, ſhe and her maids worſhipped it morning and evening, according to their cuſtom. At length *Solomon* being informed of this idolatry, which was practiſed under his roof, by his vizir *Aſâf*, he broke the image, and having chaſtiſed the woman, went out into the deſart, where he wept and made ſupplications to GOD; who did not think fit, however, to let his negligence paſs without ſome correction. It was *Solomon*'s cuſtom, while he eaſed, or waſhed himſelf, to intruſt his ſignet, on which his kingdom depended, with a concubine of his named *Amîna*: one day, therefore, when ſhe had the ring in her cuſtody, a devil, named *Sakhar*, came to her in the ſhape of *Solomon*, and received the ring from her; by vertue of which he became poſſeſſed of the kingdom, and ſat on the throne in the ſhape which he had borrowed, making what alterations in the law he pleaſed. *Solomon*, in the mean time, being changed in his outward appearance, and known to none of his ſubjects, was obliged to wander about, and beg alms for his ſubſiſtence; till at length, after the ſpace of forty days, which was the time the image had been worſhipped in his houſe, the devil flew away, and threw the ſignet into the ſea: the ſignet was immediately ſwallowed by a fiſh, which being taken and given to *Solomon*, he found the ring in its belly,

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, *Al* ZAMAKH. YAHYA. *Reg. p.* 182.

[2] *V. Talm. En Jacob, part.* 2. *& Yalkut in lib.*

O LORD, forgive me, and give me a kingdom which may not be obtained by any after me [a]; for thou *art* the giver *of kingdoms*. And we made the wind ſubject to him; it ran gently at his command, whitherſoever he directed. And *we alſo put* the devils *in ſubjection under him*; *and among them* ſuch as were every way ſkilled in building, and in diving *for pearls* [b]: and others *we delivered to him* bound in chains; *ſaying*, This *is* our gift: therefore be bounteous, or be ſparing *unto whom thou ſhalt think fit* [c], without rendring an account. And he ſhall approach near unto us, and ſhall have an excellent abode *in paradiſe*. And remember our ſervant JOB [d]; when he cried unto his LORD, *ſaying*, Verily SATAN hath afflicted me with calamity and pain. *And it was ſaid unto him*, Strike *the earth* with thy foot; *which when he had done*, *a fountain* [e] *ſprang up*, *and it was ſaid to him*, This *is for thee* to waſh in, to refreſh *thee*, and to drink. And we reſtored unto him his family, and as many more with them, through our mercy; and for an admonition unto thoſe who are indued with underſtanding. And *we ſaid unto him*, Take a handful *of rods* [f] in thy hand, and ſtrike *thy wife* therewith [g]; and break not thine oath [h]. Verily we found him a patient perſon: how excellent a ſervant *was he!* for he *was* one who frequently turned himſelf *unto us*. Remember alſo our ſervants ABRAHAM, and ISAAC, and JACOB, *who were* men ſtrenuous and prudent. Verily we purified them with a *perfect* purification, through the remembrance of the life to come [i]; and they were, in our ſight, elect *and* good *men*. And remember ISMAEL, and ELISHA [k], and DHU'LKEFL [l]: for all *theſe were* good *men*. This *is* an admonition. Verily

belly, and having by this means recovered the kingdom, took *Sakhar*, and tying a great ſtone to his neck, threw him into the lake of *Tiberias* [1].

[a] *A kingdom which may not be obtained by any after me*;] i. e. That I may ſurpaſs all future princes in magnificence and power.

[b] See chap. 21. p. 271, chap. 27. p. 310, &c.

[c] *Be bounteous or be ſparing*, &c.] Some ſuppoſe theſe words relate to the *genii*, and that *Solomon* is thereby impowered to *releaſe* or to *keep in chains* ſuch of them as he pleaſed.

[d] See chap. 21. p. 271.

[e] *A fountain*;] Some ſay there were two ſprings, one of hot water, wherein he bathed; and the other of cold, of which he drank [2].

[f] *A handful of rods*;] The original not expreſſing what this handful was to conſiſt of, one ſuppoſes it was to be only a handful of dry graſs, or of ruſhes; and another that it was a branch of a palm tree [3].

[g] *Strike thy wife therewith*;] The commentators are not agreed what fault *Job*'s wife had committed, to deſerve this chaſtiſement: we have mentioned one opinion already [4]; ſome think it was only becauſe ſhe ſtaid too long on an errand.

[h] *Break not thine oath*;] For he had ſworn to give her a hundred ſtripes if he recovered.

[i] *We purified them through the remembrance of the life to come*;] Or, as the words may be interpreted, according to *al Zamakhſhari*, *We have purified them*, or *peculiarly deſtined and fitted them for paradiſe*.

[k] Eliſha;] See chap. 6. p. 107.

[l] Dhu'lkefl;] See chap. 21. p. 272. *Al Beidawi* here takes notice of another tradition concerning this prophet; *viz.* that he entertained and took care of a hundred *Iſraelites*, who fled to him from a certain ſlaughter: from which action he probably had the ſurname of *Dhu'lkefl* given him; the primary ſignification of the verb *cafala* being to *maintain* or *take care of* another. If a conjecture might be founded on this tradition, I ſhould fancy the perſon intended was *Obadiah*, the governour of *Ahab*'s houſe [5].

[1] *Al* BEID. JALLAL. ABU'LFEDA. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *See the notes to chap.* 21. *p.* 271.
[4] *See ibid.* [5] *See* 1 *Kings* xviii. 4.

rily the pious ſhall have an excellent place to return unto, *namely*, gardens of perpetual abode, the gates *whereof ſhall ſtand* open unto them. As they lie down therein, they ſhall there aſk for many *ſorts of* fruits, and for drink; and near them *ſhall ſit the virgins of paradiſe*, refraining their looks *from beholding any beſides their ſpouſes, and* of equal age *with them* [a]. This *is* what ye are promiſed, at the day of account. This *is* our proviſion; which ſhall not fail. This *ſhall be the reward of the righteous*. But for the tranſgreſſors *is prepared* an evil receptacle, *namely*, hell: they ſhall be caſt into the ſame to be burned, and a wretched couch *ſhall it be*. This let them taſte, *to wit*, ſcalding water, and corruption *flowing from the bodies of the damned*, and divers other things of the ſame kind. *And it ſhall be ſaid to the ſeducers*, This troop *which was guided by you*, ſhall be thrown, together with you, headlong *into hell:* they ſhall not be bidden welcome; for they ſhall enter the fire to be burned. *And the ſeduced* ſhall ſay *to their ſeducers*, Verily ye ſhall not be bidden welcome: ye have brought it upon us; and a wretched abode *is hell*. They ſhall ſay, O LORD, doubly increaſe the torment of him who hath brought this *puniſhment* upon us, in the fire *of hell*. And *the infidels* ſhall ſay, Why do we not ſee the men whom we numbred among the wicked, *and* whom we received with ſcorn? Or do *our* eyes miſs them? Verily this is a truth; *to wit*, the diſputing of the inhabitants of *hell* fire. Say, *O MOHAMMED, unto the idolaters*, Verily I *am* no other than a warner: and there *is* no god, except the one only GOD, the Almighty, the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatſoever *is* between them; the mighty, the forgiver *of ſins*. Say, It is a weighty meſſage, from which ye turn aſide. I had no knowledge of the exalted princes [b], when they diſputed *concerning the creation of man:* (it hath been revealed unto me only *as a proof* that I am a public preacher:) when thy LORD ſaid unto the angels, Verily I am about to create man of clay: when I ſhall have formed him, therefore, and ſhall have breathed my ſpirit into him, do ye fall down and worſhip him [c]. And all the angels worſhipped *him*, in general; except EBLIS, *who* was puffed up with pride, and became an unbeliever. *GOD* ſaid *unto him*, O EBLIS, what hindreth thee from worſhipping that which I have created with my hands? Art thou elated with vain pride? Or art thou *really* one of exalted merit? He anſwered, I am more excellent than he: thou haſt created me of fire, and haſt created him of clay. *GOD* ſaid *unto him*, Get thee hence therefore, for thou ſhalt be driven away *from mercy:* and my curſe *ſhall be* upon thee, until the day of judgment. He replied, O LORD, Reſpite me, therefore, until the day of reſurrection. *GOD* ſaid, Verily thou ſhalt be *one* of thoſe who are reſpited until the day of the determined time. *EBLIS* ſaid, By thy might *do I ſwear*, I will ſurely ſeduce them all, except thy ſervants *who ſhall be* peculiarly choſen

[a] *Of equal age with them;*] i. e. About thirty or thirty three [1].

[b] *The exalted princes;*] That is, The angels.

[c] See chap. 2. p. 5.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 99.

choſen from among them. *GOD* ſaid, *It is* a juſt ſentence; and I ſpeak the truth: I will ſurely fill hell with thee, and with ſuch of them as ſhall follow thee, altogether [a]. Say *unto the MECCANS*, I aſk not of you any reward for this *my preaching*: neither am I *one* of thoſe who aſſume a part which belongs not to them. *The KORAN* is no other than an admonition unto all creatures: and ye ſhall ſurely know what is delivered therein *to be true*, after a ſeaſon.

[a] See chap. 7. p. 117, and chap. 15. p. 211, &c.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Intitled, The Troops [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THE revelation of *this* book *is* from the mighty, the wiſe GOD. Verily we have revealed *this* book unto thee with truth: wherefore ſerve GOD, exhibiting the pure religion unto him. *Ought* not the pure religion *to be exhibited* unto GOD? But *as to* thoſe who take other patrons beſides him, *ſaying*, We worſhip them only that they may bring us nearer unto GOD; verily GOD will judge between them concerning that wherein they diſagree. Surely GOD will not direct him who is a liar, *or* ungrateful. If GOD had been minded to have had a ſon, he had ſurely choſen what he pleaſed out of that which he hath created [c]. But far be *ſuch a thing* from him! He is the ſole, the almighty GOD. He hath created the heavens and the earth with truth: he cauſeth the night to ſucceed the day, and he cauſeth the day to ſucceed the night, and he obligeth the ſun and the moon to perform their ſervices; each *of them* haſteneth to an appointed period. Is not he the mighty, the forgiver *of ſins?* He created you of one man, and afterwards out of him formed his wife: and he hath beſtowed [d] on you four pair of cattle [e]. He formeth you in the wombs of your mothers, by ſeveral gradual formations [f], within three vails of darkneſs [g]. This *is* GOD, your LORD: his *is* the kingdom: there

[a] This title is taken from the latter end of the chapter, where it is ſaid the wicked ſhall be ſent to hell, and the righteous admitted into paradiſe *by troops*.

[b] Except the verſe beginning, *Say, O my ſervants, who have tranſgreſſed againſt your own ſouls*, &c [1].

[c] *If he had been minded to have a ſon, he had choſen what he pleaſed out of that which he hath created.*] Becauſe, ſays *Al Beidâwi*, there is no being beſides himſelf, but what hath been created by him; ſince there cannot be two neceſſarily-exiſtent beings: and hence appears the abſurdity of the imagination here condemned, becauſe no creature can reſemble the Creator, or be worthy to bear the relation of a ſon to him.

[d] *He hath beſtowed*;] Literally, *He hath ſent down*; from which expreſſion ſome have imagined that theſe four kinds of beaſts were created in paradiſe, and thence ſent down to earth [2].

[e] See chap. 6. p. 114.

[f] See chap. 22. p. 274.

[g] *Within three vails of darkneſs*;] i. e. The belly, the womb, and the membranes which incloſe the embryo.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Al* ZAMAKH.

is no GOD but he. Why therefore are ye turned aſide *from the worſhip of him to idolatry?* If ye be ungrateful, verily GOD hath no need of you; yet he liketh not ingratitude in his ſervants: but if ye be thankful, he will be well pleaſed with you. A burthened *ſoul* ſhall not bear the burthen of another: hereafter ſhall ye return unto your LORD, and he ſhall declare unto you that which ye have wrought, *and will reward you accordingly*; for he knoweth the innermoſt parts of *your* breaſts. When harm befalleth a man, he calleth upon his LORD, and turneth unto him: yet afterwards, when *GOD* hath beſtowed on him favour from himſelf, he forgetteth that *Being* which he invoked before[a], and ſetteth up equals unto GOD, that he may ſeduce *men* from his way. Say *unto ſuch a man*, Enjoy *this life* in thy infidelity for a little while: *but hereafter* ſhalt thou ſurely be *one* of the inhabitants of *hell* fire. Shall he who giveth himſelf up to prayer in the hours of the night, proſtrate, and ſtanding, *and* who taketh heed as to the life to come, and hopeth for the mercy of his LORD, *be dealt with as the wicked unbeliever?* Say, Shall they who know *their duty*, and they who know *it* not, be held equal? Verily the men of underſtanding only will be warned. Say, O my ſervants who believe, fear your LORD. They who do good in this world, ſhall obtain good *in the next*[b]; and GOD's earth *is* ſpacious[c]: verily thoſe who perſevere with patience ſhall receive their recompenſe without meaſure. Say, I am commanded to worſhip GOD, and to exhibit the pure religion unto him: and I am commanded to be the firſt Moſlem[d]. Say, Verily I fear, if I be diſobedient unto my LORD, the puniſhment of the great day. Say, I worſhip GOD, exhibiting my religion pure unto him: but do ye worſhip that which ye will, beſides him. Say, Verily they *will be* the loſers, who ſhall loſe their own ſouls, and their families, on the day of reſurrection: is not this manifeſt loſs? Over them *ſhall be* roofs of fire, and under them *ſhall be* floors *of fire*. With this doth GOD terrify his ſervants: wherefore, O my ſervants, fear me. But thoſe who eſchew the worſhip of idols, and are turned unto GOD, ſhall receive good tidings. Bear good tidings therefore unto my ſervants, who hearken unto *my* word, and follow that which is moſt excellent therein: theſe *are they* whom GOD directeth, and theſe are *men* of underſtanding. Him therefore on whom the ſentence of *eternal* puniſhment ſhall be juſtly pronounced, canſt thou, O *MOHAMMED*, deliver him who *is deſtined to dwell* in the fire *of hell?* But for thoſe who fear their LORD *will be prepared* high apartments *in paradiſe*, over which *ſhall be other* apartments built; *and* rivers ſhall run beneath them: *this is* the promiſe of God; *and* GOD will not be contrary to the promiſe. Doſt thou not ſee that GOD ſendeth down water from heaven, and cauſeth the ſame to enter *and form* ſources in the earth;

[a] *He forgetteth that Being which he invoked before*;] Or, *He forgetteth the* evil *which he before prayed againſt.*

[b] *They who do good in this world, ſhall obtain good in the next*;] Or, *They who do good, ſhall obtain good even in this world.*

[c] *God's earth is ſpacious*;] Wherefore let him who cannot ſafely exerciſe his religion where he was born or reſides, fly to a place of liberty and ſecurity [1].

[d] *The firſt* Moſlem;] *i. e.* The firſt of the *Koreiſh* who profeſſeth the true religion; or the leader in chief of the *Moſlems.*

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

earth; and produceth thereby corn of various ſorts? Afterwards he cauſeth *the ſame* to wither; and thou ſeeſt it become yellow: afterwards he maketh it crumble into duſt. Verily herein is an inſtruction to men of underſtanding. Shall he, therefore, whoſe breaſt GOD hath enlarged to *receive the religion of* ISLAM, and who followeth the light from his LORD, *be as he whoſe heart is hardened?* But woe unto thoſe whoſe hearts are hardened againſt the remembrance of GOD! they are in a manifeſt error. GOD hath revealed a moſt excellent diſcourſe; a book conformable to itſelf, *and* containing repeated *admonitions*. The ſkins of thoſe who fear their LORD ſhrink for fear thereat: afterwards their ſkins grow ſoft, and their hearts *alſo*, at the remembrance of their LORD. This *is* the direction of GOD: he will direct thereby whom he pleaſeth; and whomſoever GOD ſhall cauſe to err, he ſhall have no director. Shall he therefore who ſhall *be obliged to* ſcreen himſelf with his face [a] from the ſeverity of the puniſhment on the day of reſurrection, *be as he who is ſecure therefrom?* And it ſhall be ſaid unto the ungodly, Taſte that which ye have deſerved. Thoſe who *were* before them, accuſed *their apoſtles* of impoſture; wherefore a puniſhment came upon them from whence they expected *it* not: and GOD cauſed them to taſte ſhame in this preſent life; but the puniſhment of the life to come *will* certainly *be* greater. If they were men of underſtanding, *they would know this*. Now have we propoſed unto mankind, in this KORAN, every kind of parable; that they may be warned: an Arabic KORAN, wherein there is no crookedneſs [b]; that they may fear *GOD*. GOD propoundeth as a parable a man who hath *ſeveral* companions which are at mutual variance, and a man who committeth himſelf wholly to one perſon [c]: ſhall theſe be held in equal compariſon? GOD forbid! But the greater part of them do not underſtand. Verily thou, *O MOHAMMED*, ſhalt die, and they alſo ſhall die: and ye ſhall debate *the matter* [d] with one another before your LORD, at the day of reſurrection. * Who *is* more unjuſt than he who uttereth a lie concerning GOD, XXIV.
and denieth the truth, when it cometh unto him? Is there not a dwelling *provided* in hell for the unbelievers? But he who bringeth the truth, and giveth credit thereto [e], theſe are they who fear *GOD*; they *ſhall obtain* whatever they ſhall deſire, in the ſight of their LORD: this *ſhall be* the recompenſe of the righteous: that GOD may expiate from them the *very* worſt of that which they

[a] *Who ſhall ſcreen himſelf with his face*, &c.] For his hands ſhall be chained to his neck, and he ſhall not be able to oppoſe any thing but his face to the fire [1].

[b] *Wherein there is no crookedneſs*;] *i. e.* No contradiction, defect, or doubt.

[c] GOD *propoundeth as a parable*, &c.] This paſſage repreſents the uncertainty of the idolater, who is diſtracted in the ſervice of different maſters; and the ſatisfaction of mind which attends the worſhipper of the only true GOD [2].

[d] *Ye ſhall debate the matter*, &c.] For the prophet will repreſent his endeavours to reclaim them from idolatry, and their obſtinacy: and they will make frivolous excuſes; as that they obeyed their chiefs, and kept to the religion of their fathers, *&c* [3].

[e] *He who bringeth the truth, and giveth credit thereto*;] i. e. *Mohammed* and his followers: ſome ſuppoſe that by the latter words *Abu Becr* is particularly intended, becauſe he aſſerted the prophet's veracity in reſpect to his journey to heaven.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

have wrought, and may render them their reward according to the utmoſt merit of the good which they have wrought. Is not GOD a ſufficient *protector* of his ſervant? yet they will attempt to make thee afraid of the *falſe deities* which *they worſhip* beſides GOD [a]. But he whom GOD ſhall cauſe to err, ſhall have none to direct *him:* and he whom GOD ſhall direct, ſhall have none to miſlead *him.* Is not GOD moſt mighty, able to avenge? If thou aſk them who hath created the heavens and the earth, they will ſurely anſwer, GOD. Say, Do ye think therefore that the *deities* which ye invoke beſides GOD, if GOD be pleaſed to afflict me, are able to relieve *me* from his affliction? or if he be pleaſed to ſhew mercy unto me, that they are able to with-hold his mercy? Say, GOD is my ſufficient ſupport: in him let thoſe put their truſt, who *ſeek in whom to* confide. Say, O my people, do ye act according to your ſtate; verily I will act *according to mine:* hereafter ſhall ye know on which of us will be inflicted a puniſhment that ſhall cover him with ſhame, and on whom a laſting puniſhment ſhall fall. Verily we have revealed unto thee the book *of the KORAN*, for *the inſtruction of* mankind, with truth. Whoſo ſhall be directed *thereby*, *ſhall be directed* to *the advantage of* his own ſoul; and whoſo ſhall err, ſhall only err againſt the ſame: and thou *art* not a guardian over them. GOD taketh unto himſelf the ſouls *of men* at the time of their death; and thoſe which die not *he alſo taketh* in their ſleep [b]: and he with-holdeth thoſe on which he hath paſſed the decree of death [c], but ſendeth back the others till a determined period [d]. Verily herein *are* ſigns unto people who conſider. Have *the KOREISH* taken idols for their interceſſors *with GOD?* Say, What, although they have not dominion over any thing, neither do they underſtand? Say, Interceſſion is altogether in the diſpoſal of GOD [e]: his *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and hereafter ſhall ye return unto him. When the one ſole GOD is mentioned, the hearts of thoſe who believe not in the life to come, ſhrink with horror: but when the *falſe gods*, which *are worſhipped* beſides him, are mentioned, behold, they are filled with joy. Say, O God, the creator of heaven and earth, who knoweſt that which is ſecret, and that which is manifeſt; thou ſhalt judge between thy ſervants concerning that wherein they diſagree.

[a] *They will attempt to make thee afraid of their falſe deities;*] The *Koreiſh* uſed to tell *Mohammed* that they feared their gods would do him ſome miſchief, and deprive him of the uſe of his limbs, or of his reaſon, becauſe he ſpoke diſgracefully of them. It is thought by ſome that this paſſage was verified in *Khâled Ebn alWalîd*; who being ſent by *Mohammed* to demoliſh the idol *alUzza*, was adviſed by the keeper of her temple to take heed what he did, becauſe the goddeſs was able to avenge herſelf ſeverely: but he was ſo little moved at the man's warning, that he immediately ſtept up to the idol, and broke her noſe. To ſupport the latter explication, they ſay, that what happened to *Khâled* is attributed to *Mohammed*, becauſe the former was then executing the prophet's orders [1]. A circumſtance not much different from the above-mentioned, is told of the demolition of *Allat* [2].

[b] *And the ſouls which die not, he taketh in their ſleep;*] That is, ſeemingly, and to outward appearance; ſleep being the image of death.

[c] *He with-holdeth thoſe on which he hath paſſed the decree of death;*] Not permitting them to return again into their bodies.

[d] *But ſendeth back the others;*] *viz.* Into their bodies, when they awake [3].

[e] *Interceſſion is altogether in the diſpoſal of* GOD:] For none can or dare preſume to intercede with him, unleſs by his permiſſion.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *V.* GAGNIER. *Not. in Abulf. Vit. Moh.* p. 127. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

agree. If thoſe who act unjuſtly were maſters of whatever is in the earth, and as much more therewith, verily they would give it to ranſom themſelves from the evil of the puniſhment, on the day of reſurrection: and there ſhall appear unto them, from GOD, *terrors* which they never imagined; and there ſhall appear unto them the evils of that which they ſhall have gained; and that which they mocked at ſhall encompaſs them. When harm befalleth man, he calleth upon us; yet afterwards, when we have beſtowed on him favour from us, he ſaith, I have received it merely becauſe of *GOD*'s knowledge *of my deſerts* [a]. On the contrary, it *is* a trial; but the greater part of them know *it* not. Thoſe who *were* before them, ſaid the ſame [b]: but that which they had gained, profited them not; and the evils which they had deſerved, fell upon them. And whoever of theſe *MECCANS* ſhall have acted unjuſtly, on them likewiſe ſhall fall the evils which they ſhall have deſerved [c]; neither ſhall they fruſtrate *the divine vengeance*. Do they not know that GOD beſtoweth proviſion abundantly on whom he pleaſeth, and is ſparing *unto whom he pleaſeth?* Verily herein *are* ſigns unto people who believe. Say, O my ſervants who have tranſgreſſed againſt your own ſouls, deſpair not of the mercy of GOD: ſeeing that GOD forgiveth all ſins [d]; for he is gracious *and* merciful. And be turned unto your LORD, and reſign yourſelves unto him, before the *threatened* puniſhment overtake you; *for* then ye ſhall not be helped. And follow the moſt excellent *inſtructions* which have been ſent down unto you from your LORD, before the puniſhment come ſuddenly upon you, and ye perceive not *the approach thereof*; *and* a ſoul ſay, Alas! for that I have been negligent in my duty to GOD; verily I have been *one* of the ſcorners: or ſay, If GOD had directed me, verily I had been one of the pious: or ſay, when it ſeeth the *prepared* puniſhment, If I could return once more *into the world*, I would become *one* of the righteous. But *GOD ſhall anſwer*, My ſigns came unto thee heretofore, and thou didſt charge them with falſhood, and waſt puffed up with pride; and thou becameſt *one* of the unbelievers. On the day of reſurrection thou ſhalt ſee the faces of thoſe who have uttered lies concerning GOD, become black: is there not an abode *prepared* in hell for the arrogant? But GOD ſhall deliver thoſe who ſhall fear *him, and ſhall ſet them* in their place of ſafety: evil ſhall not touch them, neither ſhall they be grieved. GOD *is* the creator of all things, and he *is* the governour of all things. His are the keys of heaven and earth: and they who believe not in the ſigns of GOD, they ſhall periſh. Say, Do ye therefore bid me to worſhip other than GOD, O ye fools? ſince it hath been ſpoken by revelation unto thee, and alſo unto *the prophets* who *have been* before thee, *ſaying*, Verily if thou join any partners *with GOD*, thy work will be altogether unprofitable, and thou ſhalt certainly

[a] *Becauſe of* GOD's *knowledge of my deſerts*;] Or by means of my own wiſdom.

[b] *Thoſe who were before them, ſaid the ſame*;] As did *Karûn* in particular [1].

[c] *On them ſhall fall the evils they have deſerved*;] As it happened accordingly: for they were puniſhed with a ſore famine for ſeven years, and had the braveſt of their warriors cut off at the battle of *Bedr* [2].

[d] GOD *forgiveth all ſins*;] To thoſe who ſincerely repent, and profeſs his unity: for the ſins of idolaters will not be forgiven [3].

[1] See chap. 28. p. 323. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] See p. 11. not. c.

tainly be *one* of thoſe who periſh: wherefore rather fear GOD, and be *one* of thoſe who give thanks. But they make not a due eſtimation of GOD [a]: ſince the whole earth *ſhall be but* his handful, on the day of reſurrection; and the heavens *ſhall be* rolled together in his right hand. Praiſe be unto him! and far be he exalted above the *idols* which they aſſociate *with him!* The trumpet ſhall be ſounded [b], and whoever *are* in heaven, and whoever *are* on earth ſhall expire; except thoſe whom GOD ſhall pleaſe *to exempt from the common fate* [c]. Afterwards it ſhall be ſounded again; and behold, they ſhall ariſe and look *up*. And the earth ſhall ſhine by the light of its LORD: and the book ſhall be laid *open* [d], and the prophets and the martyrs ſhall be brought *as witneſſes*; and judgment ſhall be given between them with truth, and they ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. And every ſoul ſhall be fully rewarded, according to that which it ſhall have wrought; for he perfectly knoweth whatever they do. And the unbelievers ſhall be driven unto hell by troops, until, when they ſhall arrive at the ſame, the gates thereof ſhall be opened: and the keepers thereof [e] ſhall ſay unto them, Did not apoſtles from among you come unto you, who rehearſed unto you the ſigns of your LORD, and warned you of the meeting of this your day? They ſhall anſwer, Yea: but the ſentence of *eternal* puniſhment hath been juſtly pronounced on the unbelievers [f]. It ſhall be ſaid *unto them*, Enter ye the gates of hell, to dwell therein forever; and miſerable *ſhall be* the abode of the proud! But thoſe who ſhall have feared their LORD, ſhall be conducted by troops towards paradiſe, until they ſhall arrive at the ſame: and the gates thereof ſhall be ready ſet open; and the guards thereof ſhall ſay unto them, Peace *be* on you! ye have been good: wherefore enter ye into *paradiſe*, to remain therein forever. And they ſhall anſwer, Praiſe be unto GOD, who hath performed his promiſe unto us, and hath made us to inherit the earth [g], that we may dwell in paradiſe whereever we pleaſe! How excellent *is* the reward of thoſe who work *righteouſneſs!* And thou ſhalt ſee the angels going in proceſſion round the throne, celebrating

[a] See chap. 6. p. 108. not. b.

[b] *The trumpet ſhall be ſounded;*] The firſt time, ſays *Al Beidawi*; who conſequently ſuppoſes there will be no more than two blaſts, (and two only are diſtinctly mentioned in the *Korân,*) tho' others ſuppoſe there will be three [1].

[c] *Except thoſe whom* GOD *ſhall pleaſe to exempt,* &c.] Theſe, ſome ſay, will be the angels *Gabriel, Michael,* and *Iſrafil,* and the angel of death, who yet will afterwards all die, at the command of GOD [2]; it being the conſtant opinion of the *Mohammedan* doctors, that every ſoul, both of men, and of animals, which live either on land, or in the ſea, and of the angels alſo, muſt neceſſarily taſte of death [3]: others ſuppoſe thoſe who will be exempted are the angels who bear the throne of GOD [4]; or the black-eyed damſels, and other inhabitants of paradiſe [5].

The ſpace between theſe two blaſts of the trumpet will be forty days, according to *Yahya* and others; there are ſome, however, who ſuppoſe it will be as many years [6].

[d] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 87.

[e] See c. 74, and the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 92.

[f] *The ſentence of eternal puniſhment hath been juſtly pronounced on unbelievers;*] See chap. 7. p. 118, chap. 11. p. 187, *&c.* It ſeems as if the damned, by theſe words, attributed their ruin to GOD's decree of predeſtination.

[g] *And hath made us to inherit the earth;*] This is a metaphorical expreſſion, repreſenting the perfect ſecurity, and abundance, which the bleſſed will enjoy in paradiſe.

[1] *See the Prel. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 83. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, YAHYA. [3] *V.* POCOCK. *not. in Port. Moſis, p.* 266. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI. [5] JALLALO'DDIN. [6] *See the Prel. Diſc. ubi ſup.*

brating the praiſes of their LORD: and judgment ſhall be given between them with truth; and they ſhall ſay, Praiſe be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures!

CHAP. XL.

Intitled, The true Believer[a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

H. M[b]. The revelation of *this* book *is* from the mighty, the wiſe GOD; the forgiver of ſin, and the accepter of repentance; ſevere in puniſhing; long ſuffering. There is no GOD but he: before him *ſhall be* the *general* aſſembly *at the laſt day*. None diſputeth againſt the ſigns of GOD, except the unbelievers: but let not their proſperous dealing in the land[c] deceive thee *with vain allurement*. The people of NOAH, and the confederated *infidels which were* after them, accuſed *their reſpective prophets* of impoſture before theſe; and each nation hatched *ill deſigns* againſt their apoſtle, that they might get him *into their power*; and they diſputed with vain *reaſoning*, that they might thereby invalidate the truth: wherefore I chaſtiſed them; and how *ſevere* was my puniſhment! Thus hath the ſentence of thy LORD juſtly paſſed on the unbelievers; that they *ſhall be* the inhabitants of *hell* fire. *The angels* who bear the throne *of GOD*, and thoſe who *ſtand* about it[d], celebrate the praiſe of their LORD, and believe in him; and they ask pardon for the true believers, *ſaying*, O LORD, thou encompaſſeſt all things by *thy* mercy and knowledge; wherefore forgive thoſe who repent, and follow thy path, and deliver them from the pains of hell: O LORD, lead them alſo into gardens of eternal abode, which thou haſt promiſed unto them, and unto every one who ſhall do right, of their fathers, and their wives, and their children; for thou art the mighty, the wiſe *GOD*. And deliver them from evil; for whomſoever thou ſhalt deliver from evil on that day, on him wilt thou ſhew mercy; and this will be great ſalvation. But the infidels, *at the day of judgment*, ſhall hear a voice crying unto them, Verily the hatred of GOD *towards you is* more grievous than your hatred towards yourſelves: ſince ye were called unto the faith, and would not believe. They ſhall ſay, O LORD,

[a] This title is taken from the paſſage wherein mention is made of one of *Pharaoh*'s family, who believed in *Moſes*.

[b] See the Prel. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, &c.

[c] *Their proſperous dealing in the land*;] By trading into *Syria* and *Yaman*. See chap. 3. p. 59. not. b.

[d] *The angels who bear the throne, and ſtand about it*;] Theſe are the *Cherubim*, the higheſt order of angels, who approach neareſt to GOD's preſence [1].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

LORD, thou haſt given us death twice, and thou haſt twice given us life [a]; and we confeſs our ſins: *is there* therefore no way to get forth *from this fire? And it ſhall be anſwered them*, This *hath befallen you*, for that when one GOD was preached *unto you*, ye believed not; but if *a plurality of gods* had been aſſociated with him, ye had believed: and judgment *belongeth* unto the high, the great GOD. *It is* he who ſheweth you his ſigns, and ſendeth down food unto you from heaven: but none will be admoniſhed, except he who turneth himſelf *unto GOD*. Call therefore upon GOD, exhibiting *your* religion pure unto him, although the infidels be averſe *thereto. He is the Being* of exalted degree, the poſſeſſor of the throne; who ſendeth down the ſpirit, at his command, on ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth; that he may warn *mankind* of the day of meeting [b], the day *whereon* they ſhall come forth *out of their graves, and* nothing of *what concerneth* them ſhall be hidden from GOD. Unto whom *will* the kingdom *belong*, on that day? Unto the only, the almighty GOD. On that day ſhall every ſoul be rewarded according to its merits: *there ſhall be* no injuſtice *done* on that day. Verily GOD *will be* ſwift in taking an account. Wherefore warn them, *O prophet*, of the day which ſhall ſuddenly approach; when *mens* hearts *ſhall come up* to their throats, and ſtrangle *them*. The ungodly ſhall have no friend or interceſſor who ſhall be heard. *GOD* will know the deceitful eye, and that which *their* breaſts conceal; and GOD will judge with truth: but *the falſe gods* which they invoke, beſides him, ſhall not judge at all; for GOD *is* he who heareth *and* ſeeth. Have they not gone through the earth, and ſeen what hath been the end of thoſe who were before them? They were more mighty than theſe in ſtrength, and *left more conſiderable* footſteps *of their power* in the earth: yet GOD chaſtiſed them for their ſins, and there was none to protect them from GOD. This *they ſuffered*, becauſe their apoſtles had come unto them with evident *ſigns*, and they diſbelieved: wherefore GOD chaſtiſed them; for he *is* ſtrong, *and* ſevere in puniſhing. We heretofore ſent MOSES with our ſigns and manifeſt power, unto PHARAOH, and HAMAN, and KARÛN; and they ſaid, *He is* a ſorcerer, *and* a liar. And when he came unto them with the truth from us, they ſaid, Slay the ſons of thoſe who have believed with him, and ſave their daughters alive [c]: but the ſtratagem of the infidels *was* no other than vain. And PHARAOH ſaid, Let me

[a] *Thou haſt given us death twice, and haſt twice given us life:*] Having firſt created us in a ſtate of death, or void of life and ſenſation, and then given life to the inanimate body [1]; and afterwards cauſed us to die a natural death, and raiſed us again at the reſurrection. Some underſtand the firſt death to be a natural death, and the ſecond that in the ſepulchre, after the body ſhall have been there raiſed to life in order to be examined [2]; and conſequently ſuppoſe the two revivals to be thoſe of the ſepulchre and the reſurrection [3].

[b] *The day of meeting*;] When the Creator and his creatures [4], the inhabitants of heaven and of earth, the falſe deities and their worſhippers, the oppreſſor and the oppreſſed, the labourer and his works, ſhall meet each other [5].

[c] *Slay their ſons, and ſave their daughters alive*;] *i. e.* Purſue the reſolution which has been formerly taken, and execute it more ſtrictly for the future. See chap. 7. p. 130. not. b.

[1] See chap. 2. p. 4. [2] *See Prel. Diſc.* §. IV. p. 76, *&c.* [3] *Al* BEID. JALLAL.
[4] See chap. 6. p. 101. [5] *Al* BEID. JALLAL.

me alone, that I may kill Moses [a]; and let him call upon his LORD: verily I fear leſt he change your religion, or cauſe violence to appear in the earth [b]. And Moses ſaid *unto his people*, Verily I have recourſe unto my LORD, and your LORD, *to defend me* againſt every proud perſon, who believeth not in the day of account. And a man *who was* a true believer, of the family of PHARAOH [c], *and* concealed his faith, ſaid, Will ye put a man to death, becauſe he ſaith, GOD *is* my LORD; ſeeing he is come unto you with evident ſigns from your LORD? If he be a liar, on him *will the puniſhment of* his falſhood *light*; but if he ſpeaketh the truth, ſome of *thoſe judgments* with which he threateneth you, will fall upon you: verily GOD directeth not him who is a tranſgreſſor, *or* a liar. O my people, the kingdom is yours this day; *and ye are* conſpicuous in the earth: but who ſhall defend us from the ſcourge of GOD, if it come unto us [d]? PHARAOH ſaid, I only propoſe to you what I think *to be moſt expedient:* and I guide you only into the right path. And he who had believed, ſaid, O my people, verily I fear for you a day like that of the confederates *againſt the prophets in former times*; a condition like that of the people of NOAH, and *the tribes of* AD, and THAMÛD, and of thoſe who *have lived* after them: for GOD willeth not *that* any injuſtice *be done* unto *his* ſervants. O my people, verily I fear for you the day whereon men ſhall call unto one another [e]; the day whereon ye ſhall be turned back *from the tribunal, and driven to hell: then* ſhall ye have none to protect you againſt GOD. And he whom GOD ſhall cauſe to err, ſhall have no director. JOSEPH came unto you, before *MOSES*, with evident *ſigns*; but ye ceaſed not to doubt of the *religion* which he preached unto you, until, when he died, ye ſaid, GOD will by no means ſend *another* apoſtle, after him. Thus doth GOD cauſe him to err, who is a tranſgreſſor, *and* a ſceptic. They who diſpute againſt the ſigns of GOD, without any authority which hath come unto them, are in great abomination with GOD, and with thoſe who believe. Thus doth GOD ſeal up every proud *and* ſtubborn heart. And PHARAOH ſaid, O HAMAN, build me a tower, that I may reach the tracts, the tracts of heaven, and may view the GOD of MOSES [f]; for I verily think him *to be* a liar. And thus the evil of his work was prepared for PHARAOH, and he turned aſide from the *right* path: and the ſtratagems of PHARAOH *ended* only in loſs. And he who had believed, ſaid, O my people, follow me: I will guide you into the right way. O my people, verily this preſent life *is* but a temporary enjoy-

[a] *Let me alone, that I may kill* Moſes;] For they adviſed him not to put *Moſes* to death, leſt it ſhould be thought he was not able to oppoſe him by dint of argument [1].

[b] *Or cauſe violence to appear in the earth.*] By raiſing of commotions and ſeditions, in order to introduce his new religion.

[c] *A true believer of the family of* Pharaoh, *&c.*] This ſeems to be the ſame perſon who is mentioned, chap. 28. p. 318.

[d] See the ſpeech of *Gamaliel* to the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, when the apoſtles were brought before them [2].

[e] *The day whereon men ſhall call unto one another;*] i. e. The day of judgment; when the inhabitants of paradiſe, and of hell, ſhall enter into mutual diſcourſe: when the latter ſhall call for help; and the ſeducers, and the ſeduced, ſhall caſt the blame upon each other [3].

[f] See chap. 28. p. 320.

1 *Al* BEIDAWI. 2 *Acts* v. 38, 39. 3 *Al* BEID. JALLALO'DDIN.

ment; but *the life* to come is the manſion of firm continuance. Whoever worketh evil, ſhall only be rewarded in equal proportion to the ſame: but whoever worketh good, whether male or female, and *is* a true believer, they ſhall enter paradiſe; they ſhall be provided for therein ſuperabundantly. And, O my people, as for me, I invite you to ſalvation; but ye invite me to *hell* fire: ye invite me to deny GOD, and to aſſociate with him that whereof I have no knowledge; but I invite you to the moſt mighty, the forgiver *of ſins*. *There is* no doubt but that the *falſe gods* to which ye invite me, deſerve not to be invoked, either in this world or in the next; and that we muſt return unto GOD; and that the tranſgreſſors ſhall be the inhabitants of *hell* fire: and ye ſhall *then* remember what I *now* ſay unto you. And I commit my affair unto GOD: for GOD regardeth his ſervants. Wherefore GOD delivered him from the evils which they had deviſed; and a grievous puniſhment encompaſſed the people of PHARAOH [a]. They ſhall be expoſed to the fire *of hell* morning and evening [b]: and the day whereon the hour *of judgment* ſhall come, *it ſhall be ſaid unto them*, Enter, O people of PHARAOH, into a moſt ſevere torment. And *think on the time* when *the infidels* ſhall diſpute together in *hell* fire; and the weak ſhall ſay unto thoſe who behaved with arrogance [c], Verily we were your followers: will ye, therefore, relieve us from *any* part of *this* fire? Thoſe who behaved with arrogance ſhall anſwer, Verily we *are* all *doomed to ſuffer* therein: for GOD hath now judged between *his* ſervants. And they who *ſhall be* in the fire, ſhall ſay unto the keepers of hell [d], Call ye on your LORD, that he would eaſe us, for one day, from *this* puniſhment. They ſhall anſwer, Did not your apoſtles come unto you with evident *proofs*? They ſhall ſay, Yea. *The keepers* ſhall reply, Do ye therefore call *on GOD*: but the calling of the unbelievers *on him* ſhall be only in vain. We will ſurely aſſiſt our apoſtles, and thoſe who believe, in this preſent life, and on the day whereon the witneſſes ſhall ſtand forth: a day, whereon the excuſe of the unbelievers ſhall not avail them; but a curſe *ſhall attend* them, and a wretched abode. We heretofore gave unto MOSES a direction: and we left as an inheritance unto the children of ISRAEL the book *of the law*; a direction, and an admonition to *men* of underſtanding. Wherefore do thou, O *prophet*, bear *the inſults of the infidels* with patience; for the promiſe of GOD *is* true: and ask pardon for thy fault [e]; and celebrate the praiſe of thy LORD, in the

[a] *A grievous puniſhment encompaſſed the people of* Pharaoh;] Some are of opinion that thoſe who were ſent by *Pharaoh* to ſeize the true believer, his kinſman, are the perſons more particularly meant in this place: for they tell us, that the ſaid believer fled to a mountain, where they found him at prayers, guarded by the wild beaſts, which ranged themſelves in order about him; and that his purſuers thereupon returned in a great fright to their maſter, who put them to death for not performing his command [1].

[b] *They ſhall be expoſed to hell fire morning and evening*;] Some expound theſe words of the previous puniſhment they are doomed to ſuffer, according to a tradition of *Ebn Maſúd*; which informs us, that their ſouls are in the crops of black birds, which are expoſed to hell fire every morning and evening until the day of judgment [2].

[c] See chap. 14. p. 207. not. a.

[d] See chap. 74.

[e] *Ask pardon for thy fault*;] In being too backward and negligent in advancing the true religion, for fear of the infidels [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

the evening and in the morning. *As to* thoſe who impugn the ſigns of GOD, without any convincing proof which hath been revealed unto them, there is nothing but pride in their breaſts [a]; *but* they ſhall not attain *their deſire:* wherefore fly for refuge unto GOD; for *it is* he who heareth *and* ſeeth. Verily the creation of heaven and earth *is* more conſiderable than the creation of man: but the greater part of men do not underſtand. The blind and the ſeeing ſhall not be held equal; nor they who believe and work righteouſneſs, and the evil-doer: how few revolve *theſe things* in their mind! The *laſt* hour will ſurely come; *there is* no doubt thereof: but the greater part of men believe *it* not. Your LORD ſaith, Call upon me; *and* I will hear you: but they who proudly diſdain my ſervice, ſhall enter with ignominy into hell. *It is* GOD who hath appointed the night for you to take your reſt therein, and the day to give *you* light: verily GOD *is* endued with beneficence towards mankind; but the greater part of men do not give thanks. This *is* God, your LORD; the Creator of all things: *there is* no GOD beſides him: how therefore are ye turned aſide *from his worſhip?* Thus are they turned aſide, who oppoſe the ſigns of God. *It is* GOD who hath given you the earth for a ſtable floor, and the heaven for a cieling: and who hath formed you, and made your forms beautiful; and feedeth you with good things. This *is* GOD, your LORD. Wherefore bleſſed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures! He *is* the living *GOD: there is* no GOD but he. Wherefore call upon him, exhibiting unto him the pure religion. Praiſe be unto GOD, the Lord of all creatures! Say, Verily I am forbidden to worſhip the *deities* which ye invoke, beſides GOD, after that evident proofs have come unto me from my LORD; and I am commanded to reſign myſelf unto the LORD of all creatures. *It is* he who *firſt* created you of duſt, and afterwards of ſeed, and afterwards of coagulated blood; and afterwards brought you forth infants *out of your mothers wombs:* then *he permitteth* you to attain your age of full ſtrength, and afterwards to grow old men, (but ſome of you die before *that age,*) and to arrive at the determined period *of your life* [b]; that peradventure ye may underſtand. *It is* he who giveth life, and cauſeth to die: and when he decreeth a thing, he only ſaith unto it, Be, and it is. Doſt thou not obſerve thoſe who diſpute againſt the ſigns of GOD, how they are turned aſide *from the true faith?* They who charge with falſhood the book *of the* KORAN, and *the other ſcriptures and revealed doctrines* which we ſent our *former* apoſtles *to preach*, ſhall hereafter know *their folly*; when the collars *ſhall be* on their necks, and the chains *by which* they ſhall be dragged into hell: then ſhall they be burned in the fire. And it ſhall be ſaid unto them, Where are the *gods* which ye aſſociated, beſides GOD? They ſhall anſwer, They have with-

[a] *As to thoſe who impugn the ſigns of* GOD, &c.] This ſentence may be underſtood generally; tho' it was revealed on account of the idolatrous *Meccans*, or of the *Jews*, who ſaid of *Mohammed*, *This man is not our lord, but the* Meſſias *the ſon of* David, *whoſe kingdom will be extended over ſea and land* [1].

[b] See chap. 22. p. 274.

[1] *Idem.*

drawn themſelves from us: yea, we called on nothing [a] heretofore. Thus doth GOD lead the unbelievers into error. This *hath befallen you*, for that ye rejoiced *inſolently* on earth, in that which was falſe; and for that ye were elated with immoderate joy. Enter ye the gates of hell, to remain therein *for ever*: and wretched *ſhall be* the abode of the haughty! Wherefore perſevere with patience, *O MOHAMMED*; for the promiſe of GOD *is* true. Whether we cauſe thee to ſee any part of the *puniſhment* with which we have threatened them, or whether we cauſe thee to die *before thou ſee it*; before us ſhall they be aſſembled *at the laſt day*. We have ſent *a great number of* apoſtles before thee [b]; *the hiſtories of ſome* of whom we have related unto thee, and *the hiſtories of others* of them we have not related unto thee: but no apoſtle had the power to produce a ſign, unleſs by the permiſſion of GOD. When the command of GOD, therefore, ſhall come, judgment ſhall be given with truth; and then ſhall they periſh who endeavour to render *the ſigns of GOD* of no effect. *It is* GOD who hath given you the cattle, that ye may ride on *ſome of* them, and may eat *of others* of them; (ye alſo receive *other* advantages therefrom [c];) and that on them ye may arrive at the buſineſs *propoſed* in your mind: and on them are ye carried *by land*, and on ſhips *by ſea*. And he ſheweth you his ſigns; which, therefore, of the ſigns of GOD, will ye deny? Do they not paſs through the earth, and ſee what hath been the end of thoſe who *were* before them? They were more numerous than theſe, and more mighty in ſtrength, and *left more conſiderable* monuments *of their power* in the earth: yet that which they had acquired, profited them not. And when their apoſtles came unto them with evident *proofs of their miſſion*, they rejoiced in the knowledge which was with them [d]: but that which they mocked at, encompaſſed them. And when they beheld our vengeance, they ſaid, We believe in GOD alone, and we renounce *the idols* which we aſſociated with him: but their faith availed them not, after they had beholden our vengeance. *This was* the ordinance of GOD, which was formerly obſerved in reſpect to his ſervants: and then did the unbelievers periſh.

CHAP.

[a] *We called on nothing*;] Seeing an idol is nothing in the world [1].

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 75.

[c] See chap. 16. p. 215.

[d] *They rejoiced in the knowledge which was with them*;] Being prejudiced in favour of their own erroneous doctrines, and deſpiſing the inſtructions of the prophets.

[1] *Idem.*

CHAP. XLI.

Intitled, Are diſtinctly explained [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

H. M [b]. *This is* a revelation from the moſt Merciful: a book the verſes whereof are diſtinctly explained [c], an Arabic KORAN, for *the inſtruction of* people who underſtand; bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats: but the greater part of them turn aſide, and hearken not *thereto.* And they ſay, Our hearts are veiled from *the doctrine* to which thou inviteſt us; and *there is* a deafneſs in our ears, and a curtain between us and thee: wherefore act thou, *as thou ſhalt think fit*; for we ſhall act *according to our own ſentiments.* Say, Verily I am only a man like you. It is revealed unto me that your GOD is one GOD: wherefore direct your way ſtrait unto him; and aſk pardon of him *for what is paſt.* And woe *be* to the idolaters; who give not the appointed alms, and believe not in the life to come! But *as to* thoſe who believe, and work righteouſneſs; they ſhall receive an everlaſting reward. Say, Do ye indeed diſbelieve in him who created the earth in two days [d]; and do ye ſet up equals unto him? He is the LORD of all creatures. And he placed in *the earth mountains* firmly rooted [e], *riſing* above the ſame: and he bleſſed it; and provided therein the food *of the creatures deſigned to be the inhabitants* thereof, in four days [f]; equally, for thoſe who aſk [g]. Then he ſet his mind to *the creation of* heaven; and it was ſmoke [h]: and he ſaid unto it, and to the earth, Come, either obediently, or againſt your will. They anſwered, We come, obedient *to thy command.* And he formed them into

[a] Some intitle this chapter *Worſhip*, or *Adoration*, becauſe the infidels are herein commanded to forſake the worſhip of idols, and to worſhip GOD: but the 32d chapter bearing the ſame title, that which we have here prefixed is, for diſtinction, generally uſed.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, &c.

[c] See chap. 11. p. 175. not. d.

[d] *In two days*;] *viz.* The two firſt days of the week [1].

[e] See chap. 16. p. 215.

[f] *In four days*;] That is, including the two former days wherein the earth was created.

[g] *Equally, for thoſe who ask*;] *i. e.* For all, in proportion to the neceſſity of each, and as their ſeveral appetites require. Some refer the word *ſawâan*, here tranſlated *equally*, and which alſo ſignifies *compleatly*, to the four days; and ſuppoſe the meaning to be, that GOD created theſe things in juſt ſo many *intire* and *compleat* days [2].

[h] *It was ſmoke*;] Or darkneſs. Al *Zamakhſhari* ſays this ſmoke proceeded from the waters under the throne of God, (which throne was one of the things created before the heavens and the earth,) and roſe above the water; that the water being dried up, the earth was formed out of it, and the heavens out of the ſmoke which had mounted aloft.

[1] JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem*, *Al* BEIDAWI.

into ſeven heavens, in two days[a]; and revealed unto every heaven its office. And we adorned the lower heaven with lights, and *placed therein* a guard *of angels*[b]. This *is* the diſpoſition of the mighty, the wiſe GOD. If *the* MECCANS withdraw *from theſe inſtructions*, ſay, I denounce unto you a ſudden deſtruction, like the deſtruction of AD and THAMÛD. When the apoſtles came unto them before them and behind them[c], *ſaying*, Worſhip GOD alone; they anſwered, If our LORD had been pleaſed *to ſend meſſengers*, he had ſurely ſent angels: and we believe not *the meſſage* with which ye are ſent. As to *the tribe of* AD, they behaved inſolently in the earth, without reaſon, and ſaid, Who *is* more mighty than we in ſtrength? Did they not ſee that GOD, who had created them, was more mighty than they in ſtrength? And they knowingly rejected our ſigns. Wherefore we ſent againſt them a piercing wind, on days of ill luck[d], that we might make them taſte the puniſhment of ſhame in this world: but the puniſhment of the life to come will be more ſhameful; and they ſhall not be protected *therefrom*. And as to THAMÛD, we directed them; but they loved blindneſs better than the *true* direction: wherefore the terrible noiſe of an ignominious puniſhment aſſailed them, for that which they had deſerved; but we delivered thoſe who believed, and feared *GOD*[e]. And *warn them of* the day, on which the enemies of GOD ſhall be gathered together unto *hell* fire, and ſhall march in diſtinct bands; until, when they ſhall arrive thereat, their ears, and their eyes, and their ſkins ſhall bear witneſs againſt them of that which they ſhall have wrought. And they ſhall ſay unto their ſkins, Wherefore do ye bear witneſs againſt us? They ſhall anſwer, GOD hath cauſed us to ſpeak, who giveth ſpeech unto all things: he created you the firſt time; and unto him are ye returned. Ye did not hide your ſelves, *while ye ſinned*, ſo that your ears, and your eyes, and your ſkins could not bear witneſs againſt you[f]: but ye thought that GOD was ignorant of many things which ye did. This *was* your opinion, which ye imagined of your LORD: it hath ruined you; and ye are become loſt *people*. Whether they bear *their torment*, *hell* fire *ſhall be* their abode; or whether they beg for favour, they ſhall not obtain favour. And we will give them *the devils to be their* companions; for they dreſſed up for them *the falſe notions which they entertained of* this preſent world, and *of* that which is to come; and the ſentence juſtly

[a] *In two days*;] *viz.* On the fifth and ſixth days of the week. It is ſaid the heavens were created on *Thurſday*, and the ſun, moon, and ſtars on *Friday*; in the evening of which laſt day *Adam* was made [1].

[b] See chap. 15. p. 211.

[c] *Before them and behind them*;] That is, on every ſide; perſuading and urging them continually, and by arguments drawn from paſt examples, and the expectation of future rewards or puniſhments.

[d] *On days of ill luck*;] It is ſaid that this wind continued from *Wedneſday* to *Wedneſday* incluſive, being the latter end of the month *Shawâl*; and that a *Wedneſday* is the day whereon GOD ſends down his judgments on a wicked people [2].

[e] See chap. 7. p. 124, *&c.*

[f] *Ye did not hide your ſelves ſo that your ears, and your eyes, and your skins could not bear witneſs againſt you*;] *i. e.* Ye hid your crimes from men, little thinking that your very members, from which ye could not hide them, would riſe up as witneſſes againſt you.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

juſtly fitteth them, which was formerly pronounced on the nations of genii and men who were before them; for they periſhed. The unbelievers ſay, Hearken not unto this KORAN: but uſe vain diſcourſe [a] during *the reading* thereof; that ye may overcome *the voice of the reader by your ſcoffs and laughter.* Wherefore we will ſurely cauſe the unbelievers to taſte a grievous puniſhment, and we will certainly reward them for the evils which they ſhall have wrought. This *ſhall be* the reward of the enemies of GOD, *namely, hell* fire; therein *is prepared* for them an everlaſting abode, *as* a reward for that they have wittingly rejected our ſigns. And the infidels ſhall ſay *in hell*, O LORD, ſhew us the two who ſeduced us, of the genii and men [b], and we will caſt them under our feet, that they may become moſt baſe *and deſpicable. As for* thoſe who ſay, Our LORD *is* GOD, and who behave uprightly; the angels ſhall deſcend unto them [c], *and ſhall ſay*, Fear not, neither be ye grieved; but rejoice in the hopes of paradiſe, which ye have been promiſed. We *are* your friends in this life, and in that which is to come: therein ſhall ye have that which your ſouls ſhall deſire, and therein ſhall ye obtain whatever ye ſhall aſk for; *as* a gift from a gracious, *and* merciful GOD. Who ſpeaketh better than he who inviteth unto GOD, and worketh righteouſneſs, and ſaith, I *am* a Moſlem? Good and evil ſhall not be held equal. Turn away *evil* with that which is better; and behold, the *man* between whom and thyſelf *there was* enmity, *ſhall become*, as it were, *thy* warmeſt friend: but none ſhall attain to this *perfection*, except they who are patient; nor ſhall any attain thereto, except he who is indued with a great happineſs *of temper.* And if a malicious ſuggeſtion be offered unto thee from SATAN, have recourſe unto GOD; for *it is* he who heareth *and* knoweth. Among the ſigns *of his power are* the night, and the day, and the ſun, and the moon. Worſhip not the ſun, neither the moon: but worſhip GOD, who hath created them; if ye ſerve him. But if they proudly diſdain *his ſervice*; verily the *angels*, who are with thy LORD, praiſe him night and day, and are not wearied. And among his ſigns *another is*, that thou ſeeſt the land waſte: but when we ſend down rain thereon, it is ſtirred and fermenteth. And he who quickeneth *the earth*, will ſurely quicken the dead; for he is almighty. Verily thoſe who impiouſly wrong our ſigns, are not concealed from us. *Is* he, therefore, better, who ſhall be caſt into *hell* fire, or he who ſhall appear ſecure on the day of reſurrection? Work that which ye will: he certainly beholdeth whatever ye do. Verily they who believe not in the admonition *of the KORAN*, after it hath come unto them, *ſhall one day be diſcovered.* It *is* certainly a book of infinite value: vanity ſhall not approach it, either from before it, or from behind it [d]: *it is* a revelation from a wiſe GOD, whoſe

[a] *Uſe vain diſcourſe*;] Or, *Talk aloud.*

[b] *The two who ſeduced us, of the genii and men*;] i. e. Thoſe of either ſpecies, who drew us into ſin and ruin. Some ſuppoſe that the *two* more particularly intended here, are *Eblis* and *Cain*; the two authors of infidelity and murder [1].

[c] *The angels ſhall deſcend unto them*;] Either while they are living on earth, to diſpoſe their minds to good, to preſerve them from temptations, and to comfort them; or at the hour of death, to ſupport them in their laſt agony; or at their coming forth from their graves, at the reſurrection [2].

[d] *Vanity ſhall not approach it, either from before it, or from behind it*;] That is, It ſhall not be prevailed againſt, or fruſtrated by any means, or in any reſpect whatever.

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Idem.*

whoſe praiſe is juſtly to be celebrated. No other is ſaid unto thee *by the infidels of* MECCA, than what hath been formerly ſaid unto the apoſtles before thee: verily thy LORD *is* inclined to forgiveneſs, and *is alſo* able to chaſtiſe ſeverely. If we had revealed *the* KORAN in a foreign language[a], they had ſurely ſaid, Unleſs the ſigns thereof be diſtinctly explained, *we will not receive the ſame: is the book written in* a foreign tongue, and *the perſon unto whom it is directed*, an Arabian? Anſwer, It is, unto thoſe who believe, a ſure guide, and a remedy *for doubt and uncertainty:* but unto thoſe who believe not, *it is* a thickneſs of hearing in their ears, and it is a darkneſs which covereth them; theſe are *as they who are* called unto from a diſtant place[b]. We heretofore gave the book *of the law* unto MOSES; and a diſpute aroſe concerning the ſame: and if a previous decree had not proceeded from thy LORD, *to reſpite the oppoſers of that revelation*, verily *the matter* had been decided between them, *by the deſtruction of the infidels*; for they were in a very great doubt as to the ſame. He who doth right, *doth it* to *the advantage of* his own ſoul; and he who doth evil, *doth it* againſt the ſame: for thy LORD *is* not unjuſt
XXV. towards *his* ſervants. * Unto him is reſerved the knowledge of the hour *of judgment:* and no fruit cometh forth from the knops which involve it; neither doth any female conceive *in her womb*, nor is ſhe delivered *of her burthen*, but with his knowledge. On the day whereon he ſhall call them to him, *ſaying*, Where *are* my companions *which ye aſcribed unto me?* they ſhall anſwer, We aſſure thee *there is* no witneſs *of this matter* among us[c]: and *the idols* which they called on before, ſhall withdraw themſelves from them; and they ſhall perceive that *there will be* no way to eſcape. Man is not wearied with aſking good; but if evil befal him, he deſpondeth, and deſpaireth. And if we cauſe him to taſte mercy from us, after affliction hath touched him, he ſurely ſaith, This *is due* to me *on account of my deſerts:* I do not think the hour *of judgment* will *ever* come; and if I be brought before my LORD, I ſhall ſurely attain, with him, the moſt excellent *condition.* But we will *then* declare unto thoſe who ſhall not have believed, that which they have wrought; and we will ſurely cauſe them to taſte a moſt ſevere puniſhment. When we confer favours on man, he turneth aſide, and departeth *without returning thanks:* but when evil toucheth him, he *is* frequent at prayer. Say, What think ye? if *the* KORAN be from GOD, and ye believe not therein; who will lie under a greater error, than he who diſſenteth widely *therefrom?* Hereafter we will ſhew them our ſigns in the regions *of the earth*, and in themſelves[d]; until it become manifeſt unto them that *this book* is the truth. Is it not ſufficient *for thee* that thy LORD is witneſs of all things? Are they not in a doubt as to the meeting of their LORD *at the reſurrection?* Doth not he encompaſs all things?

CHAP.

[a] See chap. 16. p. 223, &c.

[b] *Theſe are as they who are called unto from a diſtant place*;] Being ſo far off that they hear not, or underſtand not the voice of him who calls to them.

[c] *They ſhall anſwer, There is no witneſs of this matter among us*;] For they ſhall diſclaim their idols at the reſurrection.

[d] *We will ſhew them our ſigns in the regions of the earth, and in themſelves*;] By the ſurprizing victories and conqueſts of *Mohammed*, and his ſucceſſors [1].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. XLII.

Intitled, Conſultation[a]; *revealed at* MECCA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

H. M. A. S. K[c]. Thus doth the mighty, the wiſe GOD reveal *his will* unto thee; and *in like manner did he reveal it* unto the *prophets* who *were* before thee. Unto him *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven, and in earth; and he is the high, the great *GOD*. It wanteth little but that the heavens be rent in ſunder from above, *at the awfulneſs of his majeſty:* the angels celebrate the praiſe of their LORD, and aſk pardon for thoſe who *dwell* in the earth. Is not GOD the forgiver *of ſins*, the merciful? But *as to* thoſe who take *other gods for their* patrons, beſides him, GOD obſerveth their *actions:* for thou art not a ſteward over them. Thus have we revealed unto thee an Arabic KORAN, that thou mayeſt warn the metropolis *of MECCA*, and the *Arabs* who *dwell* round about it; and mayeſt threaten *them* with the day of the *general* aſſembly, of which there is no doubt: *one* part *ſhall then be placed* in paradiſe, and *another* part in hell. If GOD had pleaſed, he had made them *all* of one religion: but he leadeth whom he pleaſeth into his mercy; and the unjuſt ſhall have no patron or helper. Do they take *other* patrons, beſides him? whereas GOD is the *only true* patron: he quickeneth the dead; and he *is* almighty. Whatever matter ye diſagree about, the deciſion thereof *appertaineth* unto GOD. This is GOD, my LORD: in him do I truſt, and unto him do I turn me; the Creator of heaven and earth: he hath given you wives of your own ſpecies, and cattle both male and female; by which means he multiplieth you: there is nothing like him; and *it is* he who heareth *and* ſeeth. His are the keys of heaven and earth: he beſtoweth proviſion abundantly on whom he pleaſeth, and he is ſparing *unto whom he pleaſeth*; for he knoweth all things. He hath ordained you the religion which he commanded NOAH, and which we have revealed unto thee, *O MOHAMMED*, and which we commanded ABRAHAM, and MOSES, and JESUS[d]: *ſaying*, Obſerve *this* religion, and be not divided therein. The *worſhip of one GOD*, to which thou inviteſt them, is grievous unto the unbelievers: God will elect thereto whom he pleaſeth, and will direct unto the ſame him who ſhall repent. *Thoſe who lived in times paſt* were not divided among themſelves, until after that the knowledge *of GOD*'s *unity* had come unto

[a] The title is taken from the verſe wherein the believers are commended, among other things, for uſing deliberation in their affairs, and *conſulting* together in order to act for the beſt. Some, inſtead of this word, prefix the five ſingle letters with which the chapter begins.

[b] *Jallalo'ddin* excepts three verſes beginning with theſe words, *Say, I ask not of you, for this my preaching, any reward*, &c.

[c] See the Prel. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, &c.

[d] See ibid. §. IV. p. 70, and 75.

them; through their own perverſeneſs: and unleſs a previous decree had paſſed from thy LORD, *to bear with them* till a determined time, verily *the matter* had been decided between them, *by the deſtruction of the gain-ſayers.* They who have inherited the ſcriptures after them [a], *are* certainly in a perplexing doubt concerning *the ſame* [b]. Wherefore invite *them to receive the ſure faith*, and be urgent *with them*, as thou haſt been commanded; and follow not their *vain* deſires: and ſay, I believe in *all* the ſcriptures which GOD hath ſent down; and I am commanded to eſtabliſh juſtice among you: GOD is our LORD, and your LORD: unto us *will* our works *be imputed*, and unto you *will* your works *be imputed: let there be* no wrangling between us and you; for GOD will aſſemble us *all at the laſt day*, and unto him ſhall we return. *As to* thoſe who diſpute concerning GOD, after obedience hath been paid him *by receiving his religion*, their diſputing *ſhall be* vain in the ſight of their LORD; and wrath *ſhall fall* on them, and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. *It is* GOD who hath ſent down the ſcripture with truth; and the balance *of true judgment:* and what ſhall inform thee whether the hour *be* nigh at hand? They who believe not therein, wiſh it to be haſtened *by way of mockery:* but they who believe dread the ſame, and know it to be the truth. Are not thoſe who diſpute concerning the *laſt* hour in a wide error? GOD is bounteous unto his ſervants: he provideth for whom he pleaſeth; and he is the ſtrong, the mighty. Whoſo chuſeth the tillage of the life to come [c], unto him will we give increaſe in his tillage: and whoſo chuſeth the tillage of this world, we will give him *the fruit* thereof; but he ſhall have no part in the life to come. Have *the idolaters* deities which ordain them a religion which GOD hath not allowed? But *had it* not *been* for the decree of *reſpiting their puniſhment to the day of* ſeparating *the infidels from the true believers*, judgment had been *already* given between them: for the unjuſt ſhall ſurely ſuffer a painful torment. *On that day* thou ſhalt ſee the unjuſt in great terror, becauſe of their demerits; and *the penalty thereof* ſhall fall upon them: but they who believe and do good works, *ſhall dwell* in the delightful meadows of paradiſe; they ſhall obtain whatever they ſhalt deſire, with their LORD. This *is* the greateſt acquiſition. This *is* what GOD promiſeth unto his ſervants who believe and do good works. Say, I aſk not of you, for this *my preaching*, any reward, except the love of *my* relations: and whoever ſhall have deſerved well by *one* good action, unto him will we add *the merit of another* action thereto; for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* ready to reward. Do they ſay, *MOHAMMED* hath blaſphemouſly forged a lye concerning GOD? If GOD pleaſeth, he will ſeal up thy heart [d]: and GOD will abſolutely aboliſh vanity, and will eſtabliſh the

[a] *They who have inherited the ſcriptures after them;*] *viz.* The modern *Jews* and *Chriſtians.*

[b] *Are in a doubt concerning the ſame;*] Not underſtanding the true meaning, nor believing the real doctrines thereof.

[c] *Whoſo chuſeth the tillage of the life to come;*] Labouring here, to obtain a reward hereafter: for what is ſown in this world, will be reaped in the next.

[d] *If* GOD *pleaſeth, he will ſeal up thy heart;*] The meaning of theſe words is ſomewhat obſcure. Some imagine they expreſs a deteſtation of the forgery charged on the prophet by the infidels; becauſe none could be capable of ſo wicked an action, but one whoſe heart was cloſe ſhut, and knew not his LORD: as if he had ſaid, *God forbid that thou ſhouldſt be ſo void of*

the truth in his words [a]; for he knoweth the innermoſt parts of *men's* breaſts. *It is* he who accepteth repentance from his ſervants, and forgiveth ſins, and knoweth that which ye do. He will incline his ear unto thoſe who believe and work righteouſneſs, and will add unto them *above what they ſhall ask or deſerve*, of his bounty: but the unbelievers ſhall ſuffer a ſevere puniſhment. If GOD ſhould beſtow abundance upon his ſervants, they would certainly behave inſolently in the earth: but he ſendeth down by meaſure *unto every one* that which he pleaſeth; for he well knoweth *and* ſeeth *the condition of* his ſervants. *It is* he who ſendeth down the rain, after *men* have deſpaired *thereof*, and ſpreadeth abroad his mercy; and he is the patron, juſtly to be praiſed. Among his ſigns *is* the creation of heaven and earth, and of the living creatures with which he hath repleniſhed them both; and he *is* able to gather them together *before his tribunal*, whenever he pleaſeth. Whatever misfortune befalleth you *is ſent you by* GOD, for that which your hands have deſerved; and *yet* he forgiveth many things: ye ſhall not fruſtrate *the divine vengeance* in the earth; neither ſhall ye have any protector or helper, againſt GOD. Among his ſigns *alſo are* the *ſhips* running in the ſea, like high mountains: if he pleaſeth, he cauſeth the wind to ceaſe, and they lie ſtill on the back of *the water*: (verily herein *are* ſigns, unto every patient *and* grateful perſon:) or he deſtroyeth them *by ſhipwrack*, becauſe of that which *their crews* have merited; though he pardoneth many things. And they who diſpute againſt our ſigns, ſhall know that *there will be* no way for them to eſcape *our vengeance*. Whatever things are given you, *they are* the proviſion of this preſent life: but the *reward* which is with GOD is better, and more durable, for thoſe who believe, and put their truſt in their LORD; and who avoid hainous and filthy crimes, and when they are angry, forgive; and who hearken unto their LORD, and are conſtant at prayer, and whoſe affairs *are directed by* conſultation among themſelves, and who give *alms* out of what we have beſtowed on them; and who, when an injury is done them, avenge themſelves [b]: (and the retaliation of evil *ought to be* an evil proportionate thereto:) but he who forgiveth, and is reconciled *unto his enemy*, ſhall receive his reward from God [c]; for he loveth not the unjuſt doers. And whoſo ſhall avenge himſelf, after he hath been injured; as to theſe, it is not lawful to puniſh them *for it*: but it is only lawful to puniſh thoſe who wrong men, and act inſolently in the earth, againſt juſtice; theſe ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. And whoſo beareth *injuries* patiently, and forgiveth; verily this *is* a neceſſary work.

of grace, or have ſo little ſenſe of thy duty! Others think the ſignification to be, that GOD might ſtrike all the revelations which had been vouchſafed to *Mohammed*, out of his heart at once; and others, that GOD would ſtrengthen his heart with patience againſt the inſults of the unbelievers [1].

[a] GOD *will aboliſh vanity, and eſtabliſh the truth*;] Wherefore if the doctrine taught in this book be of man, it will certainly fail and come to nothing; but if it be of GOD, it can never be overthrown [2].

[b] *And who, when an injury is done them, avenge themſelves*;] Uſing the means which GOD has put into their hands for their own defence. This is added to compleat the character here given; for valour and courage are not inconſiſtent with clemency [3]; the rule being,

Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos.

[c] See chap. 5. p. 88, *&c.*

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

Whom GOD ſhall cauſe to err, he ſhall afterwards have no protector. And thou ſhalt ſee the ungodly, who ſhall ſay, when they behold the puniſhment *prepared for them, Is there* no way to return back *into the world?* And thou ſhalt ſee them expoſed unto *hell fire*; dejected, becauſe of the ignominy *they ſhall undergo:* they ſhall look *at the fire* ſideways, and by ſtealth; and the true believers ſhall ſay, Verily the loſers are they who have loſt their own ſouls, and their families, on the day of reſurrection: *ſhall* not the ungodly *continue* in eternal torment? They ſhall have no protectors to defend them againſt GOD: and whom GOD ſhall cauſe to err, he ſhall find no way *to the truth.* Hearken unto your LORD, before the day come, which GOD will not keep back: ye ſhall have no place of refuge on that day; neither ſhall ye be able to deny *your ſins.* But if *thoſe to whom thou preacheſt* turn aſide *from thy admonitions*, verily we have not ſent thee *to be* a guardian over them: thy duty is preaching only. When we cauſe man to taſte mercy from us, he rejoiceth thereat: but if evil befal them, for that which their hands have formerly committed, verily man *becometh* ungrateful. Unto GOD *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven and earth: he createth that which he pleaſeth; he giveth females unto whom he pleaſeth, and he giveth males unto whom he pleaſeth; or he giveth them males and females jointly: and he maketh whom he pleaſeth to be childleſs; for he *is* wiſe, *and* powerful. It is not *fit* for man, that GOD ſhould ſpeak unto him otherwiſe than by *private* revelation, or from behind a vail, or by his ſending of a meſſenger to reveal, by his permiſſion, that which he pleaſeth; for he *is* high *and* wiſe. Thus have we revealed unto thee a revelation [a], by our command. Thou didſt not underſtand, *before this*, what the book *of the* KORAN was, nor *what* the faith *was:* but we have ordained the ſame *for* a light; we will thereby direct ſuch of our ſervants as we pleaſe: and thou ſhalt ſurely direct *them* into the right way, the way of GOD, unto whom *belongeth* whatever *is* heaven and in earth. Shall not *all* things return unto GOD?

[a] *Thus have we revealed unto thee a revelation*;] Or, as the words may be alſo tranſlated, *Thus have we ſent the ſpirit* Gabriel *unto thee, with a revelation.*

CHAP. XLIII.

Intitled, The Ornaments of Gold [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

H. M [c]. By the perſpicuous book; verily we have ordained the ſame an Arabic KORAN, that ye may underſtand: and it *is* certainly *written* in the

[a] The word choſen for the title of this chapter, occurs p. 398.

[b] Some except the verſe beginning with theſe words, *And ask our apoſtles whom we have ſent before thee*, &c.

[c] See the Prel. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, &c.

the original book [a], *kept* with us, *being* ſublime and full of wiſdom. Shall we therefore turn away from you the admonition, and deprive *you thereof*, becauſe ye are a people who tranſgreſs? And how many prophets have we ſent among thoſe of old? and no prophet came unto them, but they laughed him to ſcorn: wherefore we deſtroyed *nations who were* more mighty than theſe in ſtrength; and the example of thoſe who were of old, hath been already *ſet before them.* If thou aſk them who created the heavens and the earth, they will certainly anſwer, The mighty, the wiſe GOD created them: who hath ſpread the earth *as* a bed for you, and hath made you paths therein, that ye may be directed: and who ſendeth down rain from heaven by meaſure, whereby we quicken a dead country; (ſo ſhall ye be brought forth *from your graves:*) and who hath created all the *various* ſpecies *of things*, and hath given you ſhips and cattle, whereon ye are carried; that ye may ſit firmly on the backs thereof, and may remember the favour of your LORD, when ye ſit thereon, and may ſay, Praiſe be unto him, who hath ſubjected theſe unto our ſervice! for we could not have maſtered them *by our own power:* and unto our LORD ſhall we ſurely return. Yet have they attributed unto him ſome of his ſervants *as his* offſpring: verily man is openly ungrateful. Hath GOD taken daughters out of *thoſe beings* which he hath created; and hath he choſen ſons for you? But when one of them hath the news brought of *the birth of a child of that ſex* which they attribute unto the Merciful, as *his* ſimilitude, his face becometh black, and he is oppreſſed with ſorrow [b]. Do they therefore *attribute unto GOD female iſſue*, which are brought up among ornaments, and are contentious without cauſe? And do they make the angels, who are the ſervants of the Merciful, females? Were they preſent at their creation? Their teſtimony ſhall be written down, and they ſhall be examined *concerning the ſame, on the day of judgment.* And they ſay, If the Merciful had pleaſed, we had not worſhipped them. They have no knowledge herein: they only utter a vain lye. Have we given them a book *of revelations* before this; and do they keep the ſame in their cuſtody? But they ſay, Verily we found our fathers practiſing a religion; and we *are* guided in their footſteps. Thus we ſent no preacher, before thee, unto *any* city, but the inhabitants thereof who lived in affluence, ſaid, Verily we found our fathers practiſing a religion: and we tread in their footſteps. *And the preacher* anſwered, What, although I bring you a more right *religion* than that which ye found your fathers to practiſe? *And* they replied, Verily we believe not that which ye are ſent *to preach.* Wherefore we took vengeance on them: and behold what hath been the end of thoſe who accuſed *our apoſtles* of impoſture. *Remember* when ABRAHAM ſaid unto his father, and his people, Verily I am clear of *the gods* which ye worſhip, except him who hath created me; for he will direct me *aright.* And he ordained this *to be* a conſtant doctrine among his poſterity; that they ſhould be turned *from idolatry to the worſhip of the only true GOD.* Verily I have permitted theſe *MECCANS* and their fathers to live in proſperity, until the truth ſhould come unto them, and a manifeſt apoſtle: but now the truth

[a] *In the original book;*] *i. e.* The preſerved Table; which is the original of all the ſcriptures in general. [b] See chap. 16. p. 218, *&c.*

truth is come unto them, they ſay, This *is* a piece of ſorcery; and we believe not therein. And they ſay, Had this KORAN been ſent down unto ſome great man of *either of* the two cities [a], *we would have received it.* Do they diſtribute the mercy of thy LORD [b]? We diſtribute their neceſſary proviſion among them, in this preſent life, and we raiſe ſome of them *ſeveral* degrees above the others, that the one of them may take the other to ſerve him: and the mercy of thy LORD is more valuable than the *riches* which they gather together. If *it were* not that mankind would have become one ſect *of infidels*, verily we had given unto thoſe who believe not in the Merciful, roofs of ſilver to their houſes, and ſtairs *of ſilver*, by which they might aſcend *thereto*, and doors *of ſilver* to their houſes, and couches *of ſilver*, for them to lean on; and ornaments of gold: for all this *is* the proviſion of the preſent life; but the next *life* with thy LORD *ſhall be* for thoſe who fear *him.* Whoever ſhall withdraw from the admonition of the Merciful, we will chain a devil unto him; and he ſhall be his inſeparable companion: (and *the devils* ſhall turn them aſide from the way *of truth*; yet they ſhall imagine themſelves *to be* rightly directed:) until, when he ſhall appear before us *at the laſt day*, he ſhall ſay *unto the devil* [c], Would to GOD that between me and thee *there was* the diſtance of the eaſt from the weſt! Oh how wretched a companion *art thou!* But *wiſhes* ſhall not avail you on this day, ſince ye have been unjuſt; for ye ſhall be partakers of the *ſame* puniſhment. Canſt thou, *O prophet*, make the deaf to hear, or canſt thou direct the blind, and him who is in a manifeſt error? Whether we take thee away, we will ſurely take vengeance on them; or whether we cauſe thee to ſee *the puniſhment* with which we have threatened them, *executed*, we will certainly prevail over them. Wherefore hold faſt *the doctrine* which hath been revealed unto thee; for thou *art* in a right way: and it is a memorial unto thee and thy people, and hereafter ſhall ye be examined *concerning your obſervance thereof.* And aſk our apoſtles whom we have ſent before thee [d], whether we have appointed gods for them to worſhip, beſides the Merciful. We formerly ſent MOSES with our ſigns unto PHARAOH and his princes, and he ſaid, Verily I am the apoſtle of the LORD of all creatures. And when he came unto them with our ſigns, behold, they laughed him to ſcorn; although we ſhewed them no ſign, but it was greater than the other [e]: and we inflicted a puniſhment [f] on them, that peradventure they might be converted. And they ſaid *unto MOSES*, O magician,

[a] *Had the* Koran *been ſent down unto ſome great man of either of the two cities;*] *i. e.* To one of the principal inhabitants of *Mecca*, or of *Tâyef*; ſuch as *al Walid Ebn al Mogheira*, or *Orwa Ebn Maſud* the *Thakifite* [1].

[b] *The mercy of thy* Lord;] By this expreſſion the prophetic office is here particularly intended.

[c] See chap. 19. p. 254.

[d] *Ask our apoſtles whom we have ſent before thee;*] That is, Ask thoſe who profeſs the religions which they taught, and their learned men [2].

[e] *But it was greater than the other;*] Literally, *Than its ſiſter.* The meaning is, that the miracles were *all very great and conſiderable*, or, as the *French* may expreſs it, by a phraſe nearly the ſame, *les uns plus grands que les autres.*

[f] *A puniſhment;*] *viz.* The ſucceſſive plagues which they ſuffered, previous to their final deſtruction in the red ſea.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* JALLALL. *&c.*

cian, pray unto thy LORD for us, according to the covenant which he hath made with thee; for we *will* certainly *be* directed. But when we took the plague from off them, behold, they brake their promise. And PHARAOH made proclamation among his people, saying, O my people, is not the kingdom of EGYPT mine, and these rivers [a] which flow beneath me? Do ye not see? Am not I better than this *MOSES*; who is a contemptible person, and can scarce express himself intelligibly [b]? Have bracelets of gold, therefore, been put upon him [c]; or do the angels attend him in orderly procession? And *PHARAOH* persuaded his people to light behaviour; and they obeyed him: for they were a wicked people. And when they had provoked us to wrath, we took vengeance on them, and we drowned them all: and we made them a precedent, and an example unto others. And when the son of MARY was proposed for an example; behold, thy people cried out *through excess of joy* thereat [d]; and they said, *Are* our gods better, or he? They have proposed this *instance* unto thee no otherwise than for an occasion of dispute. yea, they are contentious men. *JESUS* is no other than a servant, whom we favoured *with the gift of prophecy*; and we appointed him for an example [e] unto the children of ISRAEL: (if we pleased, verily we could from your selves produce angels, to succeed *you* in the earth [f]:) and he *shall be* a sign of the *approach of the last* hour [g]; wherefore doubt not thereof. And follow me: this *is* the right way. And let not SATAN cause you to turn aside: for he *is* your open enemy. And when *JESUS* came with evident *miracles*, he said, Now am I come unto you with wisdom [h]; and to explain unto

[a] *These rivers*;] *To wit*, The *Nile* and its branches [1].

[b] See chap. 20. p. 257. not. e.

[c] *Have bracelets of gold been put upon him?*] Such bracelets were some of the *insignia* of royalty: for when the *Egyptians* raised a person to the dignity of a prince, they put a collar or chain of gold about his neck [2], and bracelets of gold on his wrists [3].

[d] *When the son of* Mary *was proposed for an example*, &c.] This passage is generally supposed to have been revealed on occasion of an objection made by one *Ebn al Zabári* to those words in the 21st. chapter [4], by which all in general, who were worshipped as deities, besides GOD, are doomed to hell: whereupon the infidels cried out, *We are contented that our gods should be with* Jesus; *for he also is worshipped as* GOD [5]. Some, however, are of opinion it might have been revealed in answer to certain idolaters, who said that the *Christians*, who received the scriptures, worshipped *Jesus*, supposing him to be the son of GOD; whereas the angels were more worthy of that honour than he [6].

[e] *An example*;] Or an instance of our power, by his miraculous birth.

[f] *We could from yourselves produce angels*, &c.] As easily as we produced *Jesus* without a father [7]. The intent of the words is to shew how just and reasonable it is to think, that the angels should bear the relation of children to men, rather than to GOD; they being his creatures, as well as men, and equally in his power.

[g] *He shall be a sign of the approach of the last hour*;] For some time before the resurrection *Jesus* is to descend on earth, according to the *Mohammedans*, near *Damascus* [8], or, as some say, near a rock in the holy land named *Afik*, with a lance in his hand, wherewith he is to kill *Antichrist*, whom he will encounter at *Ludd*, or *Lydda*, a small town not far from *Joppa* [9]. They add, that he will arrive at *Jerusalem* at the time of morning prayer, that he shall perform his devotions after the *Mohammedan* institution, and officiate instead of the *Imâm*, who shall give place to him; that he will break down the cross, and destroy the churches of the *Christians*, of whom he will also make a general slaughter, excepting only such as shall profess *Islâm*, &c [10].

[h] *Now am I come unto you with wisdom*;] That is, with a book of revelations, and an excellent system of religion.

[1] *Idem*. [2] See Genes. xli. 42. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [4] See p. 273. [5] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [6] *Idem*. [7] *Idem*. [8] See the Prel. Disc. §. IV. p. 81. [9] See ib. p. 80. [10] *Al* BEIDAWI.

unto you part of *thoſe things* concerning which ye diſagree: wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. Verily GOD is my LORD, and your LORD; wherefore worſhip him: this *is* the right way. And the confederated ſects among them fell to variance [a]: but woe unto thoſe who have acted unjuſtly, becauſe of the puniſhment of a grievous day. Do *the unbelievers* wait for any other than the hour *of judgment*; that it may come upon them ſuddenly, while they foreſee *it* not? The intimate friends, on that day, *ſhall be* enemies unto one another; except the pious. O my ſervants, *there ſhall* no fear *come* on you this day, neither ſhall ye be grieved; who have believed in our ſigns, and have been Moſlems: enter ye into paradiſe, ye and your wives, with great joy. Diſhes of gold ſhall be carried round unto them, and cups without handles: and therein *ſhall they enjoy* whatever *their* ſouls ſhall deſire, and *whatever their* eyes ſhall delight in: and ye ſhall remain therein for ever. This is paradiſe, which ye have inherited *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. Therein ſhall ye have fruits in abundance, of which ye ſhall eat. But the wicked ſhall remain for ever in the torment of hell: it ſhall not be made lighter unto them; and they *ſhall* deſpair therein. We deal not unjuſtly with them, but they deal unjuſtly *with their own ſouls*. And they ſhall call aloud, *ſaying*, O MALEC [b], *intercede for us* that thy LORD would end us *by annihilation*. He ſhall anſwer [c], Verily ye ſhall remain *here forever*. We brought you the truth heretofore, but the greater part of you abhorred the truth. Have *the infidels* fixed on a method *to circumvent our apoſtle?* Verily we will fix *on a method to circumvent them*. Do they imagine that we hear not their ſecrets, and their private diſcourſe? Yea; and our meſſengers who attend them [d] write down *the ſame*. Say, If the Merciful had a ſon, verily I *would be* the firſt of thoſe who ſhould worſhip *him*. Far be the LORD of heaven and earth, the LORD of the throne, from that which they affirm *of him!* Wherefore let them wade *in their vanity*, and divert themſelves, until they arrive at their day with which they have been threatened. He who is GOD in heaven, is GOD on earth alſo: and he *is* the wiſe, the knowing. And bleſſed be he unto whom *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and of whatever is between them; with whom *is* the knowledge of the *laſt* hour; and before whom ye ſhall be aſſembled. They whom they invoke beſides him, have not the privilege to intercede *for others*; except thoſe who bear witneſs to the truth, and know *the ſame* [e]. If thou aſk them who hath created them,

[a] *The confederated ſects fell to variance*;] This may be underſtood either of the *Jews* in the time of *Jeſus*, who oppoſed his doctrine, or of the *Chriſtians* ſince, who have fallen into various opinions concerning him; ſome making him to be GOD, others the Son of GOD, and others, one of the perſons of the Trinity, *&c* [1].

[b] *O* Malec;] This the *Mohammedans* ſuppoſe to be the name of the principal angel who has the charge of hell.

[c] *He ſhall anſwer*;] Some ſay that this anſwer will not be given till a thouſand years after.

[d] *Our meſſengers who attend them*;] *i. e.* The guardian angels.

[e] *Except thoſe who bear witneſs to the truth*, &c.] That is, to the doctrine of GOD's unity. The exception comprehends *Jeſus*, *Ezra*, and the angels; who will be admitted as interceſſors, tho' they have been worſhipped as gods [2].

[1] *Idem*, JALLAL. [2] *Idem*.

them, they will ſurely anſwer, GOD. How therefore are they turned away *to the worſhip of others? GOD alſo heareth* the ſaying of *the prophet*, O LORD, verily theſe *are* people who believe not: *and he anſwereth*, Therefore turn aſide from them; and ſay, Peace[a]: hereafter ſhall they know *their folly*.

[a] See chap. 25. p. 301. not. d.

CHAP. XLIV.

Intitled, Smoke[a]; *revealed at* MECCA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

H. M[c]. By the perſpicuous book *of the KORAN*; verily we have ſent down the ſame on a bleſſed night[d], (for we had engaged *ſo to do,*) *on the night* wherein is diſtinctly ſent down the decree of every determined thing, *as* a command from us[e]. Verily we have *ever* uſed to ſend *apoſtles with revelations, at proper intervals, as* a mercy from thy LORD; for it is he who heareth *and* knoweth: the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever *is* between them; if ye are *men* of ſure knowledge. There *is* no GOD but he: he giveth life, and he cauſeth to die; *he is* your LORD, and the LORD of your fore-fathers. Yet do they amuſe themſelves with doubt. But obſerve *them* on the day *whereon* the heaven ſhall produce a viſible ſmoke, which ſhall cover mankind[f]: this *will be* a tormenting plague. *They ſhall ſay*, O LORD, take *this* plague from off us: verily we *will become* true believers. How

[a] This word occurs within a few lines from the beginning of the chapter.

[b] Some except the verſe beginning, *We will take the plague off you a little*, &c.

[c] See the Prel. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, *&c.*

[d] *A bleſſed night*;] Generally ſuppoſed to be that between the 23[d]. and 24[th]. of *Ramadân*. See ib. p. 64. and chap. 97. and the notes there.

[e] *The night whereon is diſtinctly ſent down the decree of every determined thing*, &c.] For annually on this night, as the *Mohammedans* are taught, all the events of the enſuing year, with reſpect to life, and death, and the other affairs of this world, are diſpoſed and ſettled [1]. Some, however, ſuppoſe that theſe words refer only to that particular night on which the *Korân*, wherein are compleatly contained the divine determinations in reſpect to religion and morality, was ſent down[2]: and according to this expoſition the paſſage may be rendred, *The night whereon every determined* or *adjudged matter was ſent down.*

[f] *When the heavens ſhall produce a viſible ſmoke*, &c.] The commentators differ in their expoſitions of this paſſage. Some think it ſpoken of a ſmoke which ſeemed to fill the air, during the famine which was inflicted on the *Meccans* in *Mohammed*'s time [3], and was ſo thick, that tho' they could hear, yet they could not ſee one another [4]. But, according to a tradition of *Ali*, the ſmoke here meant is that which is to be one of the previous ſigns of the day of judgment [5], and will fill the whole ſpace from eaſt to weſt, and laſt for forty days. This ſmoke, they ſay, will intoxicate the infidels, and iſſue at their noſe, ears, and poſteriors; but will very little incommode the true believers [6].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] See chap. 23. p. 284. not. c. [4] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI, YAHYA, JALLAL. [5] See the Prel. Diſc. §. IV. p. 81. [6] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI.

ſhould an admonition *be of avail* to them *in this condition*; when a manifeſt apoſtle came unto them, but they retired from him, ſaying, *This man is* inſtructed *by others* [a], *or is* a diſtracted perſon? We will take the plague from off *you*, a little: *but* ye will certainly return *to your infidelity* [b]. On the day whereon we ſhall fiercely aſſault *them* with great power [c], verily we will take vengeance *on them*. We made trial of the people of PHARAOH before them, and an honourable meſſenger came unto them, *ſaying*, Send unto me the ſervants of GOD [d]; verily I *am* a faithful meſſenger unto you: and lift not yourſelves up againſt GOD: for I come unto you with manifeſt power. And I fly for protection unto my LORD, and your LORD, that ye ſtone me not [e]. If ye do not believe me, *at leaſt* depart from me [f]. And *when they accuſed him of impoſture*, he called upon his LORD, *ſaying*, Theſe are a wicked people. *And GOD ſaid unto him*, March forth with my ſervants by night; for ye *will be* purſued: and leave the ſea divided, *that the EGYPTIANS may enter the ſame*; for they *are* a hoſt *doomed* to be drowned. How many gardens, and fountains, and fields of corn, and fair dwellings, and advantages which they enjoyed, did they leave behind them? Thus *we diſpoſſeſſed them thereof*; and we gave the ſame for an inheritance unto another people [g]. Neither heaven nor earth wept for them [h]; neither were they reſpited *any longer*. And we delivered the children of ISRAEL from a ſhameful affliction; from PHARAOH; for he was haughty, and a tranſgreſſor: and we choſe them, knowingly [i], above *all* people; and we ſhewed them *ſeveral* ſigns [k], wherein was an evident trial. Verily theſe *MECCANS* ſay, Aſſuredly *our final end* will be no other than our firſt *natural* death; neither ſhall we be raiſed again: bring now our forefathers *back to life*, if ye ſpeak truth. Are they better, or the people of TOBBA [l], and thoſe who *were* before them? we deſtroyed them, becauſe they wrought wickedneſs. We have not created the heavens and the earth,

[a] See chap. 16. p. 223.

[b] *We will take the plague from off them, a little; yet will ye certainly return to your infidelity.*] If we follow the former expoſition, the words are to be underſtood of the ceaſing of the famine, upon the interceſſion of *Mohammed*, at the deſire of the *Koreiſh*, and on their promiſe of believing on him; notwithſtanding which they fell back to their old incredulity: but if we follow the latter expoſition, they are to be underſtood of GOD's taking away the plague of the ſmoke, after the expiration of the forty days, at the prayer of the infidels, and on their promiſe of receiving the true faith; which being done, they will immediately return to their wonted obſtinacy.

[c] *On the day whereon we ſhall fiercely aſſault them with great power*;] Some expound this of the ſlaughter at *Bedr*; and others of the day of judgment.

[d] *Send unto me the ſervants of* GOD;] i. e. Let the *Iſraelites* go with me to worſhip their GOD.

[e] *That ye ſtone me not*;] Or that ye injure me not, either by word or deed. [1]

[f] *Depart from me*;] Without oppoſing me, or offering me any injury, which I have not deſerved from you.

[g] See chap. 26. p. 204.

[h] *Neither heaven nor earth wept for them*;] That is, None pitied their deſtruction.

[i] *Knowingly*;] i. e. Knowing that they were worthy of our choice; or notwithſtanding we knew they would, in time to come, fall into idolatry, *&c.*

[k] *Several ſigns*;] As the dividing of the red ſea; the cloud which ſhaded them; the raining on them manna and quails, *&c.* [2]

[l] *The people of* Tobba;] *viz.* The *Hamyarites*, whoſe kings had the title of *Tobba* [3]. The commentators tell us that the *Tobba* here meant

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. p. 9.

earth, and whatever *is* between them, by way of ſport: we have created them no otherwiſe than in truth [a]; but the greater part of them do not underſtand. Verily the day of ſeparation [b] *ſhall be* the appointed term of them all; a day, whereon the maſter and the ſervant ſhall be of no advantage to one another, neither ſhall they be helped; excepting thoſe on whom GOD ſhall have mercy: for he *is* the mighty, the merciful. Verily *the fruit of* the tree of AL ZAKKUM *ſhall be* the food of the impious [c]: as the dregs of oil ſhall it boil in the bellies *of the damned*, like the boiling of the hotteſt water. *And it ſhall be ſaid to the tormentors*, Take him, and drag him into the midſt of hell: and pour on his head the torture of boiling water, *ſaying*, Taſte *this*; for thou art that mighty *and* honourable perſon. Verily this is the *puniſhment* of which ye doubted. But the pious *ſhall be lodged* in a place of ſecurity; among gardens and fountains: they ſhall be cloathed in fine ſilk, and in ſattin; *and they ſhall ſit* facing one another. Thus *ſhall it be*: and we will eſpouſe them to fair damſels, having large black eyes. In that place ſhall they call for all *kinds of* fruits, in full ſecurity: they ſhall not taſte death therein, after the firſt death; and GOD ſhall deliver from the pains of hell: through the gracious bounty of thy LORD. This will be great felicity. Moreover we have rendred *the* KORAN eaſy *for thee, by revealing it* in thine own tongue: to the end that they may be admoniſhed: wherefore do thou wait *the event*; for they wait *to ſee ſome misfortune befall thee.*

meant was very potent, and built *Samarcand*, or, as others ſay, demoliſhed it; and that he was a true believer, but his ſubjects were infidels. [1]

This prince ſeems to have been *Abu Carb Aſaad*, who flouriſhed about ſeven hundred years before *Mohammed*, and embraced *Judaiſm*, which religion he firſt introduced into *Yaman*, (being the true religion at that time, inaſmuch as *Chriſtianity* was not then promulgated,) and was, for that cauſe probably, ſlain by his own people [2].

[a] See chap. 21. p. 266. and chap. 28. p. 374.

[b] *The day of ſeparation*;] i. e. The day of judgment; when the wicked ſhall be ſeparated from the righteous, *&c.*

[c] *The impious*;] *Jallalo'ddin* ſuppoſes this paſſage to have been particularly levelled againſt *Abu Jahl.*

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* JANNABI. V. Poc. *Spec.* p. 60.

CHAP. XLV.

Intitled, The Kneeling [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

H. M [b]. The revelation of *this* book *is* from the mighty, the wiſe GOD. Verily *both* in heaven and earth *are* ſigns of *the divine power* unto the true believers: and in the creation of yourſelves, and of the beaſts which are

[a] The word from which this chapter is denominated, occurs pag. 405. [b] See the Prel. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, *&c.*

ſcattered *over the face of the earth*, *are* ſigns unto people of ſound judgment; and *alſo in* the viciſſitude of night and day, and the rain which GOD ſendeth down from heaven, whereby he quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead: in the change of the winds alſo *are* ſigns, unto people of underſtanding. Theſe *are* the ſigns of GOD; we rehearſe them unto thee with truth. In what revelation therefore will they believe, after *they have rejected* GOD and his ſigns? Woe unto every lying, *and* impious perſon; who heareth the ſigns of GOD, which are read unto him, and afterwards proudly perſiſteth *in infidelity*, as though he heard them not: (denounce unto him a painful puniſhment:) and who, when he cometh to the knowledge of any of our ſigns, receiveth the ſame with ſcorn. For theſe *is prepared* a ſhameful puniſhment: before them *lieth* hell; and whatever they ſhall have gained ſhall not avail them at all, neither *ſhall* the *idols* which they have taken for *their* patrons, beſides GOD: and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. This *is* a *true* direction: and for thoſe who diſbelieve the ſigns of their LORD, *is prepared* the puniſhment of a painful torment. *It is* GOD who hath ſubjected the ſea unto you, that the ſhips may ſail therein, at his command; and that ye may ſeek *advantage unto yourſelves by commerce*, of his bounty; and that ye may give thanks: and he obligeth whatever *is* in heaven and on earth to ſerve you; the whole *being* from him. Verily herein *are* ſigns, unto people who conſider. Speak unto the true believers, that they forgive thoſe who hope not for the days of GOD [a], that he may reward people according to what they ſhall have wrought. Whoſo doth that which is right, *doth it* to *the advantage of* his own ſoul; and whoſo doth evil, *doth it* againſt the ſame: hereafter ſhall ye return unto your LORD. We gave unto the children of ISRAEL the book *of the law*, and wiſdom, and prophecy; and we fed them with good things, and preferred them above all nations: and we gave them plain *ordinances* concerning the buſineſs *of religion*; neither did they fall to variance, except after that knowledge had come unto them, through envy amongſt themſelves: but thy LORD will decide the controverſy between them, on the day of reſurrection, concerning that wherein they diſagree. Afterwards we appointed thee, O *MOHAMMED*, to *promulgate* a law concerning the buſineſs *of religion*: wherefore follow the ſame, and follow not the deſires of thoſe who are ignorant [b]. Verily they ſhall not avail thee againſt GOD at all: the unjuſt *are* the patrons of one another; but GOD *is* the patron of the pious. This *KORAN* delivereth evident *precepts* unto mankind; and *is* a direction, and a mercy, unto people who judge aright. Do the workers of iniquity imagine that we will deal with them as with thoſe who believe and do good works; *ſo*

[a] *Speak unto the true believers, that they forgive thoſe who hope not for the days of* GOD, *&c.*] By the *days of* GOD, in this place, are meant the proſperous ſucceſſes of his people in battle againſt the infidels [1]. The paſſage is ſaid to have been revealed on account of *Omar*, who being reviled by one of the tribe of *Ghifâr*, was thinking to revenge himſelf by force. Some are of opinion that this verſe is abrogated by that of *war* [2].

[b] *Follow not the deſires of the ignorant*;] That is, Of the principal *Koreiſh*, who were urgent with *Mohammed* to return to the religion of his forefathers [3].

[1] *See p. 205. not. d.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*

ſo that their life and their death *ſhall be* equal? An ill judgment do they make. GOD hath created the heavens and the earth in truth; that he may recompenſe every ſoul according to that which it ſhall have wrought: and they ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. What thinkeſt thou? He who taketh his own luſt for his GOD, and whom GOD cauſeth knowingly to err, and whoſe ears, and whoſe heart he hath ſealed up, and over whoſe eyes he hath caſt a vail; who ſhall direct him, after GOD *ſhall have forſaken him?* Will ye not therefore be admoniſhed? They ſay, *There* is no *other life*, except our preſent life: we die, and we live; and nothing but time deſtroyeth us. But they have no knowledge in this *matter*; they only follow a *vain* opinion. And when our evident ſigns are rehearſed unto them, their argument *which they offer againſt the ſame*, is no other than that they ſay, Bring *to life* our fathers *who have been dead*; if ye ſpeak truth. Say, GOD giveth you life; and afterwards cauſeth you to die: hereafter will he aſſemble you together on the day of reſurrection; there is no doubt thereof; but the greater part of men do not underſtand. Unto GOD *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and the day whereon the hour ſhall be fixed, on that day ſhall thoſe who charge *the* KORAN with vanity periſh. And thou ſhalt ſee every nation [a] kneeling: every nation ſhall be called unto its book *of account*; *and it ſhall be ſaid unto them*, This day ſhall ye be rewarded according to that which ye have wrought. This our book will ſpeak concerning you with truth: *therein* have we written down whatever ye have done [b]. As to thoſe who ſhall have believed and done good works, their LORD ſhall lead them into his mercy: this ſhall be manifeſt felicity. But as to the infidels, *it ſhall be ſaid unto them*, Were not my ſigns rehearſed unto you? but ye proudly rejected *them*, and became a wicked people? And when it was ſaid *unto you*, Verily the promiſe of GOD *is* true; and as to the hour *of judgment*, *there is* no doubt thereof: ye anſwered, We know not what the hour *of judgment is*: we hold an *uncertain* opinion only; and we are not well aſſured *of this matter*. But *on that day* the evils of that which they have wrought, ſhall appear unto them; and that which they mocked at, ſhall encompaſs them: and it ſhall be ſaid *unto them*, This day will we forget you, as ye did forget the meeting of this your day: and your abode *ſhall be hell* fire; and ye ſhall have none to deliver you. This *ſhall ye ſuffer*, becauſe ye turned the ſigns of GOD to ridicule; and the life of the world deceived you. On this day, therefore, they ſhall not be taken forth from thence, neither ſhall they be aſked *any more* to render themſelves well-pleaſing *unto GOD*. Wherefore praiſe be unto GOD, the LORD of the heavens, and the LORD of the earth; the LORD of all creatures: and unto him be glory in heaven and earth; for he *is* the mighty, the wiſe *GOD!*

[a] *Every nation*;] The original word *Ommat* properly ſignifies a people who profeſs one and the ſame law or religion.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 89.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVI.

Intitled, AL AHKAF[a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

XXVI. *H.M[b]. The revelation of *this* book *is* from the mighty, the wiſe GOD. We have not created the heavens, and the earth, and whatever is between them, otherwiſe than in truth[c], and for a determined period[d]: but the unbelievers turn away from the warning which is given them. Say, What think ye? Shew me what *part* of the earth *the idols* which ye invoke, beſides GOD, have created? Or had they any ſhare in *the creation of* the heavens? Bring me a book *of ſcripture revealed* before this, or ſome footſtep of *ancient* knowledge, *to countenance your idolatrous practices*; if ye are men of veracity. Who is in a wider error than he who invoketh, beſides GOD, that which cannot return him an anſwer, to the day of reſurrection; and *idols* which regard not their calling *on them:* and which, when men ſhall be gathered together *to judgment*, will become their enemies, and will ungratefully deny their worſhip? When our evident ſigns are rehearſed unto them, the unbelievers ſay of the truth[e], when it cometh unto them, This *is* a manifeſt piece of ſorcery. Will they ſay, *MOHAMMED* hath forged it? Anſwer, If I have forged it, verily ye ſhall not obtain for me any *favour* from GOD: he well knoweth the *injurious language* which ye utter concerning it: he is a ſufficient witneſs between me and you; and he *is* gracious *and* merciful. Say, I am not ſingular among the apoſtles[f]; neither do I know what will be done with me or with you *hereafter:* I follow no other than what is revealed unto me; neither am I any more than a public warner. Say, What is your opinion? If *this book* be from GOD, and ye believe not therein; and a witneſs of the children of ISRAEL bear witneſs to its conſonancy *with the law*[g], and believeth therein; and ye proudly

[a] *Al Ahkâf* is the plural of *Hekf*, and ſignifies ſands which lie in a crooked or winding manner; whence it became the name of a territory in the province of *Hadramaut*, where the *Adites* dwelt. It is mentioned about the middle of the chapter.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, &c.

[c] See chap. 21. p. 266. and ch. 38. p. 374, &c.

[d] *A determined period*;] Being to laſt but a ſpace of time, and not for ever.

[e] [illegible].] i. e. Any part of the revelations [illegible]

[f] *A ſingular among the apoſtles*;] That is, I do not teach a doctrine different from what the former apoſtles and prophets have taught: nor am I able to do what they could not; particularly to ſhew the ſigns which every one ſhall think fit to demand [1].

[g] *If a witneſs of the children of* Iſrael *bear witneſs of its conſonancy to the law*, &c.] This witneſs is generally ſuppoſed to have been the *Jew Abd'allah Ebn Salâm*, who declared that *Mohammed* was the prophet foretold by *Moſes*. Some, however, ſuppoſe the witneſs here meant to have been *Moſes* himſelf [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

proudly reject *the ſame: are ye not unjuſt doers?* Verily GOD directeth not unjuſt people. But thoſe who believe not, ſay of the true believers, If *the doctrine of the* KORAN had been good, they had not embraced the ſame before us[a]. And when they are not guided thereby, they ſay, This *is* an antiquated lye. Whereas the book of MOSES *was revealed* before *the* KORAN, *to be* a guide and a mercy: and this *is* a book confirming *the ſame, delivered* in the Arabic tongue; to denounce threats unto thoſe who act unjuſtly, and to bear good tidings unto the righteous doers. *As to* thoſe who ſay, Our LORD *is* GOD; and who behave uprightly: on them *ſhall* no fear *come*, neither ſhall they be grieved. Theſe *ſhall be* the inhabitants of paradiſe, they ſhall remain therein for ever: in recompenſe for that which they have wrought. We have commanded man *to ſhew* kindneſs to his parents: his mother beareth him *in her womb* with pain, and bringeth him forth with pain: and *the ſpace of* his being carried *in her womb*, and *of* his weaning, *is* thirty months[b]; until, when he attaineth his age of ſtrength, and attaineth *the age of* forty years, he ſaith[c], O LORD, excite me, by thy inſpiration, that I may be grateful for thy favours, wherewith thou haſt favoured me and my parents; and that I may work righteouſneſs, which may pleaſe thee: and be gracious unto me in my iſſue; for I am turned unto thee, and am a Moſlem. Theſe *are* they from whom we accept the good work which they have wrought, and whoſe evil *works* we paſs by; *and they ſhall be* among the inhabitants of paradiſe: this *is* a true promiſe, which they are promiſed *in this world.* He who ſaith unto his parents, Fie on you! Do ye promiſe me that I ſhall be taken forth *from the grave, and reſtored to life*; when *many* generations have paſſed away before me, *and none of them have returned back*[d]? And *his parents* implore GOD's aſſiſtance, *and ſay to their ſon*, Alas for thee! Believe: for the promiſe of GOD *is* true. But he anſwereth, This *is* no other than ſilly fables of the ancients. Theſe *are they* whom the ſentence *paſſed* on the nations which have been before them, of genii and of men, juſtly fitteth: they ſhall ſurely periſh[e]. For every one *is prepared* a certain degree *of happineſs or miſery*, according to that which they ſhall have wrought; that

[a] *If the doctrine of the* Koran *had been good, they had not embraced the ſame before us.*] Theſe words were ſpoken, as ſome think, by the *Jews*, when *Abd'allah* profeſſed *Iſlam*; or, according to others, by the *Koreiſh*, becauſe the firſt followers of *Mohammed* were for the moſt part poor and mean people; or elſe by the tribes of *Amer, Ghatfan* and *Aſad*, on the converſion of thoſe of *Jobeinah, Mozeinah, Aſlam* and *Ghifar* [1].

[b] *Thirty months*;] At the leaſt. For if the full time of ſuckling an infant be two years [2], or twenty four months, there remain but ſix months for the ſpace of his being carried in the womb; which is the leaſt that can be allowed [3].

[c] *He ſaith*, &c.] Theſe words, it is ſaid, were revealed on account of *Abu Becr*, who profeſſed *Iſlam* in the fortieth year of his age, two years after *Mohammed*'s miſſion; and was the only perſon, either of the *Mohajerin* or the *Anſars*, whoſe father and mother were alſo converted: his ſon *Abd'alrahmân*, and his grandſon *Abu Atik*, likewiſe embracing the ſame faith [4].

[d] *He who ſaith to his parents, Fie on you*, &c.] The words ſeem to be general: but it is ſaid they were revealed particularly on occaſion of *Abd'alrahmân*, the ſon of *Abu Becr*; who uſed theſe expreſſions to his father and mother, before he profeſſed *Iſlam* [5].

[e] *They ſhall ſurely periſh*:] Unleſs they redeem their fault by repentance, and embracing the true faith; as did *Abd'alrahmân*.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *See chap. 2. p. 27.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem*, JALLAL, &c. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

that GOD may recompense them for their works: and they shall not be treated unjustly. On a certain day, the unbelievers shall be exposed before the fire *of hell*; *and it shall be said unto them*, Ye received your good things in your life-time, *while ye were* in the world; and ye enjoyed yourselves therein: wherefore this day ye shall be rewarded with the punishment of ignominy; for that ye behaved insolently in the earth, without justice, and for that ye transgressed. Remember the brother of AD [a], when he preached unto his people in AL AHKAF, (and there were preachers before him, and after him,) *saying*, Worship none but GOD: verily I fear for you the punishment of a great day. They answered, Art thou come unto us that thou mayest turn us aside from *the worship of* our gods? Bring on us now *the punishment* with which thou threatenest us, if thou art a man of veracity. He said, Verily the knowledge *of the time when your punishment will be inflicted, is* with GOD; and I *only* declare unto you that which I am sent *to preach*; but I see ye are an ignorant people. And when they saw *the preparation made for their punishment, namely*, a cloud traversing *the sky, and* tending towards their valleys, they said, This *is* a traversing cloud, which bringeth us rain. *HUD answered*, Nay; it is what ye demanded to be hastened: a wind, wherein *is* a severe vengeance: it will destroy every thing [b], at the command of its LORD. And in the morning nothing was to be seen, besides their *empty* dwellings. Thus do we reward wicked people. We had established them in the *like flourishing condition* wherein we have established you, *O men of MECCA*; and we had given them ears, and eyes, and hearts: yet neither their ears, nor their eyes, nor their hearts profited them at all, when they rejected the signs of GOD; but the *vengeance* which they mocked at, fell upon them. We heretofore destroyed the cities which *were* round about you [c]; and we variously proposed *our* signs unto them, that they might repent. Did those protect them, whom they took for gods, besides GOD, *and imagined to be* honoured with his familiarity? Nay; they withdrew from them: yet this *was* their false opinion *which seduced them*, and *the blasphemy* which they had devised. *Remember* when we caused certain of the genii [d] to turn aside unto thee, that they might hear the KORAN: and when they were present at *the reading of* the same, they said *to one another*, Give ear: and when it was ended, they returned back unto their people, preaching *what they had heard*. They said, Our people, verily we have heard

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[a] *The brother of* Ad;] i. e. The prophet *Hud*.

[b] *It will destroy every thing*, &c.] Which came to pass accordingly: for this pestilential and violent wind killed all who believed not in the doctrine of *Hud*, without distinction of sex, age, or degree; and intirely destroyed their possessions. See the Prelim. Disc. § 1. p. 6, and the notes to ch. 7. p. 124.

[c] *The cities which were round about you*;] As the settlements of the *Thamudites, Midianites*, and the cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, &c.

[d] *Certain of the genii*;] These genii, according to different opinions, were of *Nisibin*, or of *Yaman*, or of *Ninive*; and in number nine, or seven. They heard *Mohammed* reading the *Koran* by night, or after the morning prayer, in the valley of *al Nakhlah*, during the time of his retreat to *al Tayf*, and believed on him [1].

[1] *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

a book *read unto us*, which hath been revealed ſince MOSES[a], confirming the *ſcripture* which *was delivered* before it; *and* directing unto the truth, and the right way. Our people, obey GOD's preacher: and believe in him; that he may forgive you your ſins, and may deliver you from a painful puniſhment. And whoever obeyeth not GOD's preacher, ſhall by no means fruſtrate *GOD's vengeance* on earth: neither ſhall he have any protectors beſides him. Theſe *will be* in a manifeſt error. Do they not know that GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and was not fatigued with the creation thereof, *is* able to raiſe the dead to life? Yea verily: for he *is* almighty. On a certain day the unbelievers ſhall be expoſed unto *hell* fire; *and it ſhall be ſaid unto them*, Is not this really *come to paſs?* They ſhall anſwer, Yea, by our LORD. *GOD* ſhall reply, Taſte, therefore, the puniſhment *of hell*, for that ye have been unbelievers. Do thou, *O prophet*, bear *the inſults of thy people* with patience, as *our* apoſtles, who were endued with conſtancy, bare *the injuries of their people:* and require not *their puniſhment* to be haſtened unto them. On the day whereon they ſhall ſee the *puniſhment* wherewith they have been threatened, it ſhall ſeem as though they had tarried *in the world* but an hour of a day. *This is* a *fair* warning. Shall any periſh except the people who tranſgreſs?

[a] *A book which hath been revealed ſince* Moſes;] Hence the commentators ſuppoſe thoſe *genii*, before their converſion to *Mohammediſm*, to have been of the *Jewiſh* religion.

CHAP. XLVII.

Intitled, MOHAMMED[a]; *revealed at* MEDINA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

GOD will render of none effect the works of thoſe who believe not, and *who* turn away *men* from the way of GOD: but as to thoſe who believe, and work righteouſneſs, and believe in *the revelation* which hath been ſent down unto MOHAMMED, (for it is the truth from their LORD,) he will expiate their evil deeds from them, and will diſpoſe their heart aright. This *will he do*, becauſe thoſe who believe not follow vanity, and becauſe thoſe who believe follow the truth from their LORD. Thus GOD propoundeth unto men their examples. When ye encounter the unbelievers, ſtrike off *their* heads, until ye have made a great ſlaughter among them; and bind *them* in bonds: and either *give them* a free diſmiſſion afterwards, or *exact* a ranſom;

[a] Some intitle this chapter *War*; which is therein commanded to be vigorouſly carried on againſt the enemies of the *Mohammedan* faith.

[b] Some ſuppoſe the whole to have been revealed at *Mecca*.

ſom; until the war ſhall have laid down its arms [a]. This *ſhall ye do:* Verily if GOD pleaſed, he could take vengeance on them, *without your aſſiſtance*; but *he commandeth you to fight his battles*, that he may prove the one of you by the other. And *as to* thoſe who fight [b] in defence of GOD's true religion, *GOD* will not ſuffer their works to periſh: he will guide them, and will diſpoſe their heart aright; and he will lead them into paradiſe, of which he hath told them. O true believers, if ye aſſiſt GOD, *by fighting for his religion*, he will aſſiſt you *againſt your enemies*; and will ſet your feet faſt: but *as for* the infidels, let them periſh; and their works ſhall *GOD* render vain. This *ſhall befal them*, becauſe they have rejected with abhorrence that which GOD hath revealed: wherefore their works ſhall become of no avail. Do they not travel through the earth, and ſee what hath been the end of thoſe who *were* before them? GOD utterly deſtroyed them: and the like *cataſtrophe* awaiteth the unbelievers. This *ſhall come to paſs*, for that GOD is the patron of the true believers, and for that the infidels have no protector. Verily GOD will introduce thoſe who believe, and do good works, into gardens beneath which rivers flow: but the unbelievers indulge themſelves in pleaſures, and eat as beaſts eat; and their abode *ſhall be hell* fire. How many cities were more mighty in ſtrength than thy city which hath expelled thee; *yet* have we deſtroyed them, and *there was* none to help them? Shall he, therefore, who followeth the plain declaration of his LORD, *be* as he whoſe evil works have been dreſſed up for him *by the devil*; and who follow their own luſts? The deſcription of paradiſe, which is promiſed unto the pious: therein *are* rivers of incorruptible water; and rivers of milk, the taſte whereof changeth not; and rivers of wine, pleaſant unto thoſe who drink; and rivers of clarified honey: and therein ſhall they have *plenty* of all *kinds of* fruits; and pardon from their LORD. *Shall the man for whom theſe things are prepared, be* as he who muſt dwell for ever in *hell* fire; and will have the boiling water given them to drink, which ſhall burſt their bowels? Of the *unbelievers there are* ſome who give ear unto thee, until, when they go out from thee, they ſay, *by way of deriſion*, unto thoſe to whom knowledge hath been given [c], What hath he ſaid now? Theſe *are they* whoſe hearts GOD hath ſealed up, and who follow their own luſts: but

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[a] *When ye encounter the unbelievers, ſtrike off their heads*, &c.] This law the *Hanifites* judge to be abrogated, or to relate particularly to the war of *Bedr*; for the ſeverity here commanded, which was neceſſary in the beginning of *Mohammediſm* [1], they think too rigorous to be put in practice in its flouriſhing ſtate. But the *Perſians*, and ſome others, hold the command to be ſtill in full force: for, according to them, all the men of full age, who are taken in battle, are to be ſlain, unleſs they embrace the *Mohammedan* faith; and thoſe who fall into the hands of the *Moſlems* after the battle, are not to be ſlain, but may either be ſet at liberty gratis, or on payment of a certain ranſom, or may be exchanged for *Mohammedan* priſoners, or condemned to ſlavery, at the pleaſure of the *Imâm* or prince [2].

[b] *Who fight*, &c.] Some copies, inſtead of *kâtilu*, read *kâtilu*; according to which latter reading it ſhould be rendred, *who are ſlain*, or *ſuffer martyrdom*, &c.

[c] *Thoſe to whom knowledge hath been given*;] i. e. The more learned of *Mohammed*'s companions; ſuch as *Ebn Maſûd*, and *Ebn Abbâs* [3].

[1] *See chap.* 8. *p.* 141, *and* 147. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* RELAND. *Diſſert. de Jure militari Mohammedanor. p.* 32. [3] JALLAL.

as to thoſe who are directed, GOD will grant them a more ample direction, and he will inſtruct them what to avoid [a]. Do *the infidels* wait for any other than the *laſt* hour, that it may come upon them ſuddenly? Some ſigns thereof are already come [b]: and when it ſhall actually overtake them, how can they *then* receive admonition? Know, therefore, that there is no god but GOD: and aſk pardon for thy ſin [c], and for the true believers both men and women. GOD knoweth your buſy employment *in the world*, and the place of your abode *hereafter*. The true believers ſay, Hath not a SURA been revealed *commanding war againſt the infidels?* But when a SURA without any ambiguity is revealed, and war is mentioned therein, thou mayeſt ſee thoſe in whoſe hearts is an infirmity [d], look towards thee with the look of one whom death overſhadoweth. But obedience *would be* more eligible for them, and to ſpeak that which is convenient. And when the command is firmly eſtabliſhed, if they give credit unto GOD, it will be better for them. Were ye ready therefore, if ye had been put in authority [e], to commit outrages in the earth, and to violate your ties of blood? Theſe *are they* whom GOD hath curſed, and hath rendred deaf, and whoſe eyes he hath blinded. Do they not therefore attentively meditate on the KORAN? Are there locks upon their hearts? Verily they who turn their backs, after the *true* direction is made manifeſt unto them; SATAN ſhall prepare *their wickedneſs* for them, and *GOD* ſhall bear with them for a time. This *ſhall befal them*, becauſe they ſay *privately* unto thoſe who deteſt what GOD hath revealed, We will obey you in part of the matter [f]. But GOD knoweth their ſecrets. How therefore *will it be with them*, when the angels ſhall cauſe them to die, *and* ſhall ſtrike their faces, and their backs [g]? This *ſhall they ſuffer*, becauſe they follow that which provoketh GOD to wrath, and are averſe to what is well pleaſing unto him: and he will render their works vain. Do they in whoſe hearts is an infirmity, imagine that GOD will not bring their malice to light? If we pleaſed, we could ſurely ſhew them unto thee, and thou ſhouldeſt know them by their marks; but thou ſhalt certainly know them by *their* perverſe pronunciation of *their* words. GOD knoweth your actions: and we will try you, until we know thoſe among you who fight valiantly,

[a] *And he will inſtruct them what to avoid*;] Or, as the words may alſo be tranſlated, *and he will reward them for their piety.*

[b] *Some ſigns thereof are already come*;] As the miſſion of *Mohammed*, the ſplitting of the moon, and the ſmoke [1] mentioned in the 44th chapter.

[c] *Ask pardon for thy ſin*;] Tho' *Mohammed* here and elſewhere [2] acknowledges himſelf to be a ſinner, yet ſeveral *Mohammedan* doctors pretend he was wholly free from ſin, and ſuppoſe he is here commanded to ask forgiveneſs, not that he wanted it, but that he might ſet an example to his followers: wherefore he uſed to ſay of himſelf, if the tradition be true, *I ask pardon of* GOD *a hundred times a day* [3].

[d] *An infirmity*;] As hypocriſy, cowardice, or inſtability in their religion.

[e] *If ye had been put in authority*;] Or, as the words may alſo be tranſlated, *If ye had turned back*, and apoſtatized from your faith.

[f] *We will obey you in part of the matter*;] i. e. In part of what ye deſire of us; by ſtaying at home and not going forth with *Mohammed* to war, and by private combination againſt him [4].

[g] *When the angels ſhall cauſe them to die*, &c.] Theſe words are ſuppoſed to allude to the examination of the ſepulchre.

[1] *Idem*, *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See chap.* 48. *in the beginning.* [3] JALLALO'DDIN. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.

ly, and who perſevere with conſtancy; and we will try the reports of your behaviour. Verily thoſe who believe not, and turn away *men* from the way of GOD, and make oppoſition againſt the apoſtle [a], after the *divine* direction hath been manifeſted unto them, ſhall not hurt GOD at all; but he ſhall make their works to periſh. O true believers, obey GOD; and obey the apoſtle: and render not your works of no effect. Verily thoſe who believe not, and who turn away *men* from the way of GOD, and then die, being unbelievers, GOD will by no means forgive. Faint not therefore, neither invite *your enemies* to peace, while ye *are* the ſuperior: for GOD *is* with you, and will not defraud you of *the merit of* your works. Verily this preſent life *is* only a play and a vain amuſement: but if ye believe, and fear GOD, he will give you your rewards. He doth not require of you your *whole* ſubſtance: if he ſhould require the whole of you, and earneſtly preſs you, ye would become niggardly, and it would raiſe your hatred *againſt his apoſtle*. Behold, ye *are* thoſe who are invited to expend *part of your ſubſtance* for the ſupport of GOD's true religion; and *there are* ſome of you who are niggardly. But whoever ſhall be niggardly, ſhall be niggardly towards his own ſoul: for GOD wanteth nothing, but ye *are* needy: and if ye turn back, he will ſubſtitute *another* people in your ſtead, who ſhall not be like unto you [b].

[a] *Who make oppoſition againſt the apoſtle*;] Theſe were the tribes of *Koreidha* and *al Nadir*; or thoſe who diſtributed proviſion to the army of the *Koreiſh* at *Bedr* [1].

[b] *He will ſubſtitute another people in your ſtead, who ſhall not be like unto you*;] i. e. In backwardneſs and averſion to the propagation of the faith. The people here deſigned to be put in the place of theſe lukewarm Moſlems, are generally ſuppoſed to be the *Perſians*; there being a tradition that *Mohammed*, being asked what people they were, at a time when *Salmân* was ſitting by him, clapped his hand on his thigh, and ſaid, *This man and his nation*. Others, however, are of opinion the *Anſars*, or the angels are intended in this place [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See chap.* 8. p. 143. not. h. [2] *Idem.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

Intitled, The Victory; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

VERILY we have granted thee a manifeſt victory [a]: that GOD may forgive thee

[a] *We have granted thee a manifeſt victory.*] This victory, from which the chapter takes its title, according to the moſt received interpretation, was the taking of the city of *Mecca*. The paſſage is ſaid to have been revealed on *Mohammed*'s return from the expedition of *al Hodeibiya*, and contains a promiſe or prediction of this ſignal ſucceſs, which happened not till two years after; the preterit tenſe being therein uſed, according to the prophetic ſtyle, for the future [1].

There are ſome, notwithſtanding, who ſuppoſe the advantage here intended was the pacification of *al Hodeibiya*, which is here called a *victory*, becauſe the *Meccans* ſued for peace, and made a truce there with *Mohammed*, their breaking of which occaſioned the taking of *Mecca*. Others think the conqueſt of *Khaibar*, or the victory over the *Greeks* at *Mûta*, &c. to be meant in this place.

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI, *&c.*

thee [a] thy preceding and thy ſubſequent ſin [b], and may compleat his favour on thee, and direct thee in the right way; and that GOD may aſſiſt thee with a glorious aſſiſtance. It is he who ſendeth down ſecure tranquillity into the hearts of the true believers, that they may encreaſe in faith, beyond their *former* faith: (the hoſts of heaven and earth are GOD's; and GOD is knowing *and* wiſe:) that he may lead the true believers of both ſexes into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever; and may expiate their evil deeds from them: (this will be great felicity with GOD:) and that he may puniſh the hypocritical men, and the hypocritical women, and the idolaters, and the idolatreſſes, who conceive an ill opinion of GOD. They ſhall experience a turn of evil fortune; and GOD ſhall be angry with them, and ſhall curſe them, and hath prepared hell for them; an ill journey ſhall it be *thither!* Unto GOD *belong* the hoſts of heaven and earth; and GOD is mighty *and* wiſe. Verily we have ſent thee *to be* a witneſs, and a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats; that ye may believe in GOD, and his apoſtle; and may aſſiſt him, and revere him, and praiſe him morning and evening. Verily they who ſwear fealty [c] unto thee, ſwear fealty unto GOD: the hand of GOD *is* over their hands [d]. Whoever ſhall violate *his oath*, will violate *the ſame* to the hurt only of his own ſoul: but whoever ſhall perform that which he hath covenanted with GOD, he will ſurely give him a great reward. The ARABS of the deſart who were left behind [e] will ſay unto thee, Our ſubſtance and our families employed us, *ſo that we went not forth with thee to war*; wherefore ask pardon for us. They ſpeak that with their tongues, which *is* not in their hearts. Anſwer, Who ſhall be able *to obtain* for you any thing from GOD *to the contrary*, if he is pleaſed to afflict you, or is pleaſed to be gracious unto you? Yea verily, GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. Truely ye imagined that the apoſtle and the true believers would never return to their families; and this was prepared in your hearts: but ye imagined an evil imagination; and ye are

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[a] *That* GOD *may forgive thee*;] That is to ſay, That GOD may give thee an opportunity of deſerving forgiveneſs by cradicating of idolatry, and exalting his true religion, and the delivering of the weak from the hands of the ungodly, &c.

[b] *Thy preceding and thy ſubſequent ſin*;] i. e. Whatever thou haſt done worthy reprehenſion; or, thy ſins committed as well in the time of ignorance, as ſince. Some expound the words more particularly, and ſay the *preceding* or *former* fault, was his lying with his handmaid *Mary* [1], contrary to his oath; and the *latter*, his marrying of *Zeinab* [2], the wife of *Zeid* his adopted ſon [3].

[c] *Swear fealty*;] The original word ſignifies publickly to acknowledge or inaugurate a prince, by ſwearing fidelity and obedience to him.

[d] *The hand of* GOD *is over their hands*;] That is, He beholdeth from above, and is witneſs to the ſolemnity of your giving your faith to his apoſtle; and will reward you for it [4]. The expreſſion alludes to the manner of their plighting their faith on theſe occaſions.

[e] *The* Arabs *of the deſart who were left behind*;] Theſe were the tribes of *Aſlam*, *Joheinah*, *Mozeinah*, and *Ghifâr*, who being ſummoned to attend *Mohammed* in the expedition of *al Hodeibiya*, ſtaid behind, and excuſed themſelves by ſaying their families muſt ſuffer in their abſence, and would be robbed of the little they had, (for theſe tribes were of the poorer *Arabs*;) whereas in reality they wanted firmneſs in the faith, and courage to face the *Koreiſh* [5].

[1] *See chap.* 66. *and the notes thereon.* [2] *See chap.* 33. *and the notes thereon.* [3] *Al* ZAMAKH. [4] JALLAL. [5] *Idem*, *Al* BEIDAWI.

a corrupt people. Whoſo believeth not in GOD and his apoſtle, verily we have prepared burning fire for the unbelievers. Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth: he forgiveth whom he pleaſeth, and he puniſheth whom he pleaſeth; and GOD is inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. Thoſe who were left behind will ſay, when ye go forth to take the ſpoil [a], Suffer us to follow you. They ſeek to change the word of GOD [b]. Say, Ye ſhall by no means follow us: thus hath GOD ſaid heretofore. They will reply, Nay; ye envy us *a ſhare of the booty*. But they are men of ſmall underſtanding. Say unto the ARABS of the deſart who were left behind, Ye ſhall be called forth againſt a mighty *and* a warlike nation [c]: ye ſhall fight againſt them, or they ſhall profeſs ISLAM. If ye obey, GOD will give you a glorious reward: but if ye turn back, as ye turned back heretofore, he will chaſtiſe you with a grievous chaſtiſement. It ſhall be no crime in the blind, neither ſhall it be a crime in the lame, neither ſhall it be a crime in the ſick, *if they go not forth to war:* and whoſo ſhall obey GOD and his apoſtle, he ſhall lead him into gardens beneath which rivers flow; but whoſo ſhall turn back, he will chaſtiſe him with a grievous chaſtiſement. Now GOD was well pleaſed with the true believers, when they ſware fidelity unto thee under the tree [d]; and he knew that which *was* in their hearts: wherefore he ſent down on them tranquillity of mind [e], and rewarded them with a ſpeedy victory [f], and many ſpoils which they took: for GOD is mighty *and* wiſe. GOD promiſed you many ſpoils which ye ſhould take; but he gave you theſe

[a] *When ye go forth to take the ſpoil*;] *Viz.* In the expedition of *Khaibar*. The prophet returned from *al Hodeibiya* in *Dhu'lhajja*, in the 6th year of the *Hejra*, and ſtaid at *Medina* the remainder of that month and the beginning of *Moharram*, and then ſet forward againſt the *Jews* of *Khaibar*, with thoſe only who had attended him to *al Hodeibiya*; and having made himſelf maſter of the place, and all the caſtles and ſtrong holds in that territory [1], took ſpoils to a great value, which he divided among them who were preſent at that expedition, and none elſe [2].

[b] *The word of* GOD;] Which was his promiſe to thoſe who attended the prophet to *al Hodeibiya*, that he would make them amends for their miſſing of the plunder of *Mecca* at that time, by giving them that of *Khaibar* in lieu thereof. Some think the *word* here intended to be that paſſage in the 9th chapter [3], *Ye ſhall not go forth with me for the future*, &c. which yet was plainly revealed long after the taking of *Khaibar*, on occaſion of the expedition of *Tabuc* [4].

[c] *A mighty and warlike nation*;] Theſe were *Banu Honeifa*, who inhabited *al Yamâma*, and were the followers of *Moſeilama*, *Mohammed*'s competitor; or any other of thoſe tribes which apoſtatized from *Mohammediſm* [5]; or, as others rather ſuppoſe, the *Perſians*, or the *Greeks* [6].

[d] *When they ſware fidelity unto thee under the tree.*] *Mohammed*, when at *al Hodeibiya*, ſent *Jawwâs Ebn Omeyya* the *Khozaïte*, to acquaint the *Meccans* that he was come with a peaceable intention, to viſit the temple; but they, on ſome jealouſy conceived, refuſing to admit him, the prophet ſent *Othman Ebn Affân*, whom they impriſoned, and a report ran that he was ſlain: whereupon *Mohammed* called his men about him, and they took an oath to be faithful to him, even to death; during which ceremony he ſat under a tree, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been an *Egyptian* thorn, and by others a kind of lote-tree [7].

[e] *Tranquillity of mind*;] The original word is *Sakînat*, of which notice has been taken elſewhere [8].

[f] *A ſpeedy victory*;] Namely, the ſucceſs at *Khaibar*; or, as ſome rather imagine, the taking of *Mecca*, &c.

[1] *V.* ABULF. *Vit. Moh. p.* 87, *&c.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Pag.* 160. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.
[5] *Idem.* [6] JALLALO'DDIN. [7] *Idem*, *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 86.
[8] *In not. ad cap.* 2. p. 29.

theſe by way of earneſt: and he reſtrained the hands of men from you [a]: that the ſame may be a ſign unto the true believers; and that he may guide you into the right way. And *he alſo promiſeth you* other *ſpoils*, which ye have not *yet* been able *to take:* but now hath GOD encompaſſed them *for you*; and GOD is almighty. If the unbelieving *MECCANS* had fought againſt you, verily they had turned *their* backs; and they would not have found a patron or protector: *according to* the ordinance of GOD, which hath been put in execution heretofore *againſt oppoſers of the prophets*; for thou ſhalt not find any change in the ordinance of GOD. *It was* he who reſtrained their hands from you, and your hands from them, in the valley of MECCA; after that he had given you the victory over them [b]: and GOD ſaw that which ye did. Theſe *are they* who believed not, and hindred you from *viſiting* the holy temple, and *alſo hindred* the offering, being detained, that it ſhould not arrive at the place where it ought to be ſacrificed [c]. Had it not been that ye might have trampled on *divers* true believers, *both* men and women, whom ye knew not, *being promiſcuouſly aſſembled with the infidels*, and that a crime might therefore have lighted on you on their account, without *your* knowledge, *he had not reſtrained your hands from them: but this was done*, that GOD might lead whom he pleaſeth into his mercy. If they had been diſtinguiſhed from one another, we had ſurely chaſtiſed ſuch of them as believed not, with a ſevere chaſtiſement. When the unbelievers had put in their hearts an affected preciſeneſs, the preciſeneſs of ignorance, and GOD ſent down his tranquillity on his apoſtle and on the true believers [d]; and firmly fixed in them the word of piety,

[a] *And he reſtrained the hands of men from you;*] i. e. The hands of thoſe of *Khaibar*, or of their ſucceſſors of the tribes of *Aſad* and *Ghatfân*; or of the inhabitans of *Mecca*, by the pacification of *al Hodeibiya* [1].

[b] *He reſtrained their hands from you, and your hands from them*, &c.] *Jallalo'ddin* ſays, that fourſcore of the infidels came privately to *Mohammed*'s camp at *al Hodeibiya*, with an intent to ſurprize ſome of his men, but were taken and brought before the prophet; who pardoned them and ordered them to be ſet at liberty: and this generous action was the occaſion of the truce ſtruck up by the *Koreiſh* with *Mohammed*; for thereupon they ſent *Sohail Ebn Amru* and ſome others, (and not *Arwa Ebn Maſud*, as is ſaid, by miſtake, in another place [2]; for his errand was an actual defiance,) to treat of peace.

Al Beidawi explains the paſſage by another ſtory: telling us that *Acrema Ebn Abi Jahl* marching from *Mecca* at the head of five hundred men to *al Hodeibiya*, *Mohammed* ſent againſt him *Khâled Ebn al Valid*, with a detachment, who drove the infidels back to the innermoſt part of *Mecca*, (as the word here tranſlated *valley* properly ſignifies,) and then left them, out of reſpect to the place.

[c] *And hindred the offering, being detained, that it ſhould not arrive at the place where it ought to be ſacrificed.*] *Mohammed*'s intent, in the expedition of *al Hodeibiya*, being only to viſit the temple of *Mecca* in a peaceable manner, and to offer a ſacrifice in the valley of *Mina*, according to the eſtabliſhed rites, he carried beaſts with him for that purpoſe; but was not permitted by the *Koreiſh* either to enter the temple, or to go to *Mina*.

[d] *When the unbelievers had put in their hearts an affected preciſeneſs*, &c.] This paſſage was occaſioned by the ſtiffneſs of *Sohail* and his companions, in wording the treaty concluded with *Mohammed*: for when the prophet ordered *Ali* to begin with the form, *In the name of the moſt merciful* GOD, they objected to it, and inſiſted that he ſhould begin with this, *In thy name, O* GOD; which *Mohammed* ſubmitted to, and proceeded to dictate, *Theſe are the conditions on which* Mohammed *the apoſtle of* GOD *has made peace with theſe of* Mecca: to this *Sohail* again objected, ſaying, *If we had acknowledged thee to be the apoſtle*

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Prelim. Diſc.* § 3. p. 53.

piety [a], and they were the moſt worthy of the ſame, and the moſt deſerving thereof: for GOD knoweth all things. Now hath GOD in truth verified unto his apoſtle the viſion [b], *wherein he ſaid*; Ye ſhall ſurely enter the holy temple *of* MECCA, if GOD pleaſe, in full ſecurity; having your heads ſhaved, and your hair cut [c]: ye ſhall not fear: for *GOD* knoweth that which ye know not; and he hath appointed *you*, beſides this, a ſpeedy victory [d]. *It is* he who hath ſent his apoſtle with the direction, and the religion of truth; that he may exalt the ſame above every religion: and GOD is a ſufficient witneſs *hereof*. MOHAMMED *is* the apoſtle of GOD: and thoſe who are with him *are* fierce againſt the unbelievers, *but* compaſſionate towards one another. Thou mayeſt ſee them bowing down, proſtrate, ſeeking a recompenſe from GOD, and *his* good will. Their ſigns *are* in their faces, being marks of *frequent* proſtration. This *is* their deſcription in the pentateuch, and their deſcription in the goſpel: *they are* as ſeed which putteth forth its ſtalk, and ſtrengtheneth it, and ſwelleth in the ear, and riſeth upon its ſtem; giving delight unto the ſower. *Such are the Moſlems deſcribed to be:* that the infidels may ſwell with indignation at them. GOD hath promiſed unto ſuch of them as believe, and do good works, pardon and a great reward.

apoſtle of GOD *we had not given thee any oppoſition*; whereupon *Mohammed* ordered *Ali* to write, as *Sohail* deſired, *Theſe are the conditions which* Mohammed *the ſon of* Abdallah, *&c.* But the *Moſlems* were ſo diſguſted thereat, that they were on the point of breaking off the treaty, and had fallen on the *Meccans*, had not GOD appeaſed and calmed their minds; as it follows in the text [1].

The terms of this pacification were, that there ſhould be a truce for ten years; that any perſon might enter into league either with *Mohammed*, or with the *Koreiſh*, as he ſhould think fit; and that *Mohammed* ſhould have the liberty to viſit the temple of *Mecca* the next year, for three days [2].

[a] *The word of piety*;] i. e. The *Mohammedan* profeſſion of faith; or the *Biſmillah*, and the words *Mohammed the apoſtle of* GOD, which were rejected by the infidels.

[b] *The viſion*;] Or dream which *Mohammed* had at *Medina*, before he ſet out for *al Hodeibiya*; wherein he dreamed that he and his companions entred *Mecca* in ſecurity, with their heads ſhaven, and their hair cut. This dream, being imparted by the prophet to his followers, occaſioned a great deal of joy among them; and they ſuppoſed it would be fulfilled that ſame year: but when they ſaw the truce concluded, which fruſtrated their expectation for that time, they were deeply concerned; whereupon this paſſage was revealed for their conſolation, confirming the viſion, which was not to be fulfilled till the year after, when *Mohammed* performed the viſitation diſtinguiſhed by the addition of *al Kadâ*, or *completion*, becauſe he then *compleated* the viſitation of the former year, when the *Koreiſh* not permitting him to enter *Mecca*, he was obliged to kill his victims, and to ſhave himſelf at *al Hodeibiya* [3].

[c] *Having your heads ſhaved, and your hair cut*;] i. e. Some being ſhaved, and others having only their hair cut.

[d] *A ſpeedy victory*;] *Viz.* The taking of *Khaibar*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 87. [2] *Iidem.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. *V.* ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 84, 87.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

Intitled, The inner Apartments; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O True believers, anticipate not *any matter* in the ſight of GOD and his apoſtle [a]: and fear GOD; for GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. O true believers, raiſe not your voices above the voice of the prophet [b]; neither ſpeak loud unto him in diſcourſe, as ye ſpeak loud unto one another, leſt your works become vain, and ye perceive *it* not. Verily they who lower their voices in the preſence of the apoſtle of GOD, *are* thoſe whoſe hearts GOD hath diſpoſed unto piety: they ſhall obtain pardon, and a great reward. *As to* thoſe who call unto thee from without the inner apartments [c]; the greater part of them do not underſtand *the reſpect due to thee.* If they wait with patience, until thou come forth unto them, it will certainly be better for them: but GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. O true believers, if a wicked man come unto you with a tale, inquire ſtrictly *into the truth thereof*; leſt ye hurt people through ignorance, and afterwards repent of what ye have done [d]: and know that the apoſtle of GOD *is* among you: if he ſhould obey you in many things, ye would certainly be guilty of a crime, *in leading him into a miſtake.* But GOD hath made the faith amiable unto you, and hath prepared the ſame in your hearts; and hath rendred infidelity, and iniquity, and diſobedience hateful unto you. Theſe are they who walk in the right way; through mercy from GOD, and grace:

[a] *Anticipate not any matter*, &c.] That is, Do not preſume to give your own deciſion in any caſe, before ye have received the judgment of GOD and his apoſtle.

[b] *Raiſe not your voices above the voice of the prophet*;] This verſe is ſaid to have been occaſioned by a diſpute between *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, concerning the appointing of a governor of a certain place; in which they raiſed their voices ſo high, in the preſence of the apoſtle, that it was thought proper to forbid ſuch indecencies for the future [1].

[c] *Thoſe who call unto thee from without the inner apartments*, &c.] Theſe, they ſay, were *Oyeyna Ebn Hoſein*, and *al Akrá Ebn Hâbes*; who wanting to ſpeak with *Mohammed*, when he was ſleeping at noon in his women's apartment, had the rudeneſs to call out ſeveral times, *Mohammed, come forth to us* [2].

[d] *If a wicked man come unto you with a tale*, &c.] This paſſage was occaſioned, it is ſaid, by the following accident. *Al Walid Ebn Okbæ* being ſent by *Mohammed* to collect the alms from the tribe of *al Moſtalek*, when he ſaw them come out to meet him in great numbers, grew apprehenſive they deſigned him ſome miſchief, becauſe of paſt enmity between him and them in the time of ignorance, and immediately turned back, and told the prophet they refuſed to pay their alms, and attempted to kill him; upon which *Mohammed* was thinking to reduce them by force: but on ſending *Khaled Ebn al Walid* to them, he found his former meſſenger had wronged them, and that they continued in their obedience [3].

[1] JALLAL. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem*, JALLAL.

and GOD *is* knowing, *and* wiſe. If two parties of the believers contend with one another, do ye *endeavour to* compoſe the matter between them: and if the one of them offer an inſult unto the other, fight againſt that *party* which offered the inſult, until they return unto the judgment of GOD; and if they do return, make peace between them with equity: and act with juſtice; for GOD loveth thoſe who act juſtly [a]. Verily the true believers *are* brethren: wherefore reconcile your brethren; and fear GOD, that ye may obtain mercy. O true believers, let not men laugh *other* men to ſcorn; who peradventure may be better than themſelves: neither *let* women *laugh other* women *to ſcorn*; who may poſſibly be better than themſelves. Neither defame one another; nor call one another by *opprobrious* appellations. An ill name *it is to be charged with* wickedneſs, after *having embraced* the faith: and whoſo repenteth not, they will be the unjuſt doers [b]. O true believers, carefully avoid *entertaining* a ſuſpicion *of another*: for ſome ſuſpicions *are* a crime. Inquire not too curiouſly *into other mens failings*: neither let the one of you ſpeak ill of another in his abſcence. Would any of you deſire to eat the fleſh of his dead brother? Surely ye would abhor it. And fear GOD: for GOD *is* eaſy to be reconciled, *and* merciful. O men, verily we have created you of a male and a female; and we have diſtributed you into nations, and tribes, that ye might know one another. Verily the moſt honourable of you, in the ſight of GOD, *is* the moſt pious of you: and GOD *is* wiſe *and* knowing. The ARABS of the deſart [c] ſay, We believe. Anſwer, Ye do by no means believe; but ſay, We have embraced ISLAM [d]: for the faith hath not yet entred into your hearts. If ye obey GOD and his apoſtle, he will not defraud you of any part *of the merit* of your works: for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. Verily the true believers *are* thoſe only who believe in GOD and his apoſtle, and afterwards doubt not; and who employ their ſubſtance and their perſons in the defence of GOD's true religion: theſe are they who ſpeak ſincerely. Say, Will ye

[a] *If two parties of the believers contend*, &c.] This verſe is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by a fray, which happened between the tribes of *al Aws* and *al Khazraj*. Some relate, that the prophet one day riding on an aſs, as he paſſed near *Abdallah Ebn Obba*, the aſs chanced to ſtale, at which *Ebn Obba* ſtopped his noſe; and *Ebn Rawâha* ſaid to him, *By* GOD, *the piſs of his aſs ſmells ſweeter than thy musk:* whereupon a quarrel enſued between their followers, and they came to blows, tho' they ſtruck one another only with their hands and ſlippers, or with palm-branches [1].

[b] *Neither let women laugh other women to ſcorn*, &c.] It is ſaid that this verſe was revealed on account of *Safiya Bint Hoyai*, one of the prophet's wives; who came to her husband and complained that the women ſaid to her, *O thou* Jeweſs, *the daughter of a* Jew *and of a* Jeweſs: to which he anſwered, *Canſt thou not ſay*, Aaron *is my father, and* Moſes *is my uncle, and* Mohammed *is my husband* [2]?

[c] *The* Arabs *of the deſart*, &c.] Theſe were certain of the tribe of *Aſad*, who came to *Medina* in a year of ſcarcity, and having profeſſed *Mohammediſm*, told the prophet that they had brought all their goods and their families, and would not oppoſe him, as ſome other tribes had done: and this they ſaid to obtain a part of the alms, and to upbraid him with their having embraced his religion and party [3].

[d] *Anſwer, Ye do by no means believe: but ſay, We have embraced* Iſlam.] That is, Ye are not ſincere believers, but outward profeſſors only of the true religion.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See* Prid. *Life of Mahom. p.* 111, *&c.* [3] *Idem.*

ye inform GOD concerning your religion [a]? But GOD knoweth whatever *is* in heaven and in earth: for GOD *is* omniſcient. They upbraid thee that they have embraced ISLAM. Anſwer, Upbraid me not with your having embraced ISLAM: rather GOD upbraideth you, that he hath directed you to the faith [b]; if ye ſpeak ſincerely. Verily GOD knoweth the ſecrets of heaven and earth: and GOD beholdeth that which ye do.

[a] *Will ye inform* GOD *concerning your religion?*] i. e. Will ye pretend to deceive him, by ſaying ye are true believers?

[b] GOD *upbraideth you, that he hath directed you to the faith*;] The obligation being not on GOD's ſide, but on yours, for that he has favoured you ſo far as to guide you into the true faith, if ye are ſincere believers.

CHAP. L.

Intitled, K; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

K [a]. By the glorious KORAN: verily they wonder that a preacher from among themſelves is come unto them; and the unbelievers ſay, This *is* a wonderful thing: after we ſhall be dead, and become duſt, *ſhall we return to life?* This *is* a return remote *from thought.* Now we know what the earth conſumeth of them; and with us *is* a book which keepeth an account *thereof.* But they charge falſhood on the truth, after it hath come unto them: wherefore they *are plunged* in a confuſed buſineſs [b]. Do they not look up to the heaven above them, *and conſider* how we have raiſed it and adorned it; and that *there are* no flaws therein? We have alſo ſpread forth the earth, and thrown thereon *mountains* firmly rooted [c]: and we cauſe every beautiful kind *of vegetables* to ſpring up therein; for a ſubject of meditation, and an admonition unto every man who turneth *unto us.* And we ſend down rain as a bleſſing from heaven, whereby we cauſe gardens to ſpring forth, and the grain of harveſt, and tall palm-trees having branches laden with dates hanging one above another, as a proviſion for mankind; and we thereby quicken a dead country: ſo *ſhall be* the coming forth *of the dead from their graves.* The people of NOAH, and thoſe who dwelt at AL RASS [d], and THAMUD, and AD, and PHARAOH accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture before *the* MECCANS; and alſo the brethren of LOT, and the inhabitants

[a] Some imagine that this letter is deſigned to expreſs the mountain *Kâf*, which ſeveral eaſtern writers fancy encompaſſes the whole world [1]. Others ſay it ſtands for *Kada al amr*, i. e. *The matter is decreed*, viz. the chaſtiſement of the infidels. See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 59, &c.

[b] *They are plunged in a confuſed buſineſs*;] Not knowing what certainly to affirm of the *Korân*; calling it ſometimes a piece of poetry, at other times a piece of ſorcery, and at other times a piece of divination, &c.

[c] See chap. 16. p. 215, and chap. 31. p. 335.

[d] See chap. 25. p. 299.

[1] *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Caf.*

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI. JALLAL.

bitants of the wood *near* MIDIAN, and the people of TOBBA [a]: all *these* accuſed the apoſtles of impoſture; wherefore *the judgments* which I threatened were juſtly inflicted *on them.* Is our power exhauſted by the firſt creation? Yea; they are in a perplexity, becauſe of a new creation *which is foretold them, namely, the raiſing of the dead.* We created man, and we know what his ſoul whiſpereth within him; and we *are* nearer unto him than *his* jugular vein. When the two *angels* deputed to take account *of a man's behaviour*, take an account *thereof*; one ſitting on the right hand, and *the other* on the left: he uttereth not a word, but *there is* with him a watcher, ready *to note it* [b]. And the agony of death ſhall come in truth: this, *O man, is* what thou ſoughteſt to avoid. And the trumpet ſhall ſound: this *will be* the day which hath been threatened. And every ſoul ſhall come; *and* therewith *ſhall be* a driver and a witneſs [c]. *And the former ſhall ſay unto the unbeliever*, Thou waſt negligent heretofore of this *day*: but we have removed thy vail from off thee; and thy ſight *is become* piercing this day. And his companion ſhall ſay, This *is* what *is* ready with me *to be atteſted. And* GOD *ſhall ſay*, Caſt into hell every unbeliever, *and* perverſe perſon, *and every one* who forbad good, *and every* tranſgreſſor, and doubter *of the faith*, who ſet up another god with *the true* GOD; and caſt him into a grievous torment. His companion [d] ſhall ſay, O LORD, I did not ſeduce him; but he was in a wide error [e]. GOD ſhall ſay, Wrangle not in my preſence: ſince I threatened you before hand *with the torments which ye now ſee prepared for you.* The ſentence is not changed with me: neither do I treat *my* ſervants unjuſtly. On that day we will ſay unto hell, Art thou full? and it ſhall anſwer, *Is there* yet any addition [f]? And paradiſe ſhall be brought near unto the pious; *and it ſhall be ſaid unto them*, This *is* what ye have been promiſed; unto every one who

[a] See chap. 44. p. 402.

[b] *When the two angels deputed to take account of a man's behaviour*, &c.] The intent of the paſſage is to exalt the omniſcience of GOD; who wants not the information of the guardian angels, tho' he has thought fit, in his wiſdom, to give them that employment: for if they are ſo exact as to write down every word which falls from a man's mouth, how can we hope to eſcape the obſervation of him who ſees our inmoſt thoughts?

The *Mohammedans* have a tradition that the angel who notes a man's good actions, has the command over him who notes his evil actions; and that when a man does a good action, the angel of the right hand writes it down ten times, and when he commits an ill action, the ſame angel ſays to the angel of the left hand, *Forbear ſetting it down for ſeven hours; peradventure he may pray, or may ask pardon* [1].

[c] *A driver and a witneſs*;] i. e. Two angels, one acting as a ſerjeant, to bring every perſon before the tribunal; and the other prepared as a witneſs, to teſtify either for or againſt him. Some ſay the former will be the guardian angel who took down his evil actions, and the other the angel who took down his good actions [2].

[d] *His companion*;] *viz.* The devil which ſhall be chained to him.

[e] *I did not ſeduce him*, &c.] This will be the anſwer of the devil, whom the wicked perſon will accuſe as his ſeducer: for the devil has no power over a man, to cauſe him to do evil; any otherwiſe than by ſuggeſting what is agreeable to his corrupt inclinations [3].

[f] *Is there yet any addition?*] *i. e.* Are there yet any more condemned to this place; or is my ſpace to be enlarged and rendred more capacious to receive them?

The commentators ſuppoſe hell will be quite filled at the day of judgment; according to that repeated expreſſion in the *Korân, Verily I will fill hell with you*, &c.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *See chap.* 14. p. 207, &c.

who turned himſelf *unto* GOD, and kept *his commandments*; who feared the Merciful in ſecret, and came *unto him* with a converted heart: enter the ſame in peace: this *is* the day of eternity. Therein ſhall they have whatever they ſhall deſire; and *there will be* a ſuperabundant addition *of bliſs* with us [a]. How many generations have we deſtroyed before the *MECCANS*, which were more mighty than they in ſtrength? Paſs, therefore, through the regions *of the earth, and ſee* whether *there be* any refuge *from our vengeance?* Verily herein *is* an admonition unto him who hath a heart *to underſtand*, or giveth ear, and is preſent *with an attentive mind.* We created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, in ſix days; and no wearineſs affected us [b]. Wherefore patiently ſuffer what they ſay [c]; and celebrate the praiſe of thy LORD before ſun-riſe, and before ſun-ſet, and praiſe him *in ſome part* of the night: and *perform* the additional parts of worſhip [d]. And hearken unto the day whereon the cryer ſhall call *men to judgment* from a near place [e]: the day whereon they ſhall hear the voice *of the trumpet* in truth: this *will be* the day of *mens* coming forth *from their graves:* we give life, and we cauſe to die; and unto us *ſhall be* the return *of all creatures:* the day whereon the earth ſhall ſuddenly cleave in ſunder over them. This *will be* an aſſembly eaſy for us *to aſſemble.* We well know what *the unbelievers* ſay; and thou *art* not ſent to compel them forcibly *to the faith.* Wherefore warn, by the KORAN, him who feareth my threatening.

[a] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 100.

[b] *And no wearineſs affected us*;] This was revealed in anſwer to the *Jews*, who ſaid that GOD reſted from his work of creation on the ſeventh day, and repoſed himſelf on his throne, as one fatigued [1].

[c] *Wherefore patiently ſuffer what they ſay*:] *Viz.* Either what the idolaters ſay, in denying the reſurrection; or the *Jews*, in ſpeaking indecently of GOD.

[d] *The additional parts of worſhip*;] Theſe are the two inclinations uſed after the evening prayer, which are not neceſſary, or of precept, but voluntary, and of ſupererogation; and may therefore be added, or omitted, indifferently.

[e] *When the cryer ſhall call men to judgment from a near place*;] That is, from a place whence every creature may equally hear the call. This place, it is ſuppoſed, will be the mountain of the temple of *Jeruſalem*, which ſome fancy to be nigher heaven than any other part of the earth; whence *Iſrafil* will ſound the trumpet, and *Gabriel* will make the following proclamation, *O ye rotten bones, and torn fleſh, and diſperſed hairs, GOD commandeth you to be gathered together to judgment* [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL. [2] *Iidem.*

CHAP. LI.

Intitled, The Diſperſing; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the *winds* diſperſing and ſcattering *the duſt* [a]; and by the *clouds* bearing

[a] *By the winds diſperſing the duſt*:] Or. *By the* women *who bring forth* or *ſcatter* children, &c.

ing a load *of rain* [a]; by the *ſhips* running ſwiftly *in the ſea* [b]; and by the *angels* who diſtribute things *neceſſary for the ſupport of all creatures* [c]: verily that wherewith ye are threatened is certainly true; and the *laſt* judgment will ſurely come. By the heaven furniſhed with paths [d]; ye widely differ in what ye ſay [e]. He will be turned aſide from *the faith*, who ſhall be turned aſide *by the divine decree*. Curſed be the liars; who *wade* in deep waters *of ignorance*, neglecting *their ſalvation*. They ask, When *will* the day of judgment *come?* On that day ſhall they be burned in *hell* fire; *and it ſhall be ſaid unto them*, Taſte your puniſhment; this *is* what ye demanded to be haſtened. But the pious *ſhall dwell* among gardens and fountains, receiving that which their LORD ſhall give them; becauſe they were righteous doers before this *day*. They ſlept but a ſmall part of the night [f]; and early in the morning they asked pardon *of* GOD: and a due portion of their wealth *was given* unto him who asked, and unto him who was forbidden *by ſhame to ask*. *There are* ſigns *of the divine power and goodneſs* in the earth, unto *men* of ſound underſtanding; and alſo in your own ſelves: will ye not therefore conſider? Your ſuſtenance *is* in the heaven; and alſo that which ye are promiſed [g]. Wherefore by the LORD of heaven and earth *I ſwear* that this *is* certainly the truth; according to what yourſelves ſpeak [h]. Hath not the ſtory of ABRAHAM's honoured gueſts [i] come to thy knowledge? When they went in unto him, and ſaid, Peace: he anſwered, Peace; *ſaying within himſelf*, *Theſe are* unknown people. And he went privately unto his family, and brought a fatted calf. And he ſet it before them, *and when he ſaw they touched it not*, he ſaid, Do ye not eat? And he began to entertain a fear of them. They ſaid, Fear not [k]: and they declared unto him the promiſe of a wiſe youth. And his wife drew near with exclamation, and ſhe ſmote her face [l], and ſaid, *I am* an old woman, *and* barren. The *angels* anſwered,

XXVII. Thus ſaith thy LORD: verily he is the wiſe, the knowing. * *And ABRAHAM* ſaid

[a] *By the clouds bearing a load of rain;*] Or, *By the* women *bearing a burthen* in their womb, or *the* winds *bearing* the clouds, *&c.*

[b] *By the ſhips running ſwiftly in the ſea;*] Or, *By the* winds *paſſing ſwiftly* in the air, or *the* ſtars *moving ſwiftly* in their courſes, *&c.*

[c] *By the angels who diſtribute things*, &c.] Or, *By the* winds *which diſtribute* the rain, *&c.*

[d] *By the heavens furniſhed with paths;*] i. e. The paths or orbs of the ſtars; or the ſtreaks which appear in the sky like paths, being thin and extended clouds.

[e] *Ye widely differ in what ye ſay;*] Concerning *Mohammed*, or the *Korân*, or the reſurrection and day of judgment; ſpeaking variouſly and inconſiſtently of them.

[f] *They ſlept but a ſmall part of the night;*] Spending the greater part in prayer, and religious meditation.

[g] *Your ſuſtenance is in the heaven; and alſo that which ye are promiſed;*] i. e. Your food cometh from above, whence proceedeth the change of ſeaſons and rain: and your future reward is alſo there, that is to ſay, in paradiſe, which is ſituate above the ſeven heavens.

[h] *According to what yourſelves ſpeak;*] That is, Without any doubt or reſerved meaning, as ye affirm a truth unto one another.

[i] See chap. 11. p. 182, and chap. 15. p. 212.

[k] *They ſaid, Fear not.*] Some add, That to remove *Abraham*'s fear, *Gabriel*, who was one of theſe ſtrangers, touched the calf with his wing, and it immediately roſe up and walked to its dam; upon which *Abraham* knew them to be the meſſengers of GOD [1].

[l] *And ſhe ſmote her face;*] This, ſome pretend, ſhe did for ſhame; becauſe ſhe felt her courſes coming upon her.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

ſaid *unto them*, What is your errand, therefore, O meſſengers *of* GOD? They anſwered, Verily we are ſent unto a wicked people: that we may ſend down upon them ſtones of *baked* clay, marked from thy LORD, for *the deſtruction of* tranſgreſſors. And we brought forth the true believers who were in *the city*: but we found not therein more than *one* family of Moſlems. And we *overthrew the ſame, and* left a ſign therein unto thoſe who dread the ſevere chaſtiſement *of* GOD. In MOSES alſo *was a ſign*: when we ſent him unto PHARAOH with manifeſt power. But he turned back, with his princes, ſaying, *This man is* a ſorcerer, or a madman. Wherefore we took him and his forces, and caſt them into the ſea: and he was one worthy of reprehenſion. And in *the tribe of* AD *alſo was a ſign*: when we ſent againſt them a deſtroying wind [a]; it touched not ought, whereon it came, but it rendred the ſame as a thing rotten *and reduced to duſt*. In THAMUD *likewiſe was a ſign*: when it was ſaid unto them, Enjoy *yourſelves* for a time[b]. But they inſolently tranſgreſſed the command of their LORD: wherefore a terrible noiſe from heaven aſſailed them, while they looked on [c]; and they were not able to ſtand *on their feet*, neither did they ſave themſelves *from deſtruction*. And the people of NOAH *did we deſtroy* before *theſe*: for they were a people who enormouſly tranſgreſſed. We have built the heaven with might; and we have given *it* a large extent: and we have ſtretched forth the earth beneath; and how evenly have we ſpread *the ſame!* And of every thing have we created two kinds [d], that peradventure ye may conſider. Fly, therefore, unto GOD; verily I *am* a public warner unto you, from him. And ſet not up another god with *the true* GOD: verily I *am* a public warner unto you, from him. In like manner there came no apoſtle unto their predeceſſors, but they ſaid, *This man is* a magician, or a madman. Have they bequeathed this *behaviour* ſucceſſively the one to the other? Yea; they are a people who enormouſly tranſgreſs. Wherefore withdraw from them; and thou *ſhalt* not *be* blameworthy *in ſo doing*. Yet continue to admoniſh: for admonition profiteth the true believers. I have not created genii and men *for any other end* than that they ſhould ſerve me. I require not any ſuſtenance from them; neither will I that they feed me. Verily GOD is he who provideth *for all creatures*; poſſeſſed of mighty power. Unto thoſe who ſhall injure *our apoſtle ſhall be given* a portion like unto the portion of thoſe who behaved like them *in times paſt*; and they ſhall not wiſh *the ſame* to be haſtened. Woe, therefore, to the unbelievers, becauſe of their day with which they are threatened!

[a] See chap. 7. p. 123, *&c.*

[b] *For a time*;] i. e. For three days. See chap. 11 p. 182.

[c] *While they looked on*;] For this calamity happened in the day time.

[d] *Two kinds*;] As for example: male, and female; the heaven, and the earth; the ſun, and the moon; light, and darkneſs; plains, and mountains; winter, and ſummer; ſweet, and bitter, *&c* [1].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN.

CHAP.

CHAP. LII.

Intitled, The Mountain; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the mountain *of SINAI*; and by the book written in an expanded ſcroll [a]; and by the viſited houſe [b]; and by the elevated roof *of heaven*; and by the ſwelling ocean: verily the puniſhment of thy LORD will ſurely deſcend; *there ſhall be* none to with-hold it. On that day the heaven ſhall be ſhaken, and ſhall reel; and the mountains ſhall walk and paſs away. And on that day woe be unto thoſe who accuſed *GOD*'s *apoſtles* of impoſture; who amuſed themſelves in wading *in vain diſputes!* On that day ſhall they be driven and thruſt into the fire of hell; *and it ſhall be ſaid unto them,* This *is* the fire which ye denied as a fiction. *Is* this a magic illuſion? Or do ye not ſee? Enter the ſame to be ſcorched: whether ye bear *your torments* patiently, or impatiently, *it will be* equal unto you: ye ſhall ſurely receive the reward of that which ye have wrought. But the pious *ſhall dwell* amidſt gardens and pleaſures; delighting themſelves in what their LORD ſhall have given them: and their LORD ſhall deliver them from the pains of hell. *And it ſhall be ſaid unto them,* Eat and drink with eaſy digeſtion; becauſe of that which ye have wrought: leaning on couches diſpoſed in order: and we will eſpouſe them unto virgins having large black eyes. And unto thoſe who believe, and whoſe off-ſpring follow them in the faith, we will join their off-ſpring *in paradiſe:* and we will not diminiſh unto them ought of *the merit of* their works. (Every man *is* given in pledge for that which he ſhall have wrought [c].) And we will give them fruits in abundance, and fleſh of the *kinds* which they ſhall deſire. They ſhall preſent unto one another therein a cup *of wine,* wherein there ſhall be no vain diſcourſe, nor any incitement unto wickedneſs. And youths *appointed* to *attend* them, ſhall go round them: *beautiful* as pearls hidden *in their ſhell.* And they ſhall approach unto one another, and ſhall ask mutual queſtions. *And* they ſhall ſay, Verily we were heretofore amidſt our family, in great dread *with regard*

[a] *By the book,* &c.] The book here intended, according to different opinions, is either the book or regiſter wherein every man's actions are recorded; or the *preſerved table,* containing GOD's decrees; or the book of the law, which was written by GOD, *Moſes* hearing the creaking of the pen; or elſe the *Korân* [1].

[b] *The viſited houſe*;] i. e. The *Caaba,* ſo much viſited by pilgrims; or, as ſome rather think, the original model of that houſe in heaven, called *al Dorâh,* which is viſited and compaſſed by the angels, as the other is by men [2].

[c] *Every man is given in pledge for that which he ſhall have wrought*;] i. e Every man is pledged unto GOD for his behaviour: and if he does well, he redeems his pledge; but if evil, he forfeits it.

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI.

[2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV.

gard to our ſtate after death: but GOD hath been gracious unto us, and hath delivered us from the pain of burning fire: for we called on him heretofore; and he is the beneficent, the merciful. Wherefore do thou, *O prophet*, admoniſh *thy people*. Thou *art* not, by the grace of thy LORD, a ſoothſayer, or a madman. Do they ſay, *He is* a poet: we wait, concerning him, ſome adverſe turn of fortune? Say, Wait ye *my ruin*: verily I wait, with you, *the time of your deſtruction*. Do their mature underſtandings bid them *ſay* this; or *are* they people who perverſely tranſgreſs? Do they ſay, He hath forged *the KORAN?* Verily they believe not. Let them produce a diſcourſe like unto it, if they ſpeak truth. Were they created by nothing; or were they the creators *of themſelves?* Did they create the heavens and the earth? Verily they are not firmly perſuaded *that GOD hath created them* [a]. Are the ſtores of thy LORD in their hands? Are they the ſupreme diſpenſers *of all things?* Have they a ladder, whereby they may *aſcend to heaven, and* hear *the diſcourſes of the angels?* Let one, therefore, who hath heard them, produce an evident proof *thereof*. Hath *GOD* daughters, and have ye ſons [b]? Doſt thou ask them a reward *for thy preaching?* but they are laden with debts. Are the ſecrets of futurity with them; and do they tranſcribe *the ſame from the table of GOD's decrees?* Do they ſeek *to lay* a plot *againſt thee?* But the unbelievers are *they who ſhall be* circumvented [c]. Have they *any* god, beſides GOD? Far be GOD exalted above the *idols* which they aſſociate *with him*! If they ſhould ſee a fragment of the heaven falling down *upon them*, they would ſay, *It is only* a thick cloud [d]. Wherefore leave them, until they arrive at their day wherein they ſhall ſwoon for fear [e]: a day, in which their ſubtle contrivances ſhall not avail them at all, neither ſhall they be protected. And thoſe who act unjuſtly ſhall ſurely ſuffer *another* puniſhment beſides this [f]: but the greater part of them do not underſtand. And wait thou patiently the judgment of thy LORD *concerning them*; for thou *art* in our eye: and celebrate the praiſe of thy LORD, when thou riſeſt up; and praiſe him in the night-ſeaſon, and when the ſtars begin to diſappear.

[a] *They are not firmly perſuaded that* GOD *hath created them*;] For tho' they confeſs this with their tongues, yet they deny it by their averſeneſs to render him his due worſhip.

[b] See chap. 16. p. 218, &c.

[c] See chap. 8. p. 142, &c.

[d] *If they ſhould ſee a fragment of the heaven falling down on them*, &c.] This was one of the judgments which the idolatrous *Meccans* defied *Mohammed* to bring down upon them; and yet, ſays the text, if they ſhould ſee a part of the heaven falling on them, they would not believe it till they were cruſhed to death by it [1].

[e] *The day wherein they ſhall ſwoon for fear*;] i. e. At the firſt ſound of the trumpet [2].

[f] *Another puniſhment beſides this*;] That is, Beſides the puniſhment to which they ſhall be doomed at the day of judgment, they ſhall be previouſly chaſtiſed by calamities in this life, as the ſlaughter at *Bedr*, and the ſeven years famine, and alſo after their death, by the examination of the ſepulchre [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 82. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. LIII.

Intitled, The Star; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the Name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the ſtar [a], when it ſetteth [b]; your companion *MOHAMMED* erreth not, nor is he led aſtray: neither doth he ſpeak of *his own* will. It is no other than a revelation, which hath been revealed *unto him.* One mighty in power, indued with underſtanding, taught *it* him [c]: and he appeared [d] in the higheſt part of the horizon. Afterwards he approached *the prophet* [e], and drew near *unto him*; until he was at the diſtance of two bows length [f] *from him*, or yet nearer: and he revealed unto his ſervant that which he revealed. The heart *of MOHAMMED* did not falſly repreſent that which he ſaw [g]. Will ye therefore diſpute with him concerning that which he ſaw? He alſo ſaw him another time, by the lote-tree beyond which there is no paſſing [h]: near it is the garden of *eternal* abode. When the lote-tree covered that which it covered [i], *his* eye-ſight turned not aſide, neither did it wander: and he really beheld *ſome* of the greateſt ſigns of his LORD [k]. What think ye of ALLAT, and AL UZZA, and MANAH, that other third *goddeſs* [l]? Have ye male children, and *GOD* female?

[a] *By the ſtar*;] Some ſuppoſe the ſtars in general, and others the *Pleiades* in particular, to be meant in this place.

[b] *When it ſetteth*;] Or, according to a contrary ſignification of the verb here uſed, *when it riſeth.*

[c] *One mighty in power*, &c.] Namely, the angel *Gabriel.*

[d] *He appeared*;] In his natural form, in which GOD created him, and in the eaſtern part of the sky. It is ſaid that this angel appeared in his proper ſhape to none of the prophets, except *Mohammed*; and to him only twice: once when he received the firſt revelation of the *Korân,* and a ſecond time when he took his night-journey to heaven; as it follows in the text.

[e] *Afterwards he approached*;] In a human ſhape.

[f] *Two bows length*;] Or, as the word alſo ſignifies, *two cubits length.*

[g] *The heart of* Mohammed *did not falſely repreſent that which he ſaw*;] But he ſaw it in reality.

[h] *The lote-tree beyond which there is no paſſing*;] This tree, ſay the commentators, ſtands in the ſeventh heaven, on the right hand of the throne of GOD; and is the utmoſt bounds beyond which the angels themſelves muſt not paſs; or, as ſome rather imagine, beyond which no creature's knowledge can extend.

[i] *When the lote-tree covered that which it covered.*] The words ſeem to ſignify, that what was under this tree exceeded all deſcription and number. Some ſuppoſe the whole hoſt of angels worſhipping beneath it [1] are intended; and others, the birds which ſit on its branches [2].

[k] *And he beheld ſome of the greateſt ſigns of his* LORD;] Seeing the wonders both of the ſenſible and the intellectual world [3].

[l] *What think ye of* Allât, *and* al Uzza, *and* Manâh;] Thoſe were three idols of the ancient *Arabs*, of which we have ſpoken in the Preliminary Diſcourſe [4].

As to the blaſphemy which ſome pretend *Mohammed* once uttered, thro' inadvertence, as he was reading this paſſage, ſee chap. 22. p. 279. not. c.

[1] *Idem.* [2] JALLALO'DDIN. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] §. 1. *pag.* 17, *&c.*

male[a]? This, therefore, *is* an unjuſt partition. They are no other than *empty* names, which ye and your fathers have named *goddeſſes*. GOD hath not revealed concerning them any thing to authorize *their worſhip*. They follow no other than a vain opinion, and what *their* ſouls deſire: yet hath the *true* direction come unto them from their LORD. Shall man have whatever he wiſheth for[b]? The life to come, and the preſent life *are* GODS: and how many angels ſoever *there be* in the heavens, their interceſſion ſhall be of no avail, until after GOD ſhall have granted permiſſion unto whom he ſhall pleaſe and ſhall accept. Verily they who believe not in the life to come give unto the angels a female appellation. But they have no knowledge herein: they follow no other than a bare opinion; and a bare opinion attaineth not any thing of truth. Wherefore withdraw from him who turneth away from our admonition, and ſeeketh only the preſent life. This *is* their higheſt pitch of knowledge. Verily thy LORD well knoweth him who erreth from his way; and he well knoweth him who is *rightly* directed. Unto GOD *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and earth: that he may reward thoſe who do evil, according to that which they ſhall have wrought; and may reward thoſe who do well, with the moſt excellent *reward*. *As to* thoſe who avoid great crimes, and hainous ſins, *and are guilty* only *of* lighter faults; verily thy LORD *will be* extenſive in mercy *towards them*. He well knew you when he produced you out of the earth, and when ye *were* embryo's in your mothers wombs: wherefore juſtify not your ſelves: he beſt knoweth *the man* who feareth *him*. What thinkeſt thou of him who turneth aſide *from following the truth*, and giveth little, and covetouſly ſtoppeth his hand[c]? *Is* the knowledge of futurity with him, ſo that he ſeeth *the ſame*[d]? Hath he not been informed of that which *is contained* in the books of MOSES, and of ABRAHAM who faithfully performed *his engagements*? *To wit:* that a burthened *ſoul* ſhall not bear the burthen of another; and that nothing *ſhall be imputed* to a man *for righteouſneſs*, except his own labour; and that his labour ſhall ſurely be made manifeſt hereafter, and *that* he ſhall be rewarded for the ſame with a moſt abundant reward; and that unto thy LORD *will be* the end *of all things*; and that he cauſeth

[a] See chap. 16 p. 218, &c.

[b] *Shall man have whatever he wiſheth for?*] I. e. Shall he dictate to GOD, and name whom he pleaſes for his interceſſors, or for his prophet; or ſhall he chuſe a religion according to his own fancy, and preſcribe the terms on which he may claim the reward of this life and the next [1]?

[c] *What thinkeſt thou of him*, &c.] This paſſage, it is ſaid, was revealed on account of *al Walîd Ebn al Mogheira*, who following the prophet one day, was reviled by an idolater for leaving the religion of the *Koreiſh*, and giving occaſion of ſcandal; to which he anſwered, that what he did was out of apprehenſion of the divine vengeance: whereupon the man offered, for a certain ſum, to take the guilt of his apoſtacy on himſelf; and the bargain being made, *al Walid* returned to his idolatry, and paid the man part of what had been agreed on, but afterwards, on farther conſideration, he thought it too much, and kept back the remainder [2].

[d] *Is the knowledge of futurity with him?*] That is, Is he aſſured that the perſon with whom he made the abovementioned agreement, will be allowed to ſuffer in his ſtead hereafter [3]?

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*

to laugh, and cauſeth to weep; and that he putteth to death, and giveth life; and that he createth the two ſexes, the male and the female, of ſeed when it is emitted; and that unto him *appertaineth* another production, *namely, the raiſing of the dead again to life hereafter*; and that he inricheth, and cauſeth to acquire poſſeſſions; and that he is the LORD of the dog-ſtar [a]; and that he deſtroyed the ancient *tribe of* AD, and THAMUD, and left not *any of them* alive; and alſo the people of NOAH, before *them*; for they were moſt unjuſt and wicked: and he overthrew the *cities which were* turned upſide down [b]; and that which covered *them*, covered them. Which, therefore, of thy LORD's benefits, *O man*, wilt thou call in queſtion? This *our apoſtle* is a preacher like the preachers who preceded *him*. The approaching *day of judgment* draweth near: there is none who can reveal *the exact time of* the ſame, beſides GOD. Do ye, therefore, wonder at this new revelation; and do ye laugh, and not weep, ſpending your time in idle diverſions? But rather worſhip GOD, and ſerve *him*.

[a] *He is the* LORD *of the dog-ſtar*;] *Sirius*, or the greater dog-ſtar, was worſhipped by ſome of the old *Arabs* [1].

[b] *The cities which were turned upſide down*;] Viz. *Sodom*, and the other cities involved in her ruin. See chap. 11. p. 184.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. 1. *p.* 17. *and* HYD. *not. in Ulug Beig, Tab. Stell. fix. p.* 53.

CHAP. LIV.

Intitled, The Moon; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THE hour *of judgment* approacheth; and the moon hath been ſplit in ſunder [a]: but if *the unbelievers* ſee a ſign, they turn aſide, ſaying, *This is* a powerful charm [b]. And they accuſe *thee, O MOHAMMED*, of impoſture, and follow their own luſts: but every thing *will be* immutably fixed.

[a] *The moon hath been ſplit in ſunder.*] This paſſage is expounded two different ways. Some imagine the words refer to a famous miracle ſuppoſed to have been performed by *Mohammed*: for it is ſaid that, on the infidels demanding a ſign of him, the moon appeared cloven in two [1], one part vaniſhing, and the other remaining; and *Ebn Maſúd* affirmed that he ſaw mount *Harâ* interpoſe between the two ſections. Others think the preter tenſe is here uſed, in the prophetic ſtile, for the future, and that the paſſage ſhould be rendred, *The moon ſhall be ſplit in ſunder*: for this, they ſay, is to happen at the reſurrection. The former opinion is ſupported by reading, according to ſome copies, *wakad inſhakka 'lkamaro*, i. e. *ſince the moon hath already been ſplit in ſunder*; the ſplitting of the moon being reckoned by ſome to be one of the previous ſigns of the laſt day [2].

[b] *A powerful charm*;] Or, as the participle here uſed may alſo ſignify, *a continued ſeries of magic*, or, *a tranſient magic illuſion*.

[1] *See a long and fabulous account of this pretended miracle in* GAGNIER, Vie de Mah. ch. 19.
[2] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI.

fixed [a]. And now hath a meſſage [b] come unto them, wherein *is* a determent *from obſtinate infidelity*; *the ſame being* conſummate wiſdom: but warners profit *them* not; wherefore do thou withdraw from them. The day whereon the ſummoner ſhall ſummon *mankind* to an ungrateful buſineſs [c], they ſhall come forth from *their* graves with down-caſt looks: *numerous* as locuſts ſcattered far abroad; haſtening with terror unto the ſummoner. The unbelievers ſhall ſay, This is a day of diſtreſs. The people of NOAH accuſed *that prophet* of impoſture, before *thy people rejected thee:* they accuſed our ſervant of impoſture, ſaying, *He is* a madman; and he was rejected with reproach. He called, therefore, upon his LORD, *ſaying*, Verily I *am* overpowered; wherefore avenge *me* [d]. So we opened the gates of heaven, with water pouring down, and we cauſed the earth to break forth into ſprings; ſo that the water *of heaven and earth* met, according to the decree which had been eſtabliſhed. And we bare him on *a veſſel* compoſed of planks and nails; which moved forward under our eyes [e]: as a recompenſe unto him who had been ungratefully rejected. And we left the *ſaid veſſel* for a ſign: but *is* any one warned *thereby?* And how *ſevere* was my vengeance, and my threatening! Now have we made the KORAN eaſy for admonition: but *is* any one admoniſhed *thereby?* AD charged *their prophet* with impoſture: but how *ſevere* was my vengeance, and my threatening! Verily we ſent againſt them a roaring [f] wind, on a day of continued ill-luck [g]: it carried men away, as though they *had been* roots of palm trees forcibly torn up [h]. And how *ſevere* was my vengeance, and my threatening! Now have we made the KORAN eaſy for admonition: but *is* any one admoniſhed *thereby?* THAMUD charged the admonitions *of their prophet* with falſehood, and ſaid, Shall we follow a ſingle man among us? verily we ſhould then be guilty of error, and prepoſterous madneſs: is the *office of* admonition committed unto him *preferably to the reſt* of us? Nay; he is a liar, *and* an inſolent fellow. *But GOD ſaid to SALEH,* To morrow ſhall they know who *is* the liar, *and* the inſolent perſon: for we will ſurely ſend the

[a] *Every thing will be immutably fixed*;] Or will reach a final period of ruin or ſucceſs in this world, and of miſery or happineſs in the next, which will be concluſive and unchangeable thenceforward for ever [1].

[b] *A meſſage*:] i. e. The *Koran*, containing ſtories of former nations which have been chaſtiſed for their incredulity, and threats of a more dreadful puniſhment hereafter.

[c] *The day whereon the ſummoner ſhall ſummon mankind to an ungrateful buſineſs*;] That is, When the angel *Iſrafil* ſhall call men to judgment.

[d] *I am overpowered; wherefore avenge me.*] This petition was not preferred by *Noah* till after he had ſuffered repeated violence from his people: for it is related, that one of them having fallen upon him and almoſt ſtrangled him, when he came to himſelf he ſaid, O LORD *forgive them, for they know not what they do* [2].

[e] *Under our eyes*;] i. e. Under our ſpecial regard and keeping.

[f] *A roaring*,] Or, a *cold* wind.

[g] *On a day of continued ill-luck*;] Viz. On a Wedneſday. See chap. 41. p. 390. not. d.

[h] *It carried men away, as they had been roots of palm-trees*, &c.] It is related that they ſought ſhelter in the clefts of rocks, and in pits, holding faſt by one another; but that the wind impetuouſly tore them away, and threw them down dead [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

the ſhe-camel for a trial of them [a]; and do thou obſerve them, and bear *their inſults* with patience: and propheſy unto them that the water *ſhall be* divided between them [b], and each portion *ſhall be* ſat down to *alternately*. And they called their companion [c]: and he took *a ſword* [d], and ſlew *her*. But how *ſevere* was my vengeance, and my threatening! For we ſent againſt them one cry *of the angel* GABRIEL, and they became like the dry ſticks uſed by him who buildeth a fold *for cattle* [e]. And now have we made the KORAN eaſy for admonition: but *is* any one admoniſhed *thereby?* The people of LOT charged *his* preaching with falſhood: but we ſent againſt them *a wind* driving a ſhower of ſtones, *which deſtroyed them all* except the family of LOT; whom we delivered early in the morning, through favour from us. Thus do we reward thoſe who are thankful. And *LOT* had warned them of our ſeverity *in chaſtiſing*; but they doubted of that warning. And they demanded his gueſts of him, *that they might abuſe them:* but we put out their eyes [f], *ſaying*, Taſte my vengeance, and my threatening. And early in the morning a laſting puniſhment [g] ſurprized them. Taſte, therefore, my vengeance, and my threatening. Now have we made the KORAN eaſy for admonition: but *is* any one admoniſhed *thereby?* The warning *of MOSES* alſo came unto the people of PHARAOH; *but* they charged every one of our ſigns with impoſture: wherefore we chaſtiſed them with a mighty *and* irreſiſtible chaſtiſement. Are your unbelievers, *O MECCANS*, better than theſe? Is immunity from puniſhment *promiſed* unto you in the ſcriptures? Do they ſay, We are a body *of men* able to prevail *againſt our enemies?* The multitude ſhall ſurely be put to flight, and ſhall turn *their* back [h]. But the hour *of judgment is* their threatened time *of puniſhment* [i]: and that hour *ſhall be* more grievous and more bitter *than their afflictions in this life.* Verily the wicked *wander* in error, and *ſhall be tormented hereafter* in burning

[a] See chap. 7. p. 124, &c.

[b] *The water ſhall be divided between them;*] That is, between the *Thamudites* and the camel. See chap. 26. p. 306. not. b.

[c] *Their companion;*] Namely *Kodâr Ebn Salef*; who was not an *Arab*, but a ſtranger dwelling among the *Thamudites*. See chap. 7. p. 125. not. a.

[d] *He took a ſword;*] Or, as the word alſo imports, *He became reſolute and daring.*

[e] *Like the dry ſticks uſed by him who buildeth a fold for cattle;*] The words may ſignify either the dry boughs with which, in the eaſt, they make folds or incloſures, to fence their cattle from wind and cold; or the ſtubble and other ſtuff with which they litter them in thoſe folds during the winter ſeaſon.

[f] *We put out their eyes;*] So that their ſockets became filled up even with the other parts of their faces. This, it is ſaid, was done by one ſtroke of the wing of the angel *Gabriel*. See chap. 11. p. 183.

[g] *A laſting puniſhment;*] Under which they ſhall continue till they receive their full puniſhment in hell.

[h] *The multitude ſhall ſurely be put to flight;*] This prophecy was fulfilled by the overthrow of the *Korciſh* at *Bedr*. It is related, from a tradition of *Omar*, that when this paſſage was revealed, *Mohammed* profeſſed himſelf to be ignorant of its true meaning; but on the day of the battle of *Bedr*, he repeated theſe words as he was putting on his coat of mail [1].

[i] *The hour of judgment is their threatened time of puniſhment;*] i. e. The time when they ſhall receive their full puniſhment; what they ſuffer in this world being only the fore-runner or earneſt of what they ſhall feel in the next.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

ing flames. On that day they ſhall be dragged into the fire on their faces; *and it ſhall be ſaid unto them*, Taſte ye the touch of hell. All things have we created *bound* by a fixed decree: and our command *is* no more than a ſingle *word* [a], like the twinkling of an eye. We have formerly deſtroyed *nations* like unto you; but *is* any *of you* warned *by their example?* Every thing which they do *is recorded* in the books *kept by the guardian angels*: and every *action*, *both* ſmall and great, *is* written down *in the preſerved table*. Moreover the pious *ſhall dwell* among gardens and rivers, in the aſſembly of truth, in the preſence of a moſt potent king.

[a] *Our command is no more than a ſingle word;*] *ſingle act*, exerted in a moment. Some ſuppoſe it refers to the buſineſs of the day of judgment [1]. Viz. *Kun*, i. e. *Be*. The paſſage may alſo be rendered, *The execution of our purpoſe is but a*

[1] *Idem.*

CHAP. LV.

Intitled, The Merciful; *revealed at* MECCA [a].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THE Merciful hath taught *his ſervant* the KORAN. He created man: he hath taught him diſtinct ſpeech. The ſun and the moon *run their courſes* according to a certain rule: and the vegetables which creep on the ground, and the trees ſubmit *to his diſpoſition*. He alſo raiſed the heaven; and he appointed the balance [b], that ye ſhould not tranſgreſs in reſpect to the balance: wherefore obſerve a juſt weight; and diminiſh not the balance. And the earth hath he prepared for living creatures: therein *are various* fruits, and palm-trees bearing ſheaths of flowers; and grain having chaff, and leaves. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny [c]? He created man of dried clay like an earthen veſſel: but he created the genii of fire clear from ſmoke. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? *He is* the LORD of the eaſt, and the LORD of the weſt [d]. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits

[a] Moſt of the commentators doubt whether this chapter was revealed at *Mecca* or at *Medina*; or partly at the one place, and partly at the other.

[b] *The balance*;] Or juſtice and equity in mutual dealings.

[c] *Which therefore of your* LORD's *benefits will ye ungratefully deny?*] The words are directed to the two ſpecies of rational creatures, men and genii; the verb and the pronoun being in the dual number.

This verſe is intercalated, or repeated by way of burden, throughout the whole chapter no leſs than thirty one times, which was done, as *Marracci* gueſſes, in imitation of *David* [1].

[d] *The eaſt and the weſt*;] The original words are both in the dual number, and ſignify the different points of the horizon at which the ſun riſes and ſets at the ſummer and winter ſolſtice. See chap. 37. p. 366. not. c.

[1] *See Pſalm.* cxxxvi.

nefits will ye ungratefully deny? He hath let looſe the two ſeas [a], that they meet each another: between them *is placed* a bar which they cannot paſs. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? From them are taken forth unions and leſſer pearls. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? His alſo *are* the ſhips, carrying their ſails aloft in the ſea, like mountains. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Every *creature* which *liveth* on *the earth is* ſubject to decay: but the glorious and honourable countenance of thy LORD ſhall remain *for ever*. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Unto him do all *creatures* which *are* in heaven and earth make petition: every day *is* he *employed* in *ſome new* work [b]. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? We will ſurely attend to *judge* you, O men and genii, *at the laſt day*. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? O ye collective body of genii and men, if ye be able to paſs out of the confines of heaven and earth [c], paſs forth: ye ſhall not paſs forth but by abſolute power. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? A flame of fire without ſmoke, and a ſmoke without flame [d] ſhall be ſent down upon you; and ye ſhall not be able to defend yourſelves *therefrom*. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? And when the heaven ſhall be rent in ſunder, and ſhall become *red as* a roſe, *and ſhall melt* like ointment [e]: (Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) On that day neither man nor genius ſhall be aſked concerning his ſin [f]. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? The wicked ſhall be known by their marks [g]; and they ſhall be taken by the forelocks, and the feet, *and ſhall be caſt into hell*. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? This *is* hell, which the wicked deny as a falſhood: they ſhall paſs to and fro between the ſame and hot boiling water [h]. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? But for him who dreadeth the tribunal of his LORD, *are prepared* two gardens:

[a] *The two ſeas*;] Of ſalt water and freſh [1]; or the *Perſian* and *Mediterranean* ſeas [2].

[b] *Every day is he employed in ſome new work*;] In executing thoſe things which he hath decreed from eternity; by giving life and death, raiſing one and abaſing another, hearing prayers and granting petitions, &c [3].

[c] *If ye be able to paſs out of the confines of heaven and earth*;] To fly from the power, and to avoid the decree of GOD.

[d] *A ſmoke without flame*;] Or, as the word alſo ſignifies, *molten braſs*, which ſhall be poured on the heads of the damned.

[e] *And ſhall melt like ointment*;] Or, *ſhall appear like red leather*; according to a different ſignification of the original word.

[f] *Neither man nor genius ſhall be asked concerning his ſin*;] For their crimes will be known by their different marks; as it follows in the text. This, ſays *al Beidawi*, is to be underſtood of the time when they ſhall be raiſed to life, and ſhall be led towards the tribunal: for when they come to trial, they will then undergo an examination, as is declared in ſeveral places of the *Korân*.

[g] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 84, &c.

[h] *They ſhall paſs to and fro between the ſame and hot boiling water*;] For the only reſpite they ſhall have from the flames of hell, will be when they are ſuffered to go to drink this ſcalding liquor. See chap. 37. p. 368.

[1] *See* chap. 25. p. 300. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem*, JALLAL.

dens [a] : (Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) Planted with ſhady trees. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *ſhall be* two fountains flowing. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *ſhall there be* of every fruit two kinds [b]. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? They ſhall repoſe on couches, the linings whereof *ſhall be* of thick ſilk interwoven with gold: and the fruit of the two gardens *ſhall be* near at hand *to gather* [c]. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Therein *ſhall receive them beauteous damſels*, refraining their eyes *from beholding any beſides their ſpouſes*: whom no man ſhall have deflowered before them, neither any genius: (Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) *Having complexions* like rubies and pearls. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? *Shall* the reward of good works *be* any other than good? Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? And beſides theſe *there ſhall be* two *other* gardens [d]: (Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) Of a dark green [e]. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *ſhall be* two fountains pouring forth plenty of water. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *ſhall be* fruits, and palm-trees, and pomegranats. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Therein *ſhall be* agreeable and beauteous *damſels*: Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Having fine black eyes; *and* kept in pavilions *from public view*: Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Whom no man ſhall have deflowered, before *their deſtined ſpouſes*, nor any genius. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? *Therein ſhall they delight themſelves*, lying on green cuſhions and beautiful carpets. Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Bleſſed be the name of thy LORD, poſſeſſed of glory and honour!

[a] *Two gardens*;] i. e. One diſtinct paradiſe for men, and another for genii: or, as ſome imagine, two gardens for each perſon; one as a reward due to his works, and the other as a free and ſuperabundant gift, &c.

[b] *Two ſorts of fruits*;] Some being known, and like the fruits of the earth; and others of new and unknown ſpecies: or, fruits both green and ripe.

[c] *Near at hand to gather*;] So that a man may reach them as he ſits or lies down.

[d] *Two other gardens*;] For the inferior claſſes of the inhabitants of paradiſe.

[e] *Of a dark green*;] From hence, ſays *Al Beidawi*, it may be inferred, that theſe gardens will chiefly produce herbs, or the inferior ſorts of vegetables; whereas the former will be planted chiefly with fruit-trees. The following part of this deſcription alſo falls ſhort of that of the other gardens, prepared for the ſuperior claſſes.

CHAP. LVI.

Intitled, The Inevitable; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHEN the inevitable [a] *day of judgment* ſhall ſuddenly come, no *ſoul* ſhall charge *the prediction of* its coming with falſhood: it will abaſe *ſome*, and exalt *others*. When the earth ſhall be ſhaken with a violent ſhock; and the mountains ſhall be daſhed in pieces, and ſhall become *as* duſt ſcattered abroad; and ye ſhall be *ſeparated into* three *diſtinct* claſſes: the companions of the right hand; (how *happy ſhall* the companions of the right hand *be!*) and the companions of the left hand [b]; (how *miſerable ſhall* the companions of the left hand *be!*) and thoſe who have preceded *others in the faith*, ſhall precede *them to paradiſe* [c]. Theſe *are* they who ſhall approach near *unto* GOD: *they ſhall dwell* in gardens of delight: (*There ſhall be* many of the former *religions*; and few of the laſt [d].) Repoſing on couches adorned with gold and precious ſtones; ſitting oppoſite to one another thereon [e]. Youths which ſhall continue *in their bloom* for ever, ſhall go round about *to attend* them, with goblets, and beakers, and a cup of flowing *wine:* their heads ſhall not ach by *drinking* the ſame, neither ſhall their reaſon be diſturbed: and with fruits of the *ſorts* which they ſhall chooſe, and the fleſh of birds of the *kind* which they ſhall deſire. And *there ſhall accompany them* fair damſels having large black eyes; reſembling pearls hidden *in their ſhells:* as a reward for that which they ſhall have wrought. They ſhall not hear therein any vain diſcourſe, or

[a] *The Inevitable*;] The original word, the force whereof cannot well be expreſſed by a ſingle one in *Engliſh*, ſignifies a calamitous accident which falls ſurely, and with ſudden violence; and is therefore made uſe of here to deſign the day of judgment.

[b] *The companions of the right hand, and of the left hand*;] That is, the bleſſed, and the damned; who may be thus diſtinguiſhed here, becauſe the books wherein their actions are regiſtred, will be delivered into the right hands of the former, and into the left hands of the latter [1]: tho' the words tranſlated *right hand*, and *left hand*, do alſo ſignify *happineſs*, and *miſery*.

[c] *And thoſe who have preceded others in the faith, ſhall precede them to paradiſe*;] Either the firſt converts to *Mohammediſm*, or the prophets, who were the reſpective leaders of their people, or any perſons who have been eminent examples of piety and vertue, may be here intended. The original words literally rendred are, *The leaders, the leaders:* which repetition, as ſome ſuppoſe, was deſigned to expreſs the dignity of theſe perſons, and the certainty of their future glory and happineſs [2].

[d] *There ſhall be many of the former religions, and few of the laſt*;] i. e. There ſhall be more *leaders*, who have preceded others in faith and good works, among the followers of the ſeveral prophets from *Adam* down to *Mohammed*, than of the followers of *Mohammed* himſelf [3].

[e] See chap. 25. p. 212. not. e.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. [2] *Iidem.* [3] *Iidem.*

or any charge of ſin; but only the ſalutation, Peace! Peace! And the companions of the right hand (how *happy ſhall* the companions of the right hand *be!*) *ſhall have their abode* among lote trees free from thorns, and trees of mauz [a] loaded regularly *with their produce* from top to bottom; *under* an extended ſhade, *near* a flowing water [b], and *amidſt* fruits in abundance, which ſhall not fail, nor ſhall be forbidden *to be gathered:* and *they ſhall repoſe themſelves* on lofty beds [c]. Verily we have created *the damſels of paradiſe* by a *peculiar* creation [d]: and we have made them virgins [e], beloved by their huſbands, of equal age *with them*; for *the delight of* the companions of the right hand. *There ſhall be* many of the former *religions*, and many of the latter [f]. And the companions of the left hand (how *miſerable ſhall* the companions of the left hand *be!*) *ſhall dwell* amidſt burning winds [g], and ſcalding water, under the ſhade of a black ſmoke, neither cool nor agreeable. For they enjoyed the pleaſures of life before this, *while on earth*; and obſtinately perſiſted in a hainous wickedneſs: and they ſaid, After we ſhall have died, and become duſt and bones, *ſhall* we ſurely *be* raiſed to life? *Shall* our forefathers alſo *be raiſed with us?* Say, Verily both the firſt and the laſt ſhall ſurely be gathered together *to judgment*, at the prefixed time of a known day. Then ye, *O men*, who have erred, *and* denied *the reſurrection* as a falſhood, ſhall ſurely eat of *the fruit of* the tree of AL ZAKKUM, and ſhall fill *your* bellies therewith: and ye ſhall drink thereon boiling water; and ye ſhall drink as a thirſty camel

[a] *Trees of mauz;*] The original word *Talh* is the name, not only of the *mauz* [1], but alſo of a very tall and thorny tree, which bears abundance of flowers of an agreeable ſmell [2], and ſeems to be the *Acacia.*

[b] *Near a flowing water;*] Which ſhall be conveyed in channels to ſuch places, and in ſuch manner as every one ſhall deſire. [3] *Al Beidawi* obſerves that the condition of the few who have preceded others in faith and good works, is repreſented by whatever may render a city life agreeable; and that the condition of the companions of the right hand, or, the generality of the bleſſed, is repreſented by thoſe things which make the principal pleaſure of a country life; and that this is done to ſhew the difference of the two conditions.

[c] *Lofty beds;*] The word tranſlated *beds*, ſignifies alſo, by way of metaphor, *wives* or *concubines*; and if the latter ſenſe be preferred, the paſſage may be rendred thus, *And they ſhall enjoy damſels raiſed on lofty couches, whom we have created*, &c.

[d] *We have created the damſels of paradiſe by a peculiar creation;*] Having created them purpoſely of finer materials than the females of this world, and ſubject to none of thoſe inconveniences which are natural to the ſex [4]. Some underſtand this paſſage of the beatified women; who, tho' they die old and ugly, ſhall yet be reſtored to their youth and beauty in paradiſe [5].

[e] *Virgins;*] For how often ſoever their huſbands ſhall go in unto them, they ſhall always find them virgins.

[f] *There ſhall be many of the former religions, and many of the latter;*] Father *Marracci* thinks this to be a manifeſt contradiction to what is ſaid above, *There ſhall be many of the former and few of the latter:* but *Al Beidawi* obviates ſuch an objection, by obſerving that the preceding paſſage ſpeaks of the *leaders* only, and thoſe who have preceded others in faith and good works, and the paſſage before us ſpeaks of the righteous of inferior merit and degree; ſo that tho' there be many of both ſorts, yet there may be few of one ſort, comparatively ſpeaking, in reſpect to the other.

[g] *Burning winds;*] Which ſhall penetrate into the paſſages of their bodies.

[1] *See p.* 371. [2] *V.* J. LEON. *Deſcript. Africæ, lib.* 9. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 96, *&c.* [5] *See ib. p.* 103.

drinketh. This *ſhall be* their entertainment on the day of judgment. We have created you: will ye not therefore believe *that we can raiſe you from the dead?* What think ye? The *ſeed* which ye emit, do ye create the ſame, or *are* we the creators *thereof?* We have decreed death unto you *all:* and we ſhall not be prevented. *We are able* to ſubſtitute *others* like unto you *in your ſtead*, and to produce you *again* in the *condition or form* which ye know not. Ye know the original production *by creation*; will ye not therefore conſider *that we are able to reproduce you by reſuſcitation?* What think ye? The *grain* which ye ſow, do ye cauſe the ſame to ſpring forth, or do we cauſe *it* to ſpring forth? If we pleaſed, verily we could render the ſame dry and fruitleſs, *ſo that* ye would not ceaſe to wonder [a], *ſaying*, Verily we have contracted debts [b] *for ſeed and labour*; but we are not permitted [c] *to reap the fruit thereof.* What think ye? The water which ye drink, do ye ſend down the ſame from the clouds, or *are* we the ſenders *thereof?* If we pleaſed, we could render the ſame brackiſh: Will ye not therefore give thanks? What think ye? The fire which ye ſtrike, do ye produce the tree *whence ye obtain* the ſame [d], or *are* we the producers *thereof?* We have ordained the ſame for an admonition [e], and an advantage unto thoſe who travel through the deſarts. Wherefore praiſe the name of thy LORD, the great GOD. Moreover I ſwear [f] by the ſetting of the ſtars; (and it *is* ſurely a great oath, if ye knew *it*;) that this *is* the excellent KORAN, *the original whereof is written* in the preſerved book: none ſhall touch the ſame, except thoſe who are clean [g]. *It is* a revelation from the LORD of all creatures. Will ye, therefore, deſpiſe this new revelation? And do ye make *this return for* your food *which ye receive from* GOD, that ye deny *yourſelves to be obliged to him for the ſame* [h]? When *the ſoul of a dying perſon* cometh up to *his* throat, and ye at the ſame time are looking on; (and we are nigher unto him than ye, but ye ſee not *his true condition*:) would ye not, if ye are not

[a] *To wonder*;] Or *to repent* of your time and labour beſtowed to little purpoſe, &c.

[b] *We have contracted debts*, &c.] Or, *We are undone.*

[c] *We are not permitted*, &c.] Or, *We are unfortunate wretches*, who are denied the neceſſaries of life.

[d] See chap. 36. p. 365. not. f.

[e] *An admonition*;] To put men in mind of the reſurrection [1]; which the production of fire in ſome ſort reſembles: or, of the fire of hell [2].

[f] *I ſwear*;] The particle *la* is generally ſuppoſed to be intenſive in this place; but if it be taken for a negative, the words muſt be tranſlated, *I will not* or *do not ſwear*, becauſe what is here aſſerted is too manifeſt to need the confirmation of an oath [3].

[g] *None ſhall touch the ſame, except thoſe who are clean*;] Or, *Let none touch the ſame*, &c. Purity both of body and mind being requiſite in him who would uſe this book with the reſpect he ought, and hopes to edify by it: for which reaſon theſe words are uſually written on the cover [4].

[h] *That ye deny yourſelves to be obliged to him for the ſame*;] By aſcribing the rains, which fertilize your lands, to the influence of the ſtars [5].

Some copies inſtead of *rizkacom*, i. e. *your food*, read *ſhocracom*, i. e. *your gratitude*; and then the paſſage may be rendered thus, *And do ye make this return of gratitude*, for GOD's revealing the *Koran*, *that ye reject* the ſame *as a fiction?*

[1] *See chap.* 36. *p.* 365. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. III. *p.* 69. [5] *See* ib. §. I. *p.* 31, 32.

not to be rewarded *for your actions hereafter*, cauſe the ſame to return *into the body*, if ye ſpeak truth [a]? And whether he be of thoſe who ſhall approach near *unto* GOD [b], *his reward ſhall be* reſt, and mercy, and a garden of delights: or whether he be of the companions of the right hand, *he ſhall be ſaluted with the ſalutation*, Peace be unto thee! by the companions of the right hand *his brethren*: or whether he be of thoſe who have rejected *the true faith*, *and* gone aſtray, *his* entertainment *ſhall conſiſt* of boiling water, and the burning of hell *fire*. Verily this *is* a certain truth. Wherefore praiſe the name of thy LORD, the great GOD.

[a] *When the ſoul of a dying perſon cometh up to his throat*, &c.] The meaning of this obſcure paſſage is, If ye ſhall not be obliged to give an account of your actions at the laſt day, as by your denying the reſurrection ye ſeem to believe, cauſe the ſoul of the dying perſon to return into his body; for ye may as eaſily do that, as avoid the general judgment [1].

[b] *Of thoſe who ſhall approach near unto* GOD;] That is, of the *leaders*, or firſt profeſſors of the faith.

[1] JALLAL. *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. LVII.

Intitled, Iron [a]; *revealed at* MECCA, *or at* MEDINA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHatever *is* in heaven and earth ſingeth praiſe unto GOD; and he *is* mighty *and* wiſe. His *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth; he giveth life, and he putteth to death; and he *is* almighty. He *is* the firſt, and the laſt; the manifeſt, and the hidden: and he knoweth all things. *It is* he who created the heavens and the earth in ſix days; and then aſcended *his* throne. He knoweth that which entreth into the earth, and that which iſſueth out of the ſame; and that which deſcendeth from heaven, and that which aſcendeth thereto: and he *is* with you, whereſoever ye be: for GOD ſeeth that which ye do. His *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and unto GOD ſhall *all* things return. He cauſeth the night to ſucceed the day, and he cauſeth the day to ſucceed the night; and he knoweth the innermoſt part of *men*'s breaſts. Believe in GOD and his apoſtle, and lay out *in alms* a part of the *wealth* whereof GOD hath made you inheritors: for unto ſuch of you as believe, and beſtow alms, *ſhall be given* a great reward. And what aileth you, that ye believe not in GOD, when the apoſtle inviteth you to believe in your LORD; and he hath received your covenant [c] *concerning this matter*, if ye believe *any propoſition* [2]

[a] The word occurs toward the end of the chapter.

[b] It is uncertain which of the two places was the ſcene of revelation of this chapter.

[c] *He hath received your covenant*;] That is, Ye are obliged to believe in him by the ſtrongeſt arguments and motives.

tion? It is he who hath ſent down unto his ſervant evident ſigns, that he may lead you out of darkneſs into light; for GOD *is* compaſſionate *and* merciful unto you. And what aileth you, that ye contribute not *of your ſubſtance* for the defence of GOD's true religion? Since unto GOD *appertaineth* the inheritance of heaven and earth. Thoſe among you who ſhall have contributed and fought *in defence of the faith*, before the taking *of* MECCA, ſhall not be held equal *with thoſe who ſhall contribute and fight for the ſame afterwards* [a]. Theſe ſhall be ſuperior in degree unto thoſe who ſhall contribute and fight *for the propagation of the faith* after *the abovementioned ſucceſs:* but unto all hath GOD promiſed a moſt excellent *reward*; and GOD well knoweth that which ye do. Who *is* he that will lend unto GOD an acceptable loan? for he will double the ſame unto him, and he ſhall receive *moreover* an honourable reward. On a *certain* day, thou ſhalt ſee the true believers of both ſexes: their light ſhall run before them, and on their right hands [b]; *and it ſhall be ſaid unto them*, Good tidings unto you this day: gardens through which rivers flow; *ye* ſhall remain therein for ever. This will be great felicity. On that day the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women ſhall ſay unto thoſe who believe, Stay for us [c], that we may borrow *ſome* of your light. It ſhall be anſwered, Return back *into the world*, and ſeek light. And a high wall ſhall be ſet betwixt them, wherein *ſhall be* a gate, within which *ſhall be* mercy; and without it, overagainſt the ſame, the torment *of hell*. The *hypocrites* ſhall call out unto *the true believers*, *ſaying*, Were we not with you? They ſhall anſwer, Yea; but ye ſeduced your own ſouls *by your hypocriſy:* and ye waited *our ruin*; and ye doubted *concerning the faith*; and *your* wiſhes deceived you, until the decree of GOD came, *and ye died:* and the deceiver deceived you concerning GOD. This day, therefore, a ranſom ſhall not be accepted of you, nor of thoſe who have been unbelievers. Your abode *ſhall be hell* fire: this *is* what ye have deſerved; and an unhappy journey *ſhall it be thither!* Is not the time yet come unto thoſe who believe, that their hearts ſhould humbly ſubmit to the admonition of GOD, and to that truth which hath been revealed; and that they be not as thoſe unto whom the ſcripture was given heretofore, and to whom the time *of forbearance* was prolonged, but their hearts were hardened, and many of them *were* wicked doers? Know that GOD quickeneth the earth, after it hath been dead. Now have we diſtinctly declared *our* ſigns unto you, that ye may underſtand. Verily *as to* the almſgivers, both men and women, and *thoſe who* lend unto GOD an acceptable loan, he will double the ſame unto them; and they ſhall *moreover* receive an honourable reward. And they who believe in GOD and his apoſtles, theſe are the men of veracity, and the witneſſes in the preſence of their LORD: they *ſhall have* their reward, and their light. But *as to* thoſe who believe not, and accuſe our ſigns of falſehood

[a] *Thoſe who ſhall have contributed and fought in defence of the faith before the taking of* Mecca, *ſhall not be held equal with thoſe who ſhall contribute after*;] Becauſe afterwards there was not ſo great neceſſity for either, the *Mohammedan* religion being firmly eſtabliſhed by that great ſucceſs.

[b] *Their light ſhall run before them, and on their right hand*;] One light leading them the right way to paradiſe, and the other proceeding from the book wherein their actions are recorded, which they will hold in their right hand.

[c] *Stay for us*:] For the righteous will haſten to paradiſe ſwift as lightning.

hood, they *ſhall be* the companions of hell. Know that this preſent life *is* only a toy and a vain amuſement: and *worldly* pomp, and the affectation of glory among you, and the multiplying of riches and children, *are* as the plants nouriſhed by the rain, the ſpringing up whereof delighteth the husbandmen; afterwards they wither, ſo that thou ſeeſt the ſame turned yellow, and at length they become dry ſtubble. And in the life to come *will be* a ſevere puniſhment *for thoſe who covet worldly grandeur*; and pardon from GOD, and favour *for thoſe who renounce it*: for this preſent life *is* no other than a deceitful proviſion. Haſten with emulation to *obtain* pardon from your LORD, and paradiſe, the extent whereof equalleth the extent of heaven and earth, prepared for thoſe who believe in GOD and his apoſtles. This *is* the bounty of GOD: he will give the ſame unto whom he pleaſeth; and GOD is endued with great bounty. No accident happeneth in the earth, nor in your perſons, but *the ſame was entred* in the book *of our decrees*, before we created it: verily this *is* eaſy with GOD: *and this is written* leſt ye *immoderately* grieve for the *good* which eſcapeth you, or rejoice for that which happeneth unto you; for GOD loveth no proud *or* vain-glorious perſon, *or thoſe* who are covetous, and command men covetouſneſs. And whoſo turneth aſide *from giving alms*; verily GOD *is* ſelf-ſufficient, worthy to be praiſed. We formerly ſent our apoſtles with evident *miracles and arguments*; and we ſent down with them the ſcriptures, and the balance [a], that men might obſerve juſtice: and we ſent *them* down iron [b], wherein is mighty ſtrength for war [c], and *various* advantages unto mankind: that GOD may know who aſſiſteth him and his apoſtles in ſecret [d]; for GOD *is* ſtrong *and* mighty. We formerly ſent NOAH and ABRAHAM, and we eſtabliſhed in their poſterity the gift of prophecy, and the ſcripture: and of them *ſome were* directed, but many of them *were* evil doers. Afterwards we cauſed our apoſtles to ſucceed in their footſteps; and we cauſed JESUS the ſon of MARY to ſucceed *them*, and we gave him the goſpel: and we put in the hearts of thoſe who followed him, compaſſion and mercy: but *as to* the monaſtic ſtate, they inſtituted the ſame (we did not preſcribe it to them) only out of a deſire to pleaſe GOD; yet they obſerved not the ſame as it ought truly to have been obſerved. And we gave unto ſuch of them as believed, their reward: but many of them *were* wicked doers. O ye who believe *in the former prophets* [e], fear GOD, and believe in his apoſtle *MAHOMMED*; he will give you two portions of his mercy [f], and he will ordain you a light wherein ye

[a] *And the balance*;] i. e. A rule of juſtice. Some think that a balance was actually brought down from heaven by the angel *Gabriel* to *Noah*, the uſe of which he was ordered to introduce among his people.

[b] *And we ſent them down iron*;] That is, We taught them how to dig the ſame from mines. *Al Zamakhſhari* adds, that *Adam* is ſaid to have brought down with him from paradiſe five things made of iron, *viz.* an anvil, a pair of tongs, two hammers, a greater and a leſſer, and a needle.

[c] *Wherein is mighty ſtrength for war*;] Warlike inſtruments and weapons being generally made of iron.

[d] *In ſecret*;] That is, ſincerely and heartily.

[e] *O ye who believe*, &c.] Theſe words are directed to the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, or rather to the latter only.

[f] *Two portions of his mercy*;] One as a recompence for their believing in *Mohammed*, and the other as a recompence for their believing in

ye may walk, and he will forgive you; for GOD *is* ready to forgive *and* merciful: that thoſe who have received the ſcriptures may know that they have not power over any of the favours of GOD [a], and that good *is* in the hand of GOD; he beſtoweth the ſame on whom he pleaſeth, for GOD *is* endued with great beneficence.

in the prophets who preceded him; for they will not loſe the reward of their former religion, though it be now abrogated by the promulgation of *Iſlam* [1].

[a] *That they have not power over any of the favours of* GOD;] i. e. That they cannot expect to receive any of the favours abovementioned, becauſe they believe not in his apoſtle, and thoſe favours are annexed to faith in him; or, That they have not power to diſpoſe of GOD's favours, particularly of the greateſt of them, the gift of prophecy, ſo as to appropriate the ſame to whom they pleaſe [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

CHAP. LVIII.

Intitled, She who diſputed; *revealed at* MEDINA [a].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

XXVIII. * NOW hath GOD heard the ſpeech of her who diſputed with thee concerning her husband, and made her complaint unto GOD [b]; and GOD hath heard your mutual diſcourſe: for GOD *both* heareth *and* ſeeth. *As to* thoſe among you who divorce their wives, by declaring that they will thereafter regard them as their mothers; *let them know that* they *are* not their mothers. They only *are* their mothers who brought them forth [c]; and they certainly utter an unjuſtifiable ſaying, and a falſhood: but GOD *is* gracious *and* ready to forgive. Thoſe who divorce their wives by declaring that they will for the future

[a] Some are of opinion that the firſt ten verſes of this chapter, ending with theſe words, *and fear God, before whom ye ſhall be aſſembled*, were revealed at *Mecca*, and the reſt at *Medina* [1].

[b] *Her who diſputed with thee concerning her husband*, &c.] This was *Khawla bint Thálaba*, the wife of *Aws Ebn al Sâmat*, who being divorced by her husband by a form in uſe among the *Arabs* in the time of ignorance, *viz.* by ſaying to her, *Thou art to me as the back of my mother* [2], came to ask *Mohammed*'s opinion whether they were neceſſarily obliged to a ſeparation; and he told her that it was not lawful for her to cohabit with her husband any more: to which ſhe replying, that her husband had not put her away, the prophet repeated his former deciſion, adding that ſuch form of ſpeaking was by general conſent underſtood to imply a perpetual ſeparation. Upon this the woman being greatly concerned becauſe of the ſmallneſs of her children, went home, and uttered her complaint to GOD in prayer: and thereupon this paſſage was revealed [3], allowing a man to take his wife again, notwithſtanding his having pronounced the abovementioned form of divorce, on doing certain acts of charity, or mortification, by way of penance.

[c] *They only are their mothers who brought them forth*;] And therefore no woman ought to be placed in the ſame degree of prohibition, except thoſe whom GOD has joined with them, as nurſing-mothers, and the wives of the prophet [4].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *See chap.* 33. p. 341. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL, &c.
[4] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See chap.* 4. *p.* 63. *and ch.* 33. *p.* 350.

future regard them as their mothers, and afterwards would repair [a] what they have ſaid, *ſhall be obliged* to free a captive [b], before they touch one another. This *is* what ye are warned *to perform:* and GOD *is* well apprized of that which ye do. And whoſo findeth not *a captive to redeem, ſhall obſerve* a faſt of two conſecutive months, before they touch one another. And whoſo ſhall not be able *to faſt that time, ſhall* feed threeſcore poor men. This *is ordained you*, that ye may believe in GOD and his apoſtle. Theſe *are* the ſtatutes of GOD: and for the unbelievers *is prepared* a grievous torment. Verily they who oppoſe GOD and his apoſtle, ſhall be brought low, as *the unbelievers* who preceded them were brought low. And now have we ſent down manifeſt ſigns: and an ignominious puniſhment awaiteth the unbelievers. On a *certain* day GOD ſhall raiſe them all to life, and ſhall declare unto them that which they have wrought. GOD hath taken an exact account thereof; but they have forgotten the ſame: and GOD *is* witneſs over all things. Doſt thou not perceive that GOD knoweth whatever *is* in heaven and in earth? There is no private diſcourſe among three perſons, but he *is* the fourth of them; nor *among* five, but he *is* the ſixth of them; neither *among* a ſmaller *number* than this, nor a larger, but he *is* with them, whereſoever they be: and he will declare unto them that which they have done, on the day of reſurrection; for GOD knoweth all things. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe who have been forbidden to uſe clandeſtine diſcourſe, but afterwards return to what they have been forbidden, and diſcourſe privily among themſelves of wickedneſs, and enmity, and diſobedience towards the apoſtle [c]? And when they come unto thee, they ſalute thee with that *form of ſalutation* wherewith GOD doth not ſalute thee [d]: and they ſay among themſelves, *by way of deriſion*, Would not GOD puniſh us for what we ſay, *if this man were a prophet?* Hell *ſhall be* their ſufficient *puniſhment:* they ſhall go down into the ſame to be burned; and an unhappy journey *ſhall it be!* O true believers, when ye diſcourſe privily together, diſcourſe not of wickedneſs, and enmity, and diſobedience towards the apoſtle; but diſcourſe of juſtice, and piety: and fear GOD, before whom ye ſhall be aſſembled. Verily the clandeſtine diſcourſe *of the infidels proceedeth* from SATAN, that he may grieve the true believers: but there ſhall be none to hurt them in the leaſt, unleſs by the permiſſion of GOD; wherefore in GOD let the faithful truſt. O true believers, when it is ſaid unto you, Make

[a] *Would repair*, &c.] This ſeems to be here the true meaning of the original word, which properly ſignifies *to return*, and is variouſly expounded by the *Mohammedan* doctors.

[b] *A captive*;] Which captive, according to the moſt received deciſion, ought to be a true believer; as is ordered for the expiation of manſlaughter [1].

[c] *Thoſe who have been forbidden to uſe clandeſtine diſcourſe*, &c.] That is, The *Jews* and hypocritical *Moſlems*, who caballed privately together againſt *Mohammed*, and made ſigns to one another when they ſaw the true believers: and this they continued to do, notwithſtanding they were forbidden.

[d] *They ſalute thee with that form of ſalutation wherewith God doth not ſalute thee.*] It ſeems they uſed, inſtead of *Al ſalâm aleica*, i. e. *Peace be upon thee*, to ſay, *Al ſâm aleica*, i. e. *Miſchief on thee*, &c [2].

[1] *See chap* 4. *p.* 72.

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL.

room in the aſſembly; make room [a]: GOD will grant you ample room *in paradiſe.* And when it is ſaid *unto you*, Riſe up; riſe up: GOD will raiſe thoſe of you who believe, and thoſe to whom knowledge is given, to *ſuperior* degrees *of honour*: and GOD *is* fully apprized of that which ye do. O true believers, when ye go to ſpeak with the apoſtle, give alms previouſly to your diſcourſing *with him* [b]: this *will be* better for you, and more pure. But if ye find not *what to give*, verily GOD *will be* gracious *and* merciful *unto you.* Do ye fear to give alms previouſly to your diſcourſing *with the prophet, leſt ye ſhould impoveriſh yourſelves?* Therefore if ye do *it* not, and GOD is gracious unto you, *by diſpenſing with the ſaid precept for the future,* be conſtant at prayer, and pay the legal alms; and obey GOD and his apoſtle *in all other matters*: for GOD well knoweth that which ye do. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe who have taken for their friends a people againſt whom GOD is incenſed [c]? They *are* neither of you, nor of them [d]: and they ſwear to a lye [e] knowingly. GOD hath prepared for them a grievous puniſhment; for it is evil which they do. They have taken their oaths for a cloak, and they have turned *men* aſide from the way of GOD: wherefore a ſhameful puniſhment awaiteth them; neither their wealth nor their children ſhall avail them at all againſt GOD. Theſe *ſhall be* the inhabitants of *hell* fire; they ſhall abide therein for ever. On a *certain* day GOD ſhall raiſe them all: then will they ſwear unto him, as they ſwear *now* unto you, imagining that it will be of ſervice to them. Are they not liars? SATAN hath prevailed againſt them, and hath cauſed them to forget the remembrance of GOD. Theſe *are* the party of the devil; and *ſhall* not the party of the devil *be* doomed to perdition? Verily they who oppoſe GOD and his apoſtle, *ſhall be placed among* the moſt vile. GOD hath written; Verily I will prevail, and my apoſtles: for God *is* ſtrong *and* mighty. Thou ſhalt not find people who believe in GOD and the laſt day, to love him who oppoſeth GOD and his apoſtle; although they be their fathers, or their ſons, or their brethren, or their neareſt relations. In the hearts of theſe hath GOD written faith; and he hath ſtrengthened them with his ſpirit: and he will lead them into gardens, beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever. GOD is well pleaſed in them; and they are well pleaſed in him. Theſe are the party of God: and ſhall not the party of GOD proſper?

CHAP.

[a] *When it is ſaid unto you, Make room in the aſſembly; make room.*] In this paſſage the *Moſlems* are commanded to give place, in the public aſſemblies, to the prophet and the more honourable of his companions; and not to preſs and croud upon him, as they uſed to do, out of a deſire of being near him, and hearing his diſcourſe.

[b] *When ye go to ſpeak with the apoſtle, give alms,* &c.] To ſhew your ſincerity, and to honour the apoſtle. It is doubted whether this be a counſel or a precept; but however it continued but a very little while in force, being agreed on all hands to be abrogated by the following paſſage, *Do ye fear to give alms,* &c. [1].

[c] *A people againſt whom God is incenſed;*] i. e. The *Jews.*

[d] *They are neither of you, nor of them;*] Being hypocrites, and wavering between the two parties.

[e] *They ſwear to a lye;*] i. e. They have ſolemnly profeſſed *Iſlâm,* which they believe not in their hearts.

[1] *Iidem.*

CHAP. LIX.

Intitled, The Emigration [a]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHatever *is* in heaven and earth celebrateth the praiſe of GOD: and he *is* the mighty, the wiſe. *It was* he who cauſed thoſe who believed not, of the people who receive the ſcripture, to depart from their habitations at the firſt emigration [b]. Ye did not think that they would go forth: and they thought that their fortreſſes would protect them againſt GOD. But *the chaſtiſement of* GOD came upon them, from whence they did not expect, and he caſt terror into their hearts. They pulled down their houſes with their own hands [c], and the hands of the true believers. Wherefore take example

[a] The original word ſignifies the quitting or removing from one's native country, or ſettlement, to dwell elſewhere, whether it be by choice or compulſion.

[b] *It was* GOD *who cauſed the unbelievers, of thoſe who receive the ſcriptures, to depart from their habitations at the firſt emigration.*] The people here intended were the *Jews* of the tribe of *al Nadîr*, who dwelt in *Medina*, and when *Mohammed* fled thither from *Mecca*, promiſed him to ſtand neuter between him and his opponents, and made a treaty with him to that purpoſe. When he had gained the battle of *Bedr*, they confeſſed that he was the prophet deſcribed in the law: but upon his receiving that diſgrace at *Ohod*, they changed their note; and *Caab Ebn al Aſhraf* with 40 horſe went and made a league with *Abu Sofiân*, which they confirmed by oath. Upon this, *Mohammed* got *Caab* diſpatched, and, in the 4th year of the *Hejra*, ſet forward againſt *al Nadîr*, and beſieged them in their fortreſs, which ſtood about 3 miles from *Medina*, for 6 days, at the end of which they capitulated, and were allowed to depart, on condition that they ſhould entirely quit that place: and accordingly ſome of them went into *Syria*, and others to *Khaibar* and *Hira* [1].

This was the *firſt emigration*, mentioned in the paſſage before us. The other happened ſeveral years after, in the reign of *Omar*, when that *Khalif* baniſhed thoſe who had ſettled at *Khaibar*, and obliged them to depart out of *Arabia* [2].

Dr. *Prideaux*, ſpeaking of *Mohammed*'s obliging thoſe of *al Nadîr* to quit their ſettlements, ſays that a party of his men purſued thoſe who fled into *Syria*, and having overtaken them, put them all to the ſword, excepting only one man that eſcaped. *With ſuch cruelty*, continues he, *did thoſe barbarians firſt ſet up to fight for that* impoſture *they had been deluded into* [3]. But a learned gentleman has already obſerved that this is all grounded on a miſtake, which the doctor was led into by an imperfection in the printed edition of *Elmacinus*; where, after mentioning the expulſion of the *Nadirites*, are inſerted ſome incoherent words relating to another action, which happened the month before, and wherein 70 *Moſlems*, inſtead of putting others to the ſword, were ſurprized and put to the ſword themſelves, together with their leader *al Mondar Ebn Omar*, *Caab Ebn Zeid* alone eſcaping [4].

[c] *They pulled down their houſes with their own hands*;] Doing what damage they could, that the *Moſlems* might make the leſs advantage of what they were obliged to leave behind them.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL. *&c.* V. ABULF. *vit. Mob. cap.* 35. [2] *Idem Interpp.* [3] PRID. *Life of Mah.* p. 82. [4] *V.* GAGNIER. *not. in Abulf. vit. Moh.* p. 72.

ample *from them*, O ye who have eyes. And if GOD had not doomed them to baniſhment, he had ſurely puniſhed them in this world [a]; and in the world to come they ſhall ſuffer the torment of *hell* fire. This, becauſe they oppoſed GOD and his apoſtle: and whoſo oppoſeth GOD, verily GOD *will be* ſevere in puniſhing *him*. What palm-trees ye cut down, or left ſtanding on their roots, *were ſo cut down or left* by the will of GOD; and that he might diſgrace the wicked doers. And *as to the ſpoils* of theſe *people* which GOD hath granted *wholly* to his apoſtle [b], ye did not puſh forward any horſes or camels againſt the ſame [c]; but GOD giveth unto his apoſtles dominion over whom he pleaſeth: for GOD *is* almighty. *The ſpoils* of the inhabitants of the towns which GOD hath granted to his apoſtle, *are due* unto GOD and to the apoſtle, and him who is of kin *to the apoſtle*, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller; that they may not be *for ever divided* in a circle among ſuch of you as are rich. What the apoſtle ſhall give you, that accept; and what he ſhall forbid you, *that* abſtain from: and fear GOD; for GOD *is* ſevere in chaſtiſing. *A part alſo belongeth* to the poor MOHAJERIN [d], who have been diſpoſſeſſed of their houſes and their ſubſtance, ſeeking favour from GOD, and *his* good will, and aſſiſting GOD and his apoſtle. Theſe are the men of veracity. And they who quietly poſſeſſed the town *of MEDINA*, and *profeſſed* the faith *without moleſtation*, before them [e], love him who hath fled unto them, and find in their breaſts no want of that which is given the *MOHAJERIN* [f], but prefer *them* before themſelves, although there be indigence among them. And whoſo is preſerved from the covetouſneſs of his own ſoul, thoſe ſhall ſurely proſper. And they who have come after them [g] ſay, O LORD, forgive us and our brethren who have preceded us in the faith, and put not into our hearts ill-will againſt thoſe who have believed: O LORD, verily thou *art* compaſſionate *and* merciful. Haſt thou not obſerved

[a] *He had ſurely puniſhed them in this world*;] By delivering them up to ſlaughter and captivity, as he did thoſe of *Koreidha*.

[b] *As to the ſpoils which* GOD *hath granted wholly to his apoſtle*, &c.] It is remarkable that in this expedition the ſpoils were not divided according to the law given for that purpoſe in the *Korân* [1], but were granted to the apoſtle, and declared to be entirely in his diſpoſition: And the reaſon was, becauſe the place was taken without the aſſiſtance of horſe; which became a rule for the future [2].

[c] *Ye did not puſh forward any horſes or camels againſt the ſame*;] For the ſettlement of thoſe of *Al Nadîr* being ſo near *Medina*, the *Moſſems* went all on foot thither, except only the prophet himſelf [3].

[d] *To the poor* Mohâjerin;] Wherefore *Mohammed* diſtributed thoſe ſpoils among the *Mohâjerin*, or thoſe who had fled from *Mecca*, only; and gave no part thereof to the *Anſârs*, or thoſe of *Medina*, except only to three of them, who were in neceſſitous circumſtances [4].

[e] *They who quietly poſſeſſed* Medina, *and profeſſed the faith without moleſtation, before them*;] That is, the *Anſârs*; who enjoyed their houſes, and the free exerciſe of their religion before the *Hejra*, while the converts of *Mecca* were perſecuted and harraſſed by the idolaters.

[f] *And find in their breaſts no want of that which is given the* Mohâjerin;] i. e. And bear them no grudge or envy on that account.

[g] *They who have come after them*;] The perſons here meant ſeem to be thoſe who fled from *Mecca* after *Mohammed* began to gain ſtrength, and his religion had made a conſiderable progreſs.

[1] *Chap.* 8. *p.* 144. [2] *V.* ABULF. *vit. Moh.* p. 91. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem*. *V.* ABULF. *ubi ſup. p.* 72.

ed them who play the hypocrites? They ſay unto their brethren who believe not, of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures [a], Verily if ye be expelled *your habitations*, we will ſurely go forth with you; and we will not pay obedience, in your reſpect, unto any one for ever: and if ye be attacked, we will certainly aſſiſt you. But GOD is witneſs that they *are* liars. Verily if they be expelled, they will not go forth with them; and if they be attacked, they will not aſſiſt them [b]; and if they do aſſiſt them, they will ſurely turn their backs: and they ſhall not be protected. Verily ye *are* ſtronger *than they*, by reaſon of the terror *caſt* into their breaſts from GOD. This, becauſe they *are* not people of prudence. They will not fight againſt you in a body, except in fenced towns, or from behind walls. Their ſtrength in war among themſelves *is* great [c]: thou thinkeſt them *to be* united; but their hearts are divided. This, becauſe they *are* people who do not underſtand. Like thoſe who lately preceded them [d], they have taſted the evil conſequence of their deed; and a painful torment *is prepared* for them *hereafter*. *Thus have the hypocrites deceived the Jews*: like the devil, when he ſaith unto a man, Be thou an infidel; and when he is become an infidel, he ſaith, Verily I *am* clear of thee; for I fear GOD, the LORD of all Creatures. Wherefore the end of them both ſhall be that they *ſhall dwell* in *hell* fire, abiding therein for ever: and this *ſhall be* the recompenſe of the unjuſt. O true believers, fear GOD; and let a ſoul look what it ſendeth before for the morrow [e]: and fear GOD, for GOD *is* well acquainted with that which ye do. And be not as thoſe who have forgotten GOD, and whom he hath cauſed to forget their own ſouls: theſe are the wicked doers. The inhabitants of *hell* fire, and the inhabitants of paradiſe ſhall not be held equal. The inhabitants of paradiſe are they who ſhall enjoy felicity. If we had ſent down this KORAN on a mountain, thou wouldeſt certainly have ſeen the ſame humble itſelf, and cleave in ſunder for fear of God. Theſe ſimilitudes do we propoſe unto men, that they may conſider. He *is* GOD, beſides whom there is no GOD; who knoweth that which is future, and that which is preſent: he *is* the moſt Merciful; he *is* GOD, beſides whom there is no GOD: the King, the Holy, the Giver of peace, the Faithful, the Guardian, the Powerful, the Strong, the moſt High. Far be GOD exalted above *the idols* which they aſſociate *with him!* He is GOD, the

[a] *Their brethren who believe not, of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures*;] That is, the *Jews* of the tribe of *al Nadîr*.

[b] *If they be expelled, they will not go forth with them; and if they be attacked, they will not aſſiſt them*:] And it happened accordingly: for *Ebn Obba* and his confederates wrote to the *Nadirites* to this purpoſe, but never performed their promiſe [1].

[c] *Their ſtrength in war among themſelves is great*;] i. e. It is not their weakneſs or cowardice which makes them decline a field battle with you, ſince they ſhew ſtrength and valour enough in their wars with one another; but both fail them when they enter into the liſts with GOD and his apoſtle.

[d] *Like thoſe who lately preceded them*;] *Viz.* The idolaters who were ſlain at *Bedr*; or the *Jews* of *Kainokâ*, who were plundered and ſent into exile before thoſe of *al Nadîr*.

[e] *For the morrow*;] That is, For the next life, which may be called *the morrow*, as this preſent life may be called *to day*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

the Creator, the Maker, the Former. He hath moſt excellent names[a]. Whatever *is* in heaven and earth praiſeth him: and he *is* the Mighty, the Wiſe.

[a] *See chap. 7. p. 136. not. c.*

CHAP. LX.

Intitled, She who is tried[a]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O True believers, take not my enemy and your enemy for *your* friends[b], ſhewing kindneſs toward them; ſince they believe not in the truth which hath come unto you, having expelled the apoſtle and yourſelves *from your native city*, becauſe ye believe in GOD, your LORD. If ye go forth to fight in defence of my religion, and out of a deſire to pleaſe me, and privately ſhew friendſhip unto them[c]; verily I well know that which ye conceal, and that which ye diſcover: and whoever of you doth this, hath already erred from the ſtrait path. If they get the better of you, they will be enemies unto you, and they will ſtretch forth their hands and their tongues againſt you with evil: and they earneſtly deſire that ye ſhould become unbelievers. Neither your kindred nor your children will avail you at all on the day of reſurrection, which will ſeparate you from one another: and GOD ſeeth that which ye do. Ye have an excellent pattern in ABRAHAM, and thoſe who were with him, when they ſaid unto their people, Verily we *are* clear of you, and of the *idols* which ye worſhip, beſides GOD: we have renounced

[a] The chapter bears this title, becauſe it directs the women who deſert and come over from the infidels to the *Moſlems*, to be examined, and tried whether they be ſincere in their profeſſion of the faith.

[b] *Take not my enemy and your enemy for your friends, &c.*] This paſſage was revealed on account of *Hateb Ebn Abi Baltaa*, who underſtanding that *Mohammed* had a deſign to ſurprize *Mecca*, wrote a letter to the *Koreiſh*, giving them notice of the intended expedition, and adviſed them to be on their guard: which letter he ſent by *Sarah*, a maid-ſervant belonging to the family of *Hâſhem*. The meſſenger had not been gone long, before *Gabriel* diſcovered the affair to the prophet, who immediately ſent after her, and having intercepted the letter, asked *Hateb* how he came to be guilty of ſuch an action? to which he replied, that it was not out of infidelity, or a deſire to return to idolatry, but meerly to induce the *Koreiſh* to treat his family, which was ſtill at *Mecca*, with ſome kindneſs; adding, that he was well aſſured his intelligence would be of no ſervice at all to the *Meccans*, becauſe he was ſatisfied GOD would take vengeance on them. Whereupon *Mohammed* received his excuſe, and pardoned him: but it was thought proper to forbid any ſuch practices for the future[1].

[c] *And privately ſhew friendſhip unto them;*] The verb here uſed has alſo a contrary ſignification, according to which the words may be rendred, *and yet openly ſhew friendſhip unto them.*

[1] *Idem. V.* ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 103.

nounced you; and enmity and hatred is begun between us and you for ever, until ye believe in GOD alone: except ABRAHAM's saying unto his father, Verily I will beg pardon for thee [a]; but I cannot obtain ought of GOD in thy behalf. O LORD, in thee do we truſt, and unto thee are we turned; and before thee ſhall we be aſſembled *hereafter*. O LORD, ſuffer us not to be put to trial by the unbelievers [b]: and forgive us, O LORD; for thou *art* mighty *and* wiſe. Verily ye have in them an excellent example, unto him who hopeth in GOD and the laſt day: and whoſo turneth back; verily GOD *is* ſelf ſufficient, *and* praiſe worthy. Peradventure GOD will eſtabliſh friendſhip between yourſelves and ſuch of them as ye *now* hold for enemies [c]: for GOD *is* powerful; and GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. As to thoſe who have not born arms againſt you on account of religion, nor turned you out of your dwellings, GOD forbideth you not to deal kindly with them, and to behave juſtly towards them [d]; for GOD loveth thoſe who act juſtly. But as to thoſe who have born arms againſt you on account of religion, and have diſpoſſeſſed you of your habitations, and have aſſiſted in diſpoſſeſſing you, GOD forbideth you to enter into friendſhip with them: and whoſoever *of you* entereth into friendſhip with them, thoſe are unjuſt doers. O true believers, when believing women come unto you as refugees, try them: GOD well knoweth their faith. And if ye know them *to be* true believers, ſend them not back to the infidels: they *are* not lawful for the *unbelievers to have in marriage*; neither are *the unbelievers* lawful for them. But give *their unbelieving huſbands* what they ſhall have expended *for their dowers* [e]. Nor *ſhall it be* any

[a] *Except* Abraham's *ſaying unto his father, Verily I will ask pardon for thee*;] For in this *Abraham*'s example is not to be followed. See chap. 9. p. 164.

[b] *Suffer us not to be put to trial by the unbelievers*;] i. e. Suffer them not to prevail againſt us, leſt they thence conclude themſelves to be in the right, and endeavour to make us deny our faith by the terror of perſecution [1].

[c] *Peradventure* GOD *will eſtabliſh friendſhip between you*, &c.] And this happened accordingly on the taking of *Mecca*; when *Abu Sofiân* and others of the *Koreiſh*, who had till then been inveterate enemies to the *Moſlems*, embraced the ſame faith, and became their friends and brethren. Some ſuppoſe the marriage of *Mohammed* with *Omm Habîba*, the daughter of *Abu Sofiân*, which was celebrated the year before, to be here intended [2].

[d] *As to thoſe who have not born arms againſt you*, &c.] This paſſage, it is ſaid, was revealed on account of *Koteila bint Abd'al Uzza*, who having, while ſhe was an idolatreſs, brought ſome preſents to her daughter, *Aſma bint Abi Becr*, the latter not only refuſed to accept them, but even denied her admittance [3].

[e] *But give their unbelieving husbands what they ſhall have expended for their dowers.*] For according to the terms of the pacification of *al Hodeibiya* [4], each ſide was to return whatever came into their power belonging to the other; wherefore when the *Moſlems* were, by this paſſage, forbidden to reſtore the married women who ſhould come over to them, they were at the ſame time commanded to make ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, by returning their dowry.

It is related, that after the aforeſaid pacification, while *Mohammed* was yet at *al Hodeibiya*, *Sobeia bint al Hareth*, of the tribe of *Aſlam*, having embraced *Mohammediſm*, her husband, *Moſâfer* the *Makhzumite*, came and demanded her back; upon which this paſſage was revealed: and *Mohammed*, purſuant thereto, adminiſtred to her the oath thereafter directed, and returned her husband her dower; and then *Omar* married her [5].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *V.* GAGNIER *not. in Abulf. vit. Mah. p.* 91. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.
[4] *See chap.* 418. *p.* 45, &c. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

any crime in you if ye marry them, provided ye give them their dowries [a]. And retain not the patronage of the unbelieving *women:* but demand back that which ye have expended *for the dowry of ſuch of your wives as go over to the unbelievers*; and let them demand back that which they have expended *for the dowry of thoſe who come over to you.* This *is* the judgment of GOD, which he eſtabliſheth among you: and GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. If any of your wives [b] eſcape from you to the unbelievers, and ye have your turn *by the coming over of any of the unbelievers wives to you* [c]; give unto thoſe *believers* whoſe wives ſhall have gone away, *out of the dowries of the latter*, ſo much as they ſhall have expended *for the dowers of the former:* and fear GOD, in whom ye believe. O prophet, when believing *women* come unto thee, and plight their faith unto thee [d], that they will not aſſociate any thing with GOD, nor ſteal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children [e], nor come with a calumny which they have forged between their hands and their feet [f], nor be diſobedient to thee in that which ſhall be reaſonable: then do thou plight thy faith unto them, and aſk pardon for them of GOD; for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. O true believers, enter not into friendſhip with a people againſt whom GOD is incenſed [g]: they deſpair of the life to come [h], as the infidels deſpair of *the reſurrection of* thoſe who dwell in the graves.

[a] *Provided ye give them their dowries;*] For what is returned to their former husbands is not to be conſidered as their dower.

[b] *Any of your wives;*] Literally, *any thing of your wives*; which ſome interpret, *any part of their dowry.*

[c] *And ye have your turn*, &c.] Or, as the original verb may alſo be tranſlated, *and ye take ſpoils:* in which caſe the meaning will be, that thoſe *Moſlems*, whoſe wives ſhall have gone over to the infidels, ſhall have a ſatisfaction for their dower out of the next booty. This law, they ſay, was given, becauſe the idolaters, after the preceding verſe had been revealed, refuſed to comply therewith, or to make any return of the dower of thoſe women who went over to them from the *Moſlems* [1]; ſo that the latter were obliged to indemnify themſelves as they could.

[d] See the Prelim. Diſc. § II. p. 47. Some are of opinion that this paſſage was not revealed till the day of the taking of *Mecca*; when, after having received the ſolemn ſubmiſſion of the men, he proceeded to receive that of the women [2].

[e] See chap. 81.

[f] *Nor come with a calumny*, &c.] *Jallalo'ddin* underſtands theſe words of their laying their ſpurious children to their husbands.

[g] *A people againſt whom* GOD *is incenſed;*] i. e. The infidels in general; or the *Jews* in particular [3].

[h] *They deſpair of the life to come;*] By reaſon of their infidelity; or becauſe they well know they cannot expect to be made partakers of the happineſs of the next life, by reaſon of their rejecting of the prophet foretold in the law, and whoſe miſſion is confirmed by miracles [4].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *See chap.* 1. *p.* 1. [4] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXI.

Intitled, Battle Array; *revealed at* MECCA[a].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHatever *is* in heaven and in earth celebrateth the praiſe of GOD; for he *is* mighty *and* wiſe. O true believers, why do ye ſay that which ye do not [b]? *It is* moſt odious in the ſight of GOD, that ye ſay that which ye do not. Verily GOD loveth thoſe who fight for his religion in battle array, as though they *were* a well compacted building. *Remember* when MOSES ſaid unto his people, O my people, why do ye injure me [c]; ſince ye know that I am the apoſtle of GOD *ſent* unto you? And when they had deviated *from the truth*, GOD made their hearts to deviate *from the right way*; for GOD directeth not wicked people. And when JESUS the Son of MARY ſaid, O children of ISRAEL, verily I *am* the apoſtle of GOD *ſent* unto you, confirming the law which *was delivered* before me, and bringing good tidings of an apoſtle who ſhall come after me, *and* whoſe name *ſhall be* AHMED [d]. And when he produced unto them evident miracles, they ſaid, This *is* manifeſt ſorcery. But who *is* more unjuſt than he who forgeth a lye againſt GOD, when he is invited unto ISLAM? And GOD directeth not the unjuſt people. They ſeek to extinguiſh GOD's light with their mouths: but GOD will perfect his light, though the infidels be averſe *thereto*. *It is* he who hath ſent his apoſtle with the direction, and the religion of truth, that he may exalt the ſame above every religion, although the idolaters be averſe *thereto*. O true believers, ſhall I ſhew you a merchandize which will deliver you from a painful torment *hereafter?* Believe in GOD and his apoſtle; and defend GOD's true religion with your ſubſtance, and in your own perſons. This *will be* better for you, if

[a] Or, as ſome rather judge, at *Medina*; which opinion is confirmed by the explication in the next note.

[b] *Why do ye ſay that which ye do not?*] The commentators generally ſuppoſe theſe words to be directed to the *Moſlems*, who, notwithſtanding they had ſolemnly engaged to ſpend their lives and fortunes in defence of their faith, yet ſhamefully turned their backs at the battel of *Ohod* [1]. They may, however, be applied to hypocrites of all ſorts, whoſe actions contradict their words.

[c] *Why do ye injure me?*] *Viz.* By your diſobedience; or by maliciouſly aſperſing me [2]?

[d] *Whoſe name ſhall be* Ahmed;] For *Mohammed* alſo bore the name of *Ahmed*; both names being derived from the ſame root, and nearly of the ſame ſignification. The *Perſian* paraphraſt, to ſupport what is here alledged, quotes the following words of CHRIST, *I go to my father, and the* Paraclete *ſhall come* [3]: the *Mohammedan* doctors unanimouſly teaching, that by the *Paraclete* (or, as they chuſe to read it, the *Periclyte*, or *Illuſtrious*,) their prophet is intended, and no other [4].

[1] *See chap.* 3. *p.* 50, &c. [2] *See chap.* 33. *p.* 351. [3] *See John* xvi. 7, &c.
[4] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 74.

if ye knew *it*. He will forgive you your ſins, and will introduce you into gardens through which rivers flow, and agreeable habitations in gardens of perpetual abode. This *will be* great felicity. And *ye ſhall obtain* other things which ye deſire, *namely*, aſſiſtance from GOD, and a ſpeedy victory. And do thou bear good tidings to the true believers. O true believers, be ye the aſſiſtants of GOD; as JESUS the ſon of MARY ſaid to the apoſtles, Who *will be* my aſſiſtants with reſpect to GOD[a]? The apoſtles anſwered, We *will be* the aſſiſtants of GOD. So a part of the children of ISRAEL believed, and a part believed not[b]: but we ſtrengthened thoſe who believed, above their enemy; wherefore they became victorious *over them*.

[a] See chap. 3. p. 42.

[b] *And a part believed not*;] Either by rejecting him, or by affirming him to be GOD, and the ſon of GOD [1].

[1] JALLALO'DDIN.

CHAP. LXII.

Intitled, The Aſſembly; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHatever *is* in heaven and earth praiſeth GOD; the King, the Holy, the Mighty, the Wiſe. *It is* he who hath raiſed up amidſt the illiterate *ARABIANS* an apoſtle from among themſelves[a], to rehearſe his ſigns unto them, and to purify them, and to teach them the ſcriptures and wiſdom; whereas before they were certainly in a manifeſt error: and others of them have not yet attained unto them, *by embracing the faith*; *though they alſo ſhall be converted in GOD's good time*; for he *is* mighty *and* wiſe. This *is* the free grace of GOD: he beſtoweth the ſame on whom he pleaſeth: and GOD is indued with great beneficence. The likeneſs of thoſe who were charged with the obſervance of the law, and then obſerved it not, *is* as the likeneſs of an aſs laden with books[b]. How wretched *is* the likeneſs of the people who charge the ſigns of GOD with falſhood! and GOD directeth not the unjuſt people. Say, O ye who follow the Jewiſh religion, if ye ſay that ye are the friends of GOD above *other* men, wiſh for death[c], if ye ſpeak truth. But they will never wiſh for it, becauſe of that which their hands have ſent before them[d]: and GOD well knoweth the unjuſt. Say, Verily death, from which ye fly, will ſurely meet you: then ſhall ye be brought before him who knoweth as well what

[a] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. II. p. 42.

[b] *As the likeneſs of an aſs laden with books*;] Becauſe they underſtand not the prophecies contained in the law, which bear witneſs to *Mohammed*, no more than the aſs does the books he carries.

[c] *Wiſh for death*;] i. e. Make it your requeſt to GOD, that he would tranſlate you from this troubleſome world to a ſtate of never-fading bliſs.

[d] See chap. 2. p. 12.

what is concealed as what is diſcovered; and he will declare unto you that which ye have done. O true believers, when ye are called to prayer on the day of the aſſembly [a], haſten to the commemoration of GOD, and leave merchandizing. This *will be* better for you, if ye knew *it*. And when prayer is ended, then diſperſe yourſelves through the land *as ye liſt*, and ſeek *gain* of the liberality of GOD [b]: and remember GOD frequently, that ye may proſper. But when they ſee any merchandizing, or ſport, they flock thereto, and leave thee ſtanding up *in thy pulpit* [c]. Say, The *reward* which *is* with GOD *is* better than any ſport or merchandize: and GOD is the beſt provider.

a *The day of the aſſembly*;] That is *Friday*, which being more peculiarly ſet apart by *Mohammed* for the public worſhip of GOD, is therefore called *Yawm al jomá*, i. e. *the day of the aſſembly*, or *congregation*; whereas it was before called *al Arûba*. The firſt time this day was particularly obſerved, as ſome ſay, was on the prophet's arrival at *Medina*, into which city he made his firſt entry on a *Friday*: but others tell us that *Caab Ebn Lowa*, one of *Mohammed*'s anceſtors, gave the day its preſent name, becauſe on that day the people uſed to be *aſſembled* before him [1]. One reaſon given for the obſervation of *Friday*, preferably to any other day of the week, is becauſe on that day GOD finiſhed the creation [2].

b *And ſeek gain of the liberality of* GOD;] By returning to your commerce and worldly occupations, if ye think fit: for the *Mohammedans* do not hold themſelves obliged to obſerve the day of their public aſſembly with the ſame ſtrictneſs as the *Chriſtians* and *Jews* do their reſpective *Sabbath*; or particularly to abſtain from work, after they have performed their devotions. Some, however, from a tradition of their prophet, are of opinion that works of charity, and religious exerciſes, which may draw down the bleſſing of GOD, are recommended in this paſſage.

c *When they ſee any merchandizing, or ſport*, &c.] It is related that one *Friday*, while *Mohammed* was preaching, a caravan of merchants happened to arrive with their drums beating, according to cuſtom; which the congregation hearing, they all ran out of the *Moſque* to ſee them, except twelve only [3].

1 *Al* BEIDAWI. 2 *V.* GOL. *in Alfræg. p.* 15. 3 *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL.

CHAP. LXIII.

Intitled, The Hypocrites; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHEN the hypocrites come unto thee, they ſay, We bear witneſs that thou *art* indeed the apoſtle of GOD. And GOD knoweth that thou *art* indeed his apoſtle: but GOD beareth witneſs that the hypocrites *are* certainly liars. They have taken their oaths for a protection, and they turn *others* aſide from the way of GOD: it is ſurely evil which they do. This *is teſtified of them*, becauſe they believed, and afterwards became unbelievers: wherefore a ſeal is ſet on their hearts, and they ſhall not underſtand. When thou beholdeſt

holdeſt them, their perſons pleaſe thee [a]: and if they ſpeak, thou heareſt their diſcourſe *with delight*. They reſemble pieces of timber ſet up *againſt a wall* [b]. They imagine every ſhout *to be* againſt them [c]. They are enemies; wherefore beware of them. GOD curſe them: how are they turned aſide *from the truth!* And when it is ſaid unto them, Come, that the apoſtle of GOD may ask pardon for you; they turn away their heads, and thou ſeeſt them retire big with diſdain. *It ſhall be* equal unto them, whether thou ask pardon for them, or do not ask pardon for them; GOD will by no means forgive them: for GOD directeth not the prevaricating people. Theſe *are the men* who ſay *to the inhabitants of* MEDINA, Do not beſtow *any thing* on *the refugees* who *are* with the apoſtle of GOD, that they may *be obliged to* ſeparate *from him*. Whereas unto GOD *belong* the ſtores of heaven and earth: but the hypocrites do not underſtand. They ſay, Verily, if we return to MEDINA, the worthier ſhall expel thence the meaner [d]. Whereas ſuperior worth *belongeth* unto GOD, and his apoſtle, and the true believers: but the hypocrites know *it* not. O true believers, let not your riches or your children divert you from the remembrance of GOD: for whoſoever doth this, they will ſurely be loſers. And give alms out of that which we have beſtowed on you; before death come unto one of you, and he ſay, O LORD, wilt thou not grant me reſpite for a ſhort term; that I may give alms, and become *one* of the righteous? For GOD will by no means grant further reſpite to a ſoul, when its determined time is come: and GOD *is* fully apprized of that which ye do.

[a] *When thou beholdeſt them, their perſons pleaſe thee, &c.*] The commentators tell us, that *Abdallah Ebn Obba*, a chief hypocrite, was a tall man of a very graceful preſence, and of a ready and eloquent tongue; and uſed to frequent the prophet's aſſembly, attended by ſeveral like himſelf: and that theſe men were greatly admired by *Mohammed*, who was taken with their handſome appearance, and liſtened to their diſcourſe with pleaſure [1].

[b] *They reſemble pieces of timber ſet up againſt a wall;*] Being tall and big, but void of knowledge and conſideration [2].

[c] *They imagine every ſhout to be againſt them;*] Living under continual apprehenſions; becauſe they are conſcious of their hypocriſy towards GOD, and their inſincerity towards the *Moſlems*.

[d] *They ſay, Verily, if we return to* Medina, *the worthier ſhall expel thence the meaner;*] Theſe, as well as the preceding, were the words of *Ebn Obba* to one of *Medina*, who in a certain expedition quarrelling with an *Arab* of the deſart about water, received a blow on the head with a ſtick, and made his complaint thereof to him [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

CHAP. LXIV.

Intitled, Mutual Deceit; *revealed at* MECCA [a].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHatever *is* in heaven and earth celebrateth the praiſes of GOD: his *is* the

[a] The commentators are not agreed whether this chapter was revealed at *Mecca*, or at *Medina*; or partly at the one place, and partly at the other.

the kingdom, and unto him *is* the praiſe *due*; for he *is* almighty. *It is* he who hath created you; and *one* of you *is predeſtined to be* an unbeliever, and *another* of you *is predeſtined to be* a believer: and GOD beholdeth that which ye do. He hath created the heavens and the earth with truth; and he hath faſhioned you, and given you beautiful forms: and unto him muſt ye all go. He knoweth whatever *is* in heaven and earth: and he knoweth that which ye conceal, and that which ye diſcover; for GOD knoweth the innermoſt part of *mens* breaſts. Have ye not been acquainted with the ſtory of thoſe who diſbelieved heretofore, and taſted the evil conſequence of their behaviour? And for them *is prepared*, *in the life to come*, a tormenting puniſhment. This *ſhall they ſuffer*, becauſe their apoſtles came unto them with evident *proofs of their miſſion*, and they ſaid, Shall men direct us? Wherefore they believed not, and turned their backs. But GOD ſtandeth in need of no perſon: for GOD *is* ſelf-ſufficient, *and* worthy to be praiſed. The unbelievers imagine that they ſhall not be raiſed again. Say, Yea, by my LORD, ye ſhall ſurely be raiſed again: then ſhall ye be told that which ye have wrought; and this *is* eaſy with GOD. Wherefore believe in GOD and his apoſtle, and the light which we have ſent down: for GOD *is* well acquainted with that which ye do. On a *certain* day he ſhall aſſemble you, at the day of the *general* aſſembly: that *will be* the day of mutual deceit [a]. And whoſo ſhall believe in GOD, and ſhall do that which is right, from him will he expiate his evil deeds, and he will lead him into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever. This *will be* great felicity. But they who ſhall not believe, and ſhall accuſe our ſigns of falſhood, thoſe *ſhall be* the inhabitants of *hell* fire, wherein they ſhall remain *for ever*; and a wretched journey *ſhall it be thither!* No misfortune happeneth but by the permiſſion of GOD; and whoſo believeth in GOD, he will direct his heart: and GOD knoweth all things. Wherefore obey GOD, and obey the apoſtle: but if ye turn back, verily *the duty incumbent* on our apoſtle *is* only public preaching. GOD! there is no GOD but he: wherefore in GOD let the faithful put their truſt. O true believers, verily of your wives and your children ye have an enemy [b]: wherefore beware of them. But if ye paſs over *their offences*, and pardon, and forgive *them* [c]; GOD *is* likewiſe inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. Your wealth and your children *are* only a temptation: but with GOD *is* a great reward. Wherefore fear GOD, as much as ye are able; and hear, and obey: and give alms, for the good of your ſouls; for whoſo is preſerved from the covetouſneſs of his own ſoul, they ſhall proſper. If ye lend unto GOD an acceptable loan, he will double the ſame unto

[a] *The day of mutual deceit*;] When the bleſſed will deceive the damned, by taking the places which they would have had in paradiſe, had they been true believers; and contrariwiſe [1].

[b] *Of your wives and your children ye have an enemy*;] For theſe are apt to diſtract a man from his duty, eſpecially in time of diſtreſs [2]; a married man *caring for the things that are of this world*, while the unmarried *careth for the things that belong to the* LORD [3].

[c] *If ye paſs over their offences*, &c.] Conſidering that the hindrance they may occaſion you proceeds from their affection, and their ill bearing your abſence in time of war, *&c.*

[1] *Idem*, JALLAL. YAHYA. [2] *Idem*. [3] *Sc[illegible]* i. 25, &c.

unto you, and will forgive you: for GOD *is* grateful *and* long-ſuffering, knowing both what is hidden, and what is divulged; the Mighty, the Wiſe.

CHAP. LXV.

Intitled, Divorce; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O Prophet, when ye divorce women, put them away at their appointed term [a]; and compute the term *exactly:* and fear GOD, your LORD. Oblige them not to go out of their apartments, neither let them go out, *until the term be expired*, unleſs they be guilty of manifeſt uncleanneſs. Theſe *are* the ſtatutes of GOD: and whoever tranſgreſſeth the ſtatutes of GOD, aſſuredly injureth his own ſoul. Thou knoweſt not whether GOD will bring ſomething new to paſs, *which may reconcile them*, after this. And when they ſhall have fulfilled their term, either retain them with kindneſs, or part from them honourably: and take witneſſes from among you, men of integrity; and give *your* teſtimony as in the preſence of GOD. This admonition is given unto him who believeth in GOD and the laſt day: and whoſo feareth God, unto him will he grant a *happy* iſſue *out of all his afflictions*, and he will beſtow on him an ample proviſion from whence he expecteth *it* not: and whoſo truſteth in GOD, he *will be* his ſufficient ſupport; for GOD will ſurely attain his purpoſe. Now hath GOD appointed unto every thing a determined period. *As to* ſuch of your wives as ſhall deſpair having their courſes, *by reaſon of their age*; if ye be in doubt *thereof*, let their term *be* three months: and *let the ſame be the term of* thoſe who have not yet had their courſes. But *as to* thoſe who are pregnant, their term *ſhall be*, until they be delivered of their burthen [b]. And whoſo feareth GOD, unto him will he make his command eaſy. This *is* the command of GOD, which he hath ſent down unto you. And whoſo feareth GOD, he will expiate his evil deeds from him, and will increaſe his reward. Suffer the *women whom ye divorce* to dwell in *ſome part* of *the houſes* wherein ye dwell; *according to the room and conveniencies* of the *habitations* which ye poſſeſs: and make them not uneaſy, that ye may reduce them to ſtraits. And if they be with child, expend on them *what ſhall be needful*, until they be delivered of their burthen. And if they ſuckle

[a] *At their appointed term;*] That is, When they ſhall have had their courſes thrice, after the time of their divorce, if they prove not to be with child; or, if they prove with child, when they ſhall have been delivered [1]. *Al Beidawi* ſuppoſes husbands are hereby commanded to divorce their wives while they are clean: and ſays that the paſſage was revealed on account of *Ebn Omar*, who divorced his wife when ſhe had her courſes upon her, and was therefore obliged to take her again.

[b] See chap. 2. p. 26.

[1] *See chap. 2. p. 26.*

ſuckle *their children* for you, give them their hire [a]; and conſult among yourſelves, according to what ſhall be juſt and reaſonable. And if ye be put to a difficulty *herein*, and another *woman* ſhall ſuckle *the child* for him, let him who hath plenty expend *proportionably*, *in the maintenance of the mother and the nurſe*, out of his plenty: and let him whoſe income is ſcanty, expend *in proportion* out of that which GOD hath given him. GOD obligeth no man to more than he hath given him *ability to perform*: GOD will cauſe eaſe to ſucceed hardſhip. How many cities have turned aſide from the command of their LORD and his apoſtles? Wherefore we brought them to a ſevere account; and we chaſtiſed them with a grievous chaſtiſement: and they taſted the evil conſequence of their buſineſs; and the end of their buſineſs was perdition. GOD hath prepared for them a ſevere puniſhment: wherefore fear GOD, O ye who are indued with underſtanding. True believers, now hath GOD ſent down unto you an admonition, an apoſtle who may rehearſe unto you the perſpicuous ſigns of GOD; that he may bring forth thoſe who believe and do good works, from darkneſs into light. And whoſo believeth in GOD, and doth that which is right, him will he lead into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever: now hath GOD made an excellent proviſion for him. *It is* GOD who hath created ſeven heavens, and as many *different ſtories* of the earth: the *divine* command deſcendeth between them [b]; that ye may know that GOD is omnipotent, and that GOD comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge.

[a] *Their hire*;] Which ought at leaſt to be ſufficient to maintain and cloath them during the time of ſuckling. See chap. 2. p. 27.

[b] *The divine command deſcendeth between them*;] Penetrating and pervading them all, with abſolute efficacy.

CHAP. LXVI.

Intitled, Prohibition; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O Prophet, why holdeſt thou that to be prohibited which GOD hath allowed thee, ſeeking to pleaſe thy wives [a]; ſince GOD *is* inclined to forgive

[a] *Why holdeſt thou that to be prohibited which* GOD *hath allowed thee*, &c.] There are ſome who ſuppoſe this paſſage to have been occaſioned by *Mohammed*'s proteſting never to eat honey any more, becauſe, having once eaten ſome in the apartment of *Hafſa*, or of *Zeinab*, three other of his wives, namely, *Ayeſha*, *Sawda*, and *Safia*, all told him they ſmelt he had been eating of the juice which diſtills from certain ſhrubs in thoſe parts, and reſembles honey in taſte and conſiſtence, but is of a very ſtrong ſavour, and which the prophet had a great averſion to [1]. But the more received opinion is, that the chapter was revealed on the following occaſion.

[1] *Al*. ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI.

give *and* merciful? GOD hath allowed you the diſſolution of your oaths[a]; and GOD *is* your maſter; and he *is* knowing *and* wiſe. When the prophet intruſted as a ſecret unto one of his wives a certain accident; and when ſhe diſcloſed the ſame, and GOD made it known unto him; he acquainted *her* with part *of what ſhe had done*, and forbore *to upbraid her with the other* part thereof. And when he had acquainted her therewith, ſhe ſaid, Who hath

occaſion. *Mohammed* having lain with a ſlave of his named *Mary*, of *Coptic* extract, (who had been ſent him as a preſent by *al Mokawkas*, governour of *Egypt*,) on the day which was due to *Ayeſha*, or to *Hafsa*, and, as ſome ſay, on *Hafsa*'s own bed, while ſhe was abſent; and this coming to *Hafsa*'s knowledge, ſhe took it extreamly ill, and reproached her husband ſo ſharply, that, to pacify her, he promiſed, with an oath, never to touch the maid again [1]: and to free him from the obligation of this promiſe, was the deſign of the chapter.

I cannot here avoid obſerving, as a learned writer [2] has done before me, that Dr. *Prideaux* has ſtrangely miſrepreſented this paſſage. For having given the ſtory of the prophet's amour with his maid *Mary*, a little embelliſhed, he proceeds to tell us, that in this chapter *Mohammed* brings in GOD allowing him, and all his *Moſlems*, to lie with their maids when they will, notwithſtanding their wives: (whereas the words relate to the prophet only, who wanted not any new permiſſion for that purpoſe, becauſe it was a privilege already granted him [3], though to none elſe:) and then, to ſhew what ground he had for his aſſertion, adds, that the firſt words of the chapter are, *O prophet, why doſt thou forbid what* GOD *hath allowed thee, that thou mayeſt pleaſe thy wives? GOD hath granted unto you to lie with your maid ſervants* [4]. Which laſt words are not to be found here, or elſewhere in the *Korân*, and contain an allowance of what is expreſly forbidden therein [5]; though the doctor has thence taken occaſion to make ſome reflections which might as well have been ſpared. I ſhall ſay nothing to aggravate the matter; but leave the reader to imagine what this reverend divine would have ſaid of a *Mohammedan*, if he had caught him tripping in the like manner.

Having digreſſed ſo far, I will venture to add a word, or two, in order to account for one circumſtance which Dr. *Prideaux* relates concerning *Mohammed*'s concubine *Mary*; *viz.* that after her maſter's death, no account was had of her or the ſon which ſhe had born him, but both were ſent away into *Egypt*, and no mention made of either ever after among them; and then he ſuppoſes (for he ſeldom is at a loſs for a ſuppoſition) that *Ayeſha*, out of the hatred which ſhe bore her, procured of her father, who ſucceeded the *impoſtor* in the government, to have her thus diſpoſed of [6]. But it being certain, by the general conſent of all the eaſtern writers, that *Mary* continued in *Arabia* till her death, which happened at *Medina*, about five years after that of her maſter, and was buried in the uſual burying-place there, called *al Baki*, and that her ſon died before his father, it has been asked, whence the doctor had this [7]? I anſwer, That I gueſs he had it partly from *Abu'lfaragius*, according to the printed edition of whoſe work, the *Mary* we are ſpeaking of, is ſaid to have been ſent with her ſiſter *Shirin* (not with her ſon) TO *Alexandria* by *al Mokawkas* [8]: though I make no doubt but we ought in that paſſage to read *min*, *from*, inſtead of *ila*, *to*; (notwithſtanding the manuſcript copies of this author uſed by Dr. *Pocock*, the editor, and alſo a very fair one in my own poſſeſſion, agree in the latter reading;) and that the ſentence ought to run thus, *quam* (viz. Mariam) *unà cum ſorore* Shirina *ab* Alexandria *miſerat* al Mokawkas.

a *God hath allowed you the diſſolution of your oaths.*;] By having appointed an expiation for that purpoſe [9]: or, as the words may be tranſlated, *God hath allowed you to uſe an exception in your oaths*, that is, to add the words, *if it pleaſe* GOD; in which caſe a man is excuſed from guilt if he perform not his oath [10]. The paſſage, though directed to all the *Moſlems* in general, ſeems to be particularly deſigned for quieting the prophet's conſcience in regard to the oath abovementioned: but *Al Beidawi* approves not this opinion, becauſe ſuch an oath was to be looked upon as an inconſiderate one, and required no expiation.

[1] *Idem*, JALLAL. YAHYA. [2] GAGNIER, *not. ad Abulf. vit. Mah. p.* 150. [3] *See chap.* 33. *p.* 348, 349. [4] PRID. *Life of Mah. p.* 113. [5] *See chap.* 17. *p.* 230. *chap.* 4. *p.* 64. *and chap.* 24. *p.* 287, &c. [6] PRID. *Life of Mah. p.* 114. [7] GAGNIER, *ubi ſupra.* [8] ABU'LFARAG. *Hiſt. Dynaſt. p.* 165. [9] *See chap.* 5. *p.* 94. [10] *Al* BEIDAWI.

hath diſcovered this unto thee? He anſwered, The knowing, the ſagacious GOD hath diſcovered *it* unto me [a]. If ye both be turned unto GOD (for your hearts have ſwerved) *it is well:* but if ye join againſt him, verily GOD is his patron; and GABRIEL, and the good man among the faithful, and the angels alſo *are his* aſſiſtants [b]. If he divorce you, his LORD can eaſily give him in exchange other wives better than you, *women* reſigned *unto* GOD, true believers, devout, penitent, obedient, given to faſting, *both ſuch as have been* known by other men, and virgins. O true believers, ſave your ſouls, and *thoſe of* your families, from the fire whoſe fewel *is* men and ſtones, over which are *ſet* angels fierce *and* terrible [c]; who diſobey not GOD in what he hath commanded them, but perform what they are commanded. O unbelievers, excuſe not yourſelves this day; ye ſhall ſurely be rewarded for what ye have done [d]. O true believers, turn unto GOD with a ſincere repentance: peradventure your LORD will do away from you your evil deeds, and will admit you into gardens, through which rivers flow; on the day *whereon* GOD will not put to ſhame the prophet, or thoſe who believe with him: their light ſhall run before them, and on their right hands [e], *and* they ſhall ſay, LORD, make our light perfect, and forgive us; for thou *art* almighty. O prophet, attack the infidels *with arms*, and the hypocrites *with arguments*; and treat them with ſeverity: their abode ſhall be hell, and an ill journey *ſhall it be thither*. GOD propoundeth as a ſimilitude unto the unbelievers, the wife of NOAH, and the wife of LOT: they were under two of our righteous ſervants, and they deceived them both [f];

 where-

[a] *When the prophet intruſted as a ſecret unto one of his wives a certain accident,* &c.] When *Mohammed* found that *Hafſa* knew of his having injured her, or *Ayeſha*, by lying with his concubine *Mary* on the day due to one of them, he deſired her to keep the affair ſecret, promiſing, at the ſame time, that he would not meddle with *Mary* any more; and foretold her, as a piece of news which might ſooth her vanity, that *Abu Becr* and *Omar* ſhould ſucceed him in the government of his people. *Hafſa*, however, could not conceal this from *Ayeſha*, with whom ſhe lived in ſtrict friendſhip, but acquainted her with the whole matter: whereupon the prophet, perceiving, probably by *Ayeſha*'s behaviour, that his ſecret had been diſcovered, upbraided *Hafſa* with her betraying him, telling her that GOD had revealed it to him; and not only divorced her, but ſeparated him from all his other wives for a whole month, which time he ſpent in the apartment of *Mary*. In a ſhort time, notwithſtanding, he took *Hafſa* again, by the direction, as he gave out, of the angel *Gabriel*; who commended her for her frequent faſting and other exerciſes of devotion, aſſuring him likewiſe that ſhe ſhould be one of his wives in paradiſe [1].

[b] *If ye both,* &c.] This ſentence is directed to *Hafſa* and *Ayeſha*; the pronouns and verbs of the ſecond perſon being in the dual number.

[c] See chap. 74. and the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 92.

[d] *O unbelievers,* &c.] Theſe words will be ſpoken to the infidels at the laſt day.

[e] See chap. 57. p. 438.

[f] *The wife of* Noah, *and the wife of* Lot, *&c.*] Who were both unbelieving women, but deceived their reſpective husbands by their hypocriſy. *Noah*'s wife, named *W'âïla*, endeavoured to perſuade the people her husband was diſtracted; and *Lot*'s wife, whoſe name was *Wâbela* (though ſome writers give this name to the other, and that of *W'âïla* to the latter,) was in confederacy with the men of *Sodom*, and uſed to give them notice when any ſtrangers came to lodge with him, by a ſign of ſmoke by day, and of fire by night [2].

[1] *Idem, Al* ZAMAKH. &c. [2] JALLAL. *Al* ZAMAKH.

wherefore *their husbands* were of no advantage unto them at all, in the ſight of GOD [a]: and it ſhall be ſaid *unto them, at the laſt day*, Enter ye into *hell* fire, with thoſe who enter *therein*. GOD alſo propoundeth as a ſimilitude unto thoſe who believe, the wife of PHARAOH [b]; when ſhe ſaid, LORD, build me an houſe with thee in paradiſe; and deliver me from PHARAOH and his doings, and deliver me from the unjuſt people: and MARY the daughter of IMRAN; who preſerved her chaſtity, and into whoſe womb we breathed of our ſpirit [c], and who believed in the words of her LORD and his ſcriptures, and was a devout and obedient perſon [d].

[a] *Wherefore their husbands were of no advantage unto them, in the ſight of* GOD:] For they both met with a diſaſtrous end in this world [1], and will be doomed to eternal miſery in the next. In like manner, as *Mohammed* would inſinuate, the infidels of his time had no reaſon to expect any mitigation of their puniſhment, on account of their relation to himſelf and the reſt of the true believers.

[b] *The wife of* Pharaoh;] Viz. *Aſia* the daughter of *Mozâhem*. The commentators relate, that becauſe ſhe believed in *Moſes*, her huſband cruelly tormented her, faſtening her hands and feet to four ſtakes, and laying a large milſtone on her breaſt, her face, at the ſame time, being expoſed to the ſcorching beams of the ſun: theſe pains, however, were alleviated by the angels ſhading her with their wings, and the view of the manſion prepared for her in paradiſe, which was exhibited to her on her pronouncing the prayer in the text: at length GOD received her ſoul; or, as ſome ſay, ſhe was taken up alive into paradiſe, where ſhe eats and drinks [2].

[c] See chap. 19. p. 250, *&c.*

[d] On occaſion of the honourable mention here made of theſe two extraordinary women, the commentators introduce a ſaying of their prophet, *That among men there had been many perfect, but no more than four of the other ſex had attained perfection; to wit,* Aſia *the wife of* Pharaoh, Mary *the daughter of* Imrân, Khadîjah *the daughter of* Khowailed, (the prophet's firſt wife,) *and* Fâtema *the daughter of* Mohammed.

[1] *See chap.* 11. *p.* 179. *and p.* 183, *and* 184. [2] JALLAL. *Al* ZAMAKH.

CHAP. LXVII.

Intitled, The Kingdom [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

XXIX.* BLeſſed be he in whoſe hand *is* the kingdom; for he *is* almighty! Who hath created death and life, that he might prove you, which of you is moſt righteous in *his* actions: and he *is* mighty, *and* ready to forgive. Who hath created ſeven heavens, one above another: thou canſt not ſee in a creature of the moſt Merciful any unfitneſs or diſproportion. Lift up thine eyes again *to heaven, and look* whether thou ſeeſt any flaw: then take two other views; and thy ſight ſhall return unto thee dull and fatigued. Moreover we have

[a] It is alſo intitled by ſome, *The Saving*, or *The Delivering*, becauſe, ſay they, it will ſave him who reads it, from the torture of the ſepulchre.

have adorned the loweſt heaven with lamps, and have appointed them to be darted at the devils [a], for whom we have prepared the torment of burning fire: and for thoſe who believe not in their LORD, *is alſo prepared* the torment of hell; an ill journey *ſhall it be thither!* When they ſhall be thrown thereinto, they ſhall hear it bray like an aſs [b]; and it ſhall boil, and almoſt burſt for fury. So often as a company *of them* ſhall be thrown therein, the keepers thereof ſhall ask them, *ſaying*, Did not a warner come unto you? They ſhall anſwer, Yea, a warner came unto us: but we accuſed *him* of impoſture, and ſaid, GOD hath not revealed any thing; ye *are* in no other than a great error: and they ſhall ſay, If we had hearkened, or had rightly conſidered, we ſhould not have been among the inhabitants of burning fire: and they ſhall confeſs their ſins; but far be the inhabitants of burning fire *from obtaining mercy!* Verily they who fear their LORD in ſecret, ſhall receive pardon and a great reward. Either conceal your diſcourſe, or make it public; he knoweth the innermoſt parts of *your* breaſts: ſhall not he know *all things* who hath created *them*; ſince he *is* the ſagacious, the knowing? *It is* he who hath levelled the earth for you: therefore walk through the regions thereof, and eat of his proviſion; unto him *ſhall be* the reſurrection. Are ye ſecure that he who *dwelleth* in heaven will not cauſe the earth to ſwallow you up? and behold, it ſhall ſhake. Or are ye ſecure that he who *dwelleth* in heaven will not ſend againſt you an *impetuous whirlwind*, driving the ſands *to overwhelm you?* then ſhall ye know how *important* my warning *was*. Thoſe alſo who *were* before you disbelieved; and how *grievous* was my diſpleaſure! Do they not behold the birds above them, extending and drawing back their wings? None ſuſtaineth them, except the Merciful; for he regardeth all things. Or who *is* he that *will be as* an army unto you, to defend you againſt the Merciful? Verily the unbelievers *are* in no other than a miſtake. Or who *is* he that will give you food, if he withholdeth his proviſion? yet they perſiſt in perverſeneſs, and flying *from the truth*. Is he, therefore, who goeth grovelling upon his face, better directed than he who walketh upright in a ſtrait way [c]? Say, *It is* he who hath given you being, and endued you with hearing, and ſight, and underſtanding; *yet* how little gratitude have ye! Say, *It is* he who hath ſown you in the earth, and unto him ſhall ye be gathered together. They ſay, When *ſhall* this menace *be put in execution*, if ye ſpeak truth? Anſwer, The knowledge *of this matter is* with GOD alone: for I *am* only a public warner. But when they ſhall ſee the ſame nigh at hand, the countenance of the infidels ſhall grow ſad: and it ſhall be ſaid *unto them*, This is what ye have been demanding. Say, What think ye? Whether GOD deſtroy me and thoſe *who are* with me, or have mercy on us; who will protect the unbelievers from a painful puniſhment? Say, He is the Merciful; in him do we believe, and in him do we put our truſt. Ye ſhall here-

[a] See chap. 15. p. 211.
[b] See chap. 31. p. 337.
[c] *Is he who goeth grovelling on his face, &c.*] This compariſon is applied by the expoſitors to the infidel and the true believer.

after know who is in a manifeſt error. Say, What think ye? If your water be in the morning ſwallowed up by the earth, who will give you clear and running water?

CHAP. LXVIII.

Intitled, The Pen; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

N[a]. By the pen, and what they write[b], thou, *O MOHAMMED*, through the grace of thy LORD, *art* not diſtracted. Verily *there is prepared* for thee an everlaſting reward: for thou *art* of a noble diſpoſition[c]. Thou ſhalt ſee, and *the infidels* ſhall ſee, which of you *are* bereaved of your ſenſes. Verily thy LORD well knoweth him who wandereth from his path; and he well knoweth thoſe who are *rightly* directed: wherefore obey not thoſe who charge *thee* with impoſture. They deſire that thou ſhouldeſt be eaſy *with them*, and they will be eaſy *with thee*[d]. But obey not any *who is* a common ſwearer, a deſpicable *fellow*, a defamer, going about with ſlander, who forbiddeth that which is good, *who is alſo* a tranſgreſſor, a wicked perſon, cruel, *and* beſides this, of ſpurious birth[e]: although he be poſſeſſed of wealth and *many* children: when our ſigns are rehearſed unto him, he ſaith, *They are*

[a] This letter is ſometimes made the title of the chapter, but its meaning is confeſſedly uncertain. They who ſuppoſe it ſtands for the word *Nûn*, are not agreed as to its ſignification in this place; for it is not only the name of the letter *N* in *Arabic*, but ſignifies alſo *an inkhorn*, and a *fiſh*: ſome are of opinion the former ſignification is the moſt proper here, as conſonant to what is immediately mentioned of *the pen*, and *writing*, and, conſidering that the blood of certain *fiſh* is good ink, not inconſiſtent with the latter ſignification; which is, however, preferred by others, ſaying that either the whole ſpecies of *fiſh* in general is thereby intended, or the fiſh which ſwallowed *Jonas*, (who is mentioned in this chapter,) or elſe that vaſt one called *Behemoth*, fancied to ſupport the earth, in particular. Thoſe who acquieſce in none of the foregoing explications, have invented others of their own, and imagine this character ſtands for the *table of* GOD's *decrees*, or *one of the rivers in paradiſe*, &c. [1].

[b] *By the pen, and what they write*;] Some underſtand theſe words generally, and others of the pen with which GOD's decrees are written on the preſerved table, and of the angels who regiſter the ſame.

[c] *Of a noble diſpoſition*;] In that thou haſt born with ſo much patience and reſignation the wrongs and inſults of thy people, which have been greater than thoſe offered to any apoſtle before thee [2].

[d] *They deſire that thou ſhouldeſt be eaſy with them, and they will be eaſy with thee*;] i. e. If thou wilt let them alone in their idolatry and other wicked practices, they will ceaſe to revile and perſecute thee.

[e] *Obey not any common ſwearer*, &c.] The perſon at whom this paſſage was particularly levelled, is generally ſuppoſed to have been *Mohammed*'s inveterate enemy *al Walid Ebn al Mogheira*, whom, to compleat his character, he calls *baſtard*, becauſe *al Mogheira* did not own him for

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI, YAHYA. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem*, JALLAL.

are fables of the ancients. We will ſtigmatize him on the noſe [a]. Verily we have tried *the* MECCANS [b], as we *formerly* tried the owners of the garden [c]; when they ſwore that they would gather the fruit thereof [d] in the morning, and added not the exception, *if it pleaſe* GOD: wherefore a ſurrounding *deſtruction* from thy LORD encompaſſed it, while they ſlept; and in the morning it became like *a garden* whoſe fruits had been gathered [e]. And they called *the one to the other* as they roſe in the morning, *ſaying*, Go out early to your plantation, if ye intend to gather the fruit thereof: ſo they went on, whiſpering to one another, No poor man ſhall enter *the garden* upon you, this day. And they went forth early, with a determined purpoſe. And when they ſaw *the garden blaſted and deſtroyed*, they ſaid, We have certainly miſtaken our way: *but when they found it to be their own garden, they cried*, Verily we are not permitted [f] *to reap the fruit thereof*. The worthier of them ſaid, Did I not ſay unto you, Will ye not give praiſe unto GOD? They anſwered, Praiſe be unto our LORD! Verily we have been unjuſt doers. And they began to blame one another [g], *and* they ſaid, Wo be unto us! verily we have been tranſgreſſors: peradventure our LORD will give us in exchange a better *garden* than this: and we earneſtly beſeech our LORD *to pardon us*. Thus *is the* chaſtiſement *of this life*: but the chaſtiſement of the next *ſhall be* more grievous; if they had known *it, they would have taken heed*. Verily for the pious *are prepared*, with their LORD, gardens of delight. Shall we deal with the Moſlems,

for his ſon, till he was eighteen years of age [1]. Some, however, think it was *al Akhnas Ebn Shoraik*, who was really of the tribe of *Thakif*, though reputed to be of that of *Zahra* [2].

[a] *We will ſtigmatize him on the noſe*;] Which being the moſt conſpicuous part of the face, a mark ſet thereon is attended with the utmoſt ignominy. It is ſaid that this prophetical menace was actually made good, *al Walid* having his noſe ſlit by a ſword, at the battle of *Bedr*, the mark of which wound he carried with him to his grave [3].

[b] *We have tried the* Meccans;] By afflicting them with a grievous famine. See chap. 23. p. 284, 285.

[c] *The owners of the garden*, &c.] This garden was a plantation of palm-trees, about two paraſangs from *Sanaa*, belonging to a certain charitable man, who, when he gathered his dates, uſed to give public notice to the poor, and to leave them ſuch of the fruit as the knife miſſed, or was blown down by the wind, or fell beſide the cloth ſpread under the tree to receive it: after his death, his ſons, who were then become maſters of the garden, apprehending they ſhould come to want if they followed their father's example, agreed to gather the fruit early in the morning, when the poor could have no notice of the matter: but when they came to execute their purpoſe, they found, to their great grief and ſurprize, that their plantation had been deſtroyed in the night [4].

[d] *That they would gather the fruit thereof*;] Literally, *that they would cut it*; the manner of gathering dates being to cut the cluſters off with a knife. *Marracci* ſuppoſes they intended to *cut down* the trees, and deſtroy the plantation; which, as he obſerves, renders the ſtory ridiculous and abſurd.

[e] *Like a garden whoſe fruits had been gathered*;] Or, as the original may alſo be rendred, *like a dark night*; it being burnt up and black.

[f] The ſame expreſſion is uſed, chap. 56. p. 436.

[g] *They began to blame one another*;] For one adviſed this expedition, another approved of it, a third gave conſent by his ſilence, but the fourth was abſolutely againſt it [5].

[1] *Idem*, JALLAL. [2] *Idem*. [3] *Idem*, JALLAL. [4] *Idem*. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

Moſlems, as with the wicked [a]? What aileth you that ye judge thus? Have ye a book *from heaven*, wherein ye read that ye are therein promiſed that which ye ſhall chooſe? Or have ye *received* oaths which ſhall be binding upon us to the day of reſurrection, that ye ſhall enjoy what ye imagine? Ask them, which of them *will be* the voucher of this. Or have they companions [b] *who will vouch for them?* Let them produce their companions, therefore, if they ſpeak truth. On a *certain* day the leg ſhall be made bare [c]; and they ſhall be called upon to worſhip, but they ſhall not be able [d]. Their looks *ſhall be* caſt down: ignominy ſhall attend them: for that they were invited to the worſhip *of* GOD, while they *were* in ſafety, *but would not hear*. Let me alone, therefore, with him who accuſeth this new revelation of impoſture. We will lead them gradually *to deſtruction*, by *ways* which they know not [e]: and I will bear with them for a long time; for my ſtratagem *is* effectual. Doſt thou ask them any reward *for thy preaching?* But they are laden with debts. *Are* the ſecrets of futurity with them; and do they tranſcribe the ſame *from the table of God's decrees* [f]? Wherefore patiently wait the judgment of thy LORD: and be not like him who was ſwallowed by the fiſh [g]; when he cried *unto* GOD, being inwardly vexed. Had not grace from his LORD reached him, he had ſurely been caſt forth on the naked *ſhore*, covered with ſhame: but his LORD choſe him, and made him *one* of the righteous. It wanteth little but that the unbelievers ſtrike thee down with their *malicious* looks, when they hear the admonition *of the* KORAN; and they ſay, He *is* certainly diſtracted: but it *is* no other than an admonition unto all creatures.

[a] *Shall we deal with the* Moſlems *as with the wicked?*] This paſſage was revealed in anſwer to the infidels, who ſaid, *If we ſhall be raiſed again, as* Mohammed *and his followers imagine, they will not excel us; but we ſhall certainly be in a better condition than they in the next world, as we are in this* [1].

[b] *Have they companions?*] Or, as ſome interpret the word, *idols*; which can make their condition, in the next life, equal to that of the *Moſlems?*

[c] *The leg ſhall be made bare*;] This expreſſion is uſed to ſignify a grievous and terrible calamity: thus they ſay, *War has made bare the leg*, when they would expreſs the fury and rage of battle [2].

[d] *They ſhall be called upon to worſhip, but they ſhall not be able*;] Becauſe the time of acceptance ſhall be paſt. *Al Beidawi* is uncertain whether the words reſpect the day of judgment, or the article of death: but *Jallalo'ddin* ſuppoſes them to relate to the former, and adds that the infidels ſhall not be able to perform the act of adoration, becauſe their backs ſhall become ſtiff and inflexible.

[e] *By ways which they know not*;] i. e. By granting them long life and proſperity in this world; which will deceive them to their ruin.

[f] See chap. 52. p. 425.

[g] *Be not like him who was ſwallowed by the fiſh*;] That is, Be not impatient and pettiſh, as *Jonas* was. See chap. 21. p. 272.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem*, JALLAL.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIX.

Intitled, The Infallible; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THE infallible [a]! What *is* the infallible? And what ſhall cauſe thee to underſtand what the infallible *is? The tribes of* THAMUD and AD denied as a falſhood the *day* which ſhall ſtrike [b] *men's hearts with terror.* But THAMUD were deſtroyed by a terrible noiſe: and AD were deſtroyed by a roaring *and* furious wind; which GOD cauſed to aſſail them for ſeven nights and eight days ſucceſſively: thou mighteſt have ſeen people, during the ſame, lying proſtrate, as though they *had been* the roots of hollow palm-trees [c]; and couldeſt thou have ſeen any of them remaining? PHARAOH alſo, and thoſe who *were* before him, and the *cities* which were overthrown [d], were guilty of ſin; and they *ſeverally* were diſobedient to the apoſtle of their LORD; wherefore he chaſtiſed them with an abundant chaſtiſement. When the water *of the deluge* aroſe, we carried you in the *ark* which ſwam *thereon*; that we might make the ſame a memorial unto you, and the retaining ear might retain it. And when one blaſt ſhall ſound the trumpet, and the earth ſhall be moved *from its place,* and the mountains alſo, and ſhall be daſhed in pieces at one ſtroke: on that day the inevitable *hour of judgment* ſhall ſuddenly come; and the heavens ſhall cleave in ſunder, and ſhall fall in pieces, on that day: and the angels *ſhall be* on the ſides thereof [e]; and eight ſhall bear the throne of thy LORD above them, on that day [f]. On that day ye ſhall be preſented *before the judgment ſeat of* GOD; and none of your ſecret *actions ſhall be* hidden. And he who ſhall have his book delivered into his right hand, ſhall ſay, Take ye, read this my book; verily I thought that I ſhould be brought to this my account:

[a] *The infallible;*] The original word *al Hâkkat* is one of the names or epithets of the day of judgment. As the root from which it is derived ſignifies not only *to be* or *come to paſs of neceſſity,* but alſo to *verify,* ſome rather think that day to be ſo called becauſe it will *verify,* and *ſhew the truth* of what men doubt of in this life; *viz.* the reſurrection of the dead, their being brought to account, and the conſequent rewards and puniſhments [1].

[b] *The day which ſhall ſtrike;*] Arab. *al Kâriât,* or *the ſtriking;* which is another name or epithet of the laſt day.

[c] See chap. 54. p. 429.

[d] *The cities which were overthrown;*] Viz. *Sodom,* and *Gomorrah.* See chap. 9. p. 158. not. a.

[e] *The angels ſhall be on the ſides thereof;*] Theſe words ſeem to intimate the death of the angels, at the demolition of their habitation; beſide the ruins whereof they ſhall lie like dead bodies.

[f] *Eight angels ſhall bear the throne of thy* LORD, *on that day;*] The number of thoſe who bear it at preſent being generally ſuppoſed to be but four; to whom four more will be added at the laſt day, for the grandeur of the occaſion [2].

[1] *Idem.*

[2] *Idem.*

count: he *ſhall lead* a pleaſing life, in a lofty garden, the fruits whereof ſhall be near *to gather*. Eat and drink with eaſy digeſtion; becauſe of the *good works* which ye ſent before you, in the days which are paſt. But he who ſhall have his book delivered into his left hand, ſhall ſay, O that I had not received this my book; and that I had not known what this my account *was!* O that *death* had made an end *of me!* My riches have not profited me; *and* my power is paſſed from me. *And* GOD *ſhall ſay to the keepers of hell*, Take him, and bind him, and caſt him into hell to be burned; then put him into a chain of the length of ſeventy cubits[a]: becauſe he believed not in the great GOD; and was not ſollicitous to feed the poor: wherefore this day he ſhall have no friend here; nor *any* food, but the filthy corruption *flowing from the bodies of the damned*, which none ſhall eat but the ſinners. I ſwear[b] by that which ye ſee, and that which ye ſee not, that this *is* the diſcourſe of an honourable apoſtle, and not the diſcourſe of a poet: how little do ye believe! Neither *is it* the diſcourſe of a ſoothſayer: how little are ye admoniſhed! *It is* a revelation from the LORD of all creatures. If *MOHAMMED* had forged any part of *theſe* diſcourſes concerning us, verily we had taken him by the right hand, and had cut in ſunder the vein of his heart; neither would we have withheld any of you from *chaſtiſing* him. And verily this *book is* an admonition unto the pious; and we well know that there are *ſome* of you who charge *the ſame* with impoſture: but it *ſhall* ſurely *be* an *occaſion of* grievous ſighing unto the infidels; for it *is* the truth of a certainty. Wherefore praiſe the name of thy LORD, the great *GOD*.

[a] *Put him into a chain*, &c.] i. e. Wrap him round with it, ſo that he may not be able to ſtir.

[b] *I ſwear*;] Or, *I will not ſwear*. See chap. 56. p. 436. not. f.

CHAP. LXX.

Intitled, The Steps; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

ONE demanded and called for vengeance to fall on the unbelievers[a]: there ſhall be none to avert the ſame from *being inflicted by* GOD, the poſſeſſor

[a] *One called for the puniſhment to be inflicted on the unbelievers*;] The perſon here meant is generally ſuppoſed to have been *al Nodar Ebn al Hareth*, who ſaid, *O* GOD, *if what* Mohammed *preaches be the truth from thee, rain down upon us a ſhower of ſtones, or ſend ſome dreadful judgment to puniſh us* [1]. Others, however, think it was *Abu Jahl*, who challenged *Mohammed* to cauſe a fragment of heaven to fall on them [2].

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

poſſeſſor of the ſteps [a]; *by which* the angels aſcend unto him, and the ſpirit GABRIEL *alſo*, in a day whoſe ſpace is fifty thouſand years [b]: wherefore bear *the inſults of the* MECCANS with becoming patience; for they ſee *their puniſhment* afar off, but we ſee it nigh at hand. On a certain day the heaven ſhall become like molten *braſs*, and the mountains like wool of various colours, *ſcattered abroad by the wind:* and a friend ſhall not ask a friend *concerning his condition*, *although* they ſee one another. The wicked ſhall wiſh to redeem himſelf from the puniſhment of that day, by *giving up* his children, and his wife, and his brother, and his kindred who ſhewed kindneſs unto him, and all who *are* in the earth; and that *this* might deliver him: by no means: for hell fire, dragging *them* by *their* ſcalps, ſhall call him who ſhall have turned his back, and fled *from the faith*, and ſhall have amaſſed *riches*, and covetouſly hoarded *them*. Verily man is created extreamly impatient [c]: when evil toucheth him, *he is* full of complaint; but when good befalleth him, *he becometh* niggardly: except thoſe who are devoutly given, and who perſevere in their prayers; and thoſe of whoſe ſubſtance a due and certain portion *is ready to be given* unto him who asketh, and him who is forbidden *by ſhame to ask:* and thoſe who ſincerely believe the day of judgment, and who dread the puniſhment of their LORD: (for *there is* none ſecure from the puniſhment of their LORD:) and who abſtain from the carnal knowledge of *women* other than their wives, or the *ſlaves* which their right hands poſſeſs; (for *as to them* they ſhall be blameleſs; but whoever coveteth *any woman* beſides theſe, they *are* tranſgreſſors:) and thoſe who faithfully keep what they are intruſted with, and their covenant; and who are upright in their teſtimonies, and who carefully obſerve *the requiſite rites in* their prayers: theſe *ſhall dwell* amidſt gardens, highly honoured. What aileth the unbelievers, that they run before thee in companies, on the right hand and on the left? Doth every man of them

[a] *The ſteps;*] By which prayers and righteous actions aſcend to heaven; or by which the angels aſcend to receive the divine commands, or the believers will aſcend to paradiſe. Some underſtand thereby the different orders of angels; or the heavens, which riſe gradually one above another.

[b] *A day whoſe ſpace is fifty thouſand years;*] This is ſuppoſed to be the ſpace which would be required for their aſcent from the loweſt part of the creation to the throne of GOD, if it were to be meaſured; or the time which it would take a man up to perform that journey: and this is not contradictory to what is ſaid elſewhere [1], (if it be to be interpreted of the aſcent of the angels,) that the length of the day whereon they aſcend is 1000 years; becauſe that is meant only of their aſcent from earth to the lower heaven, including alſo the time of their deſcent.

But the commentators generally taking the day ſpoken of in both theſe paſſages, to be the day of judgment, have recourſe to ſeveral expedients to reconcile them, ſome of which we have mentioned in another place [2]: and as both paſſages ſeem to contradict what the *Mohammedan* doctors teach, that GOD will judge all creatures in the ſpace of half a day [3], they ſuppoſe thoſe large numbers of years are deſigned to expreſs the time of the previous attendance of thoſe who are to be judged [4]; or elſe to the ſpace wherein GOD will judge the unbelieving nations, of which, they ſay, there will be fifty, the trial of each nation taking up 1000 years, though that of the true believers will be over in the ſhort ſpace abovementioned [5].

[c] See chap. 17. p. 228.

[1] *Chap.* 32. *p.* 338. [2] *Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 84. [3] *See ib. p.* 88, 89. [4] *See ib. p.* 86. [5] *Al* ZAMAKH.

them wiſh to enter into a garden of delight? By no means: verily we have created them of that which they know [a]. I ſwear [b] by the LORD of the eaſt and of the weſt [c], that we are able to *deſtroy them, and to* ſubſtitute better than them *in their room*; neither *are* we to be prevented, *if we ſhall pleaſe ſo to do*. Wherefore ſuffer them to wade in vain diſputes, and to amuſe themſelves with ſport: until they meet their day with which they have been threatened; the day *whereon* they ſhall come forth haſtily from *their* graves, as though they were *troops* haſtening to *their* ſtandard: their looks *ſhall be* downcaſt; ignominy ſhall attend them. This *is* the day with which they have been threatened.

[a] *Verily we have created them of that which they know*;] Viz. Of filthy ſeed, which bears no relation or reſemblance to holy beings: wherefore it is neceſſary for him who would hope to be an inhabitant of paradiſe, to perfect himſelf in faith and ſpiritual vertues, to fit himſelf for that place [1].

[b] *I ſwear*;] Or, *I will not ſwear*, &c. See chap. 56. p. 436, not. f.

[c] *Of the eaſt and of the weſt*;] The original words are in the plural number, and ſignify the different points of the horizon at which the ſun riſes and ſets in the courſe of the year. See chap. 37. p. 366. not. c.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. LXXI.

Intitled, NOAH; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

VErily we ſent NOAH unto his people, *ſaying*, Warn thy people, before a grievous puniſhment overtake them. *NOAH* ſaid, O my people, verily I *am* a public warner unto you; wherefore ſerve GOD, and fear him, and obey me: he will forgive you *part* of your ſins [a], and will grant you reſpite until a determined time: for GOD's determined time, when it cometh, ſhall not be deferred; if ye were men of underſtanding, *ye would know this*. He ſaid, LORD, verily I have called my people night and day; but my calling only increaſeth their averſion: and whenſoever I call them *to the true faith*, that thou mayeſt forgive them, they put their fingers in their ears, and cover themſelves with their garments, and perſiſt *in their infidelity*, and proudly diſdain *my counſel*. Moreover I invited them openly, and I ſpake to them again in public; and I alſo ſecretly admoniſhed them in private: and I ſaid, Beg pardon of your LORD; for he is inclined to forgive: and he will cauſe the heaven to pour down rain plentifully upon you, and will give you increaſe of wealth and of children [b]; and he will provide you gardens, and furniſh

[a] *Part of your ſins*;] i. e. Your paſt ſins; which are done away by the profeſſion of the true faith.

[b] *And he will cauſe the heaven to rain plentifully upon you, and will give you increaſe of wealth and of children*;] It is ſaid, that after *Noah* had for a long time preached to them in vain, GOD ſhut up the heaven for forty years, and rendred their women barren [1].

[1] *Idem*.

furniſh you with rivers. What aileth you, that ye hope not for benevolence in GOD [a]; ſince he hath created you variouſly [b]? Do ye not ſee how GOD hath created the ſeven heavens, one above another; and hath placed the moon therein for a light, and hath appointed the ſun for a taper? GOD hath alſo produced and cauſed you to ſpring forth from the earth: hereafter he will cauſe you to return into the ſame; and he will *again* take you *thence*, by bringing *you* forth *from your graves*. And GOD hath ſpread the earth as a carpet for you, that ye may walk therein through ſpacious paths. NOAH ſaid, LORD, verily they are diſobedient unto me; and they follow him whoſe riches and children do no other than increaſe his perdition. And they deviſed a dangerous plot *againſt NOAH*: and *the chief men* ſaid *to the others*, Ye ſhall by no means leave your gods; neither ſhall ye forſake WADD, nor SOWA, nor YAGHUTH, and YAUK, and NESR [c]. And they ſeduced many; (for thou ſhalt only increaſe error in the wicked:) becauſe of their ſins they were drowned, and caſt into the fire *of hell*; and they found none to protect them againſt GOD. And NOAH ſaid, LORD, leave not any families of the unbelievers on the earth: for if thou leave them, they will ſeduce thy ſervants, and will beget none but a wicked and unbelieving *offſpring* [d]. LORD, forgive me and my parents [e], and every one who ſhall enter my houſe [f], being a true believer, and the true believers of both ſexes; and add unto the unjuſt doers nothing but deſtruction.

[a] *What aileth you, that ye hope not for benevolence in* GOD?] i. e. That GOD will accept and amply reward thoſe who ſerve him? For ſome ſuppoſe *Noah*'s people made him this anſwer, *If what we now follow be the truth, we ought not to forſake it; but if it be falſe, how will* GOD *accept, or be favourable unto us, who have rebelled againſt him* [1]?

[b] *Hath created you variouſly*;] That is, as the commentators expound it, by various ſteps or changes, from the original matter, till ye became perfect men [2].

[c] Theſe were five idols worſhipped by the *Antediluvians*, and afterwards by the ancient *Arabs*. See the Prelim. Diſc. §. 1. p. 19.

[d] LORD, *leave not any families of the unbelievers*, &c.] They ſay *Noah* preferred not this prayer for the deſtruction of his people till after he had tried them for nine hundred and fifty years, and found them incorrigible reprobates.

[e] *My parents*;] His father *Lamech*, and his mother, whoſe name was *Shamkha*, the daughter of *Enoſh*, being true believers.

[f] *My houſe*;] The commentators are uncertain whether *Noah*'s dwelling-houſe be here meant, or the temple he had built for the worſhip of GOD, or the ark.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *See chap.* 22. *p.* 274. *and chap.* 23. *p.* 281, &c.

CHAP. LXXII.

Intitled, The Genii; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

SAY, It hath been revealed unto me that a company of genii attentively heard *me reading the* KORAN [a], and ſaid, Verily we have heard an admirable

[a] *See chap.* 46. *p.* 408. *not. d.*

ble diſcourſe; which directeth unto the right inſtitution: wherefore we believe therein, and we will by no means aſſociate any *other* with our LORD. He (may the majeſty of our LORD be exalted!) hath taken no wife, nor *hath he begotten* any iſſue. Yet the fooliſh among us [a] hath ſpoken that which is extreamly falſe of GOD: but we verily thought that neither man nor genius would by any means have uttered a lie concerning GOD. And there are certain men who fly for refuge unto certain of the genii [b]; but they increaſe their folly and tranſgreſſion: and they alſo thought, as ye thought [c], that GOD would not raiſe any one to life. And we *formerly* attempted *to pry into what was tranſacting in* heaven; but we found the ſame filled with a ſtrong guard *of angels*, and with flaming darts: and we ſat on *ſome of the* ſeats thereof to hear *the diſcourſe of its inhabitants*; but whoever liſteneth now, findeth a flame laid in ambuſh for him, *to guard the celeſtial confines* [d]. And we know not whether evil be *hereby* intended againſt thoſe who *are* in the earth, or whether their LORD intendeth to direct them aright. *There are* ſome among us who are upright; and *there are* ſome among us who are otherwiſe: we are of different ways. And we verily thought that we could by no means fruſtrate GOD in the earth, neither could we eſcape him by flight: wherefore, when we had heard the direction *contained in the KORAN*, we believed therein. And whoever believeth in his LORD, need not fear any diminution *of his reward*, nor any injuſtice. *There are ſome* Moſlems among us; and *there are others* of us who ſwerve from righteouſneſs [e]. And whoſo embraceth ISLAM, they earneſtly ſeek true direction: but thoſe who ſwerve from righteouſneſs, ſhall be fewel for hell. If they tread in the way *of truth*, we will ſurely water them with abundant rain [f]; that we may prove them thereby: but whoſo turneth aſide from the admonition of his LORD, him will he ſend into a ſevere torment. Verily the places of worſhip *are ſet apart* unto GOD: wherefore invoke not any *other therein* together with GOD. When the ſervant of GOD [g] ſtood up to invoke him, it wanted little but that *the genii* had preſſed on him in crouds, *to hear him rehearſe the KORAN.* Say, Verily I call upon my LORD only, and I aſſociate no *other god* with him. Say, Verily I am not able, *of myſelf*, to procure you either hurt, or a right inſtitution. Say, Verily none can protect me againſt GOD; neither ſhall I find any refuge beſides him. *I can*

[a] *The fooliſh among us*;] Viz. *Eblis*, or the rebellious genii.

[b] *There are certain men who fly for refuge unto certain of the genii*;] For the *Arabs*, when they found themſelves in a deſart in the evening, (the genii being ſuppoſed to haunt ſuch places about that time) uſed to ſay, *I fly for refuge unto the Lord of this valley, that he may defend me from the fooliſh among his people* [1].

[c] *They alſo thought, as ye thought*, &c.] It is uncertain which of theſe pronouns is to be referred to *mankind*, and which to the *genii*: ſome expoſitors taking that of the third perſon to relate to the former, and that of the ſecond perſon, to the latter; and others being of the contrary opinion.

[d] See chap. 15. p. 211.

[e] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 72, &c.

[f] *We will water them with abundant rain*;] i. e. We will grant them plenty of all good things. Some think by theſe words rain is promiſed to the *Meccans*, after their ſeven years drought, on their embracing *Iſlam*.

[g] *The ſervant of* GOD;] viz. *Mohammed*.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

can do no more than publiſh *what hath been revealed unto me* from GOD, and his meſſages. And whoſoever ſhall be diſobedient unto GOD and his apoſtle, for him *is* the fire of hell *prepared*; they ſhall remain therein for ever. Until they ſee *the vengeance* with which they are threatened, *they will not ceaſe their oppoſition*: but then ſhall they know who *were* the weaker in a protector, and the fewer in number. Say, I know not whether *the puniſhment* with which ye are threatned *be* nigh, or whether my LORD will appoint for it a diſtant term. He knoweth the ſecrets of futurity; and he doth not communicate his ſecrets unto any, except an apoſtle in whom he is well pleaſed: and he cauſeth a guard *of angels* to march before him, and behind him; that he may know that they have executed the commiſſions of their LORD [a]: he comprehendeth whatever is with them; and counteth all things by number.

[a] *That he may know that they have executed the commiſſions of their* LORD;] That is to ſay, Either that the prophet may know that *Gabriel* and the other angels, who bring down the revelation, have communicated it to him pure and free from any diabolical ſuggeſtions; or that GOD may know that the prophet has publiſhed the ſame to mankind [1].

[1] *Idem.*

CHAP. LXXIII.

Intitled, The Wrapped up; *revealed at* MECCA [2].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O Thou wrapped up [b], ariſe *to prayer*, *and continue therein* during the night, except a ſmall part [c]; *that is to ſay*, *during* one half thereof: or do thou

[2] Some will have the laſt verſe, beginning at theſe words, *Verily thy* LORD *knoweth*, &c. to have been revealed at *Medina*.

[b] *O thou wrapped up*;] When this revelation was brought to *Mohammed*, he was wrapped up in his garments, being affrighted at the appearance of *Gabriel*; or, as ſome ſay, he lay ſleeping unconcernedly, or, according to others, praying, wrapped up in one part of a large mantle, or rug, with the other part of which *Ayeſha* had covered herſelf to ſleep [1].

This epithet of *wrapped up*, and another of the ſame import given to *Mohammed* in the next chapter, have been imagined, by ſeveral learned men [2], pretty plainly to intimate his being ſubject to the falling ſickneſs; a malady generally attributed to him by the *Chriſtians* [3], but mentioned by no *Mohammedan* writer. Though ſuch an inference may be made, yet I think it ſcarce probable, much leſs neceſſary [4].

[c] *Except a ſmall part*;] For a half is ſuch, with reſpect to the whole. Or, as the ſentence may be rendred, *Pray half the night*, *within a ſmall matter*, &c. Some expound theſe words as an exception to nights in general; according to whom the ſenſe will be, *Spend one half of every night in prayer*, *except ſome few nights in the year*, &c. [5]

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] HOTTING. *Hiſt. Orient. l.* 1. *c.* 2. MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 763. *V.* GAGNIER. *not. ad* ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 9. [3] *See* PRIDEAUX, *Life of Mah. p.* 16. *and the authors there cited.* [4] *See* OCKLEY's *Hiſt. of the Saracens*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 300, &c. [5] *Al* BEIDAWI.

thou leſſen the ſame a little, or add thereto [a]. And repeat the KORAN with a diſtinct and ſonorous voice: for we will lay on thee a weighty word [b]. Verily the riſing by night [c] is more efficacious for ſtedfaſt continuance *in devotion*, and more conducive to decent pronunciation [d]: for in the day-time thou haſt long employment. And commemorate the name of thy LORD: and ſeparate thy ſelf unto him, renouncing worldly vanities. *He is* the LORD of the eaſt, and of the weſt; *there is* no GOD but he. Wherefore take him for thy patron: and patiently ſuffer the *contumelies* which the *infidels* utter *againſt thee*; and depart from them with a decent departure. And let me alone with thoſe who charge *the Korân* with falſhood, who enjoy the bleſſings of this life; and bear with them for a while: verily with us *are* heavy fetters, and a burning fire, and food ready to choak *him who ſwalloweth it* [e], and painful torment. On a certain day the earth ſhall be ſhaken, and the mountains *alſo*, and the mountains ſhall become a heap of ſand poured forth. Verily we have ſent unto you an apoſtle, to bear witneſs againſt you; as we ſent an apoſtle unto PHARAOH: but PHARAOH was diſobedient unto the apoſtle; wherefore we chaſtiſed him with a heavy chaſtiſement. How, therefore, will ye eſcape, if ye believe not, the day which ſhall make children become grey-headed *through terror?* The heaven *ſhall be* rent in ſunder thereby: the promiſe thereof ſhall ſurely be performed. Verily this *is* an admonition; and whoever is willing *to be admoniſhed*, will take the way unto his LORD. Thy LORD knoweth that thou continueſt *in prayer and meditation ſometimes* near two third parts of the night, and *ſometimes* one half thereof, and *at other times* one third part thereof: and a part of *thy companions*, who *are* with thee, *do the ſame*. But GOD meaſureth the night and the day; he knoweth that ye cannot *exactly* compute the ſame: wherefore he turneth favourably unto you [f]. Read,

[a] *Or do thou leſſen the ſame, or add thereto;*] i. e. Set apart either leſs than half the night, as one third, for example, or more, as two thirds. Or the meaning may be, Either take a ſmall matter from a leſſer part of the night than one half, *e. g.* from one third, and ſo reduce it to a fourth; or add to ſuch leſſer part, and make it a full half [1].

[b] *A weighty word*;] Viz. The precepts contained in the *Korân*; which are heavy and difficult to thoſe who are obliged to obſerve them, and eſpecially to the prophet, whoſe care it was to ſee that his people obſerved them alſo [2].

[c] *The riſing by night*;] Or *The perſon who riſeth by night*; or *the hours*, or particularly *the firſt hours of the night*, &c.

[d] *The riſing by night is more efficacious for ſtedfaſt continuance in devotion, and more conducive to decent pronunciation*;] For the night-time is moſt proper for meditation and prayer, and alſo for reading GOD's word diſtinctly and with attention; by reaſon of the abſence of every noiſe and object which may diſtract the mind.

Marracci, having mentioned this natural explication of the *Mohammedan* commentators, becauſe he finds one word in the verſe which may be taken in a ſenſe tending that way, ſays the whole may with greater exactneſs be expounded of the fitneſs of the night ſeaſon for amorous diverſions and diſcourſe; and he paraphraſes it in *Latin* thus: *Certe in principio noctis majus robur & vim habet homo, ad fœminas premendas & ſubagitandas, & ad clarioribus verbis amores ſuos propalandos* [3]. A moſt effectual way this, to turn a book into ridicule!

[e] *Choaking food*;] As thorns and thiſtles, the fruit of the infernal tree *al Zakkûm*, and the corruption flowing from the bodies of the damned.

[f] *Wherefore he turneth favourably unto you*;] By making the matter eaſy to you, and diſpenſing with your ſcrupulous counting of the hours of

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem*, JALLAL. [3] MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 759.

Read, therefore, ſo much of the KORAN as may be eaſy *unto you.* He knoweth that there will be ſome infirm among you; and others travel through the earth, that they may obtain *a competency* of the bounty of GOD; and others fight in the defence of GOD's faith. Read, therefore, ſo much of the ſame as may be eaſy. And obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and pay the legal alms; and lend unto GOD an acceptable loan; for whatever good ye ſend before for your ſouls, ye ſhall find the ſame with GOD. This *will be* better, and will merit a greater reward [a]. And aſk GOD forgiveneſs; for GOD *is* ready to forgive, *and* merciful.

of the night which ye are directed to ſpend in reading, and praying: for ſome of the *Moſlems*, not knowing how the time paſſed, uſed to watch the whole night, ſtanding and walking about till their legs and feet ſwelled in a ſad manner. The commentators add, that this precept of dedicating a part of the night to devotion, is abrogated by the inſtitution of the five hours of prayer [1].

[a] *This will merit a greater reward*;] i. e. The good which ye ſhall do in your life-time will be much more meritorious in the ſight of GOD, than what ye ſhall defer till death, and order by will [2].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

CHAP. LXXIV.

Intitled, The Covered; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O Thou covered [a], ariſe and preach [b], and magnify thy LORD. And cleanſe thy garments: and fly *every* abomination [c]: and be not liberal, in hopes to receive more in return: and patiently wait for thy LORD. When the trumpet ſhall ſound, verily that day *ſhall be* a day of diſtreſs and uneaſineſs

[a] *O thou covered,* &c.] It is related, from *Mohammed*'s own mouth, that being on mount *Harâ*, and hearing himſelf called, he looked on each hand, and ſaw no-body, but looking upwards, he ſaw the angel *Gabriel* on a throne, between heaven and earth; at which ſight being much terrified, he returned to his wife *Khadîja*, and bid her cover him up; and that then the angel deſcended, and addreſſed him in the words of the text. From hence ſome think this chapter to have been the firſt which was revealed: but the more received opinion is, that it was the 96th. Others ſay, that the prophet, having been reviled by certain of the *Koreiſh*, was ſitting in a melancholy and penſive poſture, wrapped up in his mantle, when *Gabriel* accoſted him: and ſome ſay, he was ſleeping. See the ſecond note to the preceding chapter.

[b] *Ariſe and preach*;] It is generally ſuppoſed that *Mohammed* is here commanded more eſpecially to warn his near relations, the *Koreiſh*; as he is expreſly ordered to do in a ſubſequent revelation [1].

[c] *Fly every abomination*;] By the word *abomination* the commentators generally agree idolatry to be principally intended.

[1] *See chap.* 26. *p.* 308. *and the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 43.

neſs unto the unbelievers. Let me alone with him whom I have created [a], on whom I have beſtowed abundant riches, and children dwelling in his preſence [b], and for whom I have diſpoſed *affairs* in a ſmooth and eaſy manner [c], and who deſireth that I will yet add *other bleſſings unto him.* By no means: becauſe he is an adverſary to our ſigns [d]. I will afflict him with grievous calamities [e]: for he hath deviſed and prepared *contumelious expreſſions to ridicule the* KORAN. May he be curſed: how *maliciouſly* hath he prepared *the ſame!* And again, may he be curſed: how *maliciouſly* hath he prepared *the ſame!* Then he looked, and frowned, and put on an auſtere countenance: then he turned back, and was elated with pride; and he ſaid, This *is* no other than a piece of magic, borrowed from others: theſe *are* only the words of a man. I will caſt him to be burned in hell. And what ſhall make thee to underſtand what hell *is?* It leaveth not *any thing unconſumed*, neither doth it ſuffer *any thing* to eſcape: it ſcorcheth mens fleſh: over the ſame *are* nineteen *angels appointed.* We have appointed none but angels to preſide over *hell* fire [f]: and we have expreſſed the number of them only for an occaſion of diſcord to the unbelievers [g]; that they to whom the ſcriptures have been given, may be certain *of the veracity of this book* [h], and the true believers may encreaſe in faith; and that thoſe to whom the ſcriptures have been given, and the true believers may not doubt *hereafter*; and that thoſe in whoſe hearts *there is* an infirmity, and the unbelievers may ſay, What myſtery doth GOD intend by this *number?* Thus doth GOD cauſe to err whom he pleaſeth; and he directeth whom he pleaſeth. None knoweth the armies of thy LORD [i], beſides him: and this [k] *is* no other than a memento unto mankind. Aſſuredly,

[a] *Let me alone with him whom I have created*, &c.] The perſon here meant is generally ſuppoſed to have been *al Walid Ebn al Mogheira* [1], a principal man among the *Koreiſh.*

[b] *And children dwelling in his preſence*;] Being well provided for, and not obliged to go abroad to ſeek their livings, as moſt others of the *Meccans* were [2].

[c] *And for whom I have diſpoſed things in an eaſy manner*;] By facilitating his advancement to power and dignity; which were ſo conſiderable that he was ſurnamed *Rihâna Koreiſh*, or *The ſweet odour of the* Koreiſh, and *al Wahîd*, i. e. *The only one*, or *The incomparable* [3].

[d] *By no means*, &c.] On the revelation of this paſſage it is ſaid that *Walid*'s proſperity began to decay, and continued daily ſo to do to the time of his death [4].

[e] *I will afflict him with grievous calamities*;] Or, as the words may be ſtrictly rendred, *I will drive him up the crag of a mountain*; which ſome underſtand of a mountain of fire, agreeably to a tradition of their prophet, importing, that *al Walid* will be condemned to aſcend this mountain, and then to be caſt down from thence, alternately for ever; and that he will be ſeventy years in climbing up, and as many in falling down [5].

[f] *We have appointed none but angels to preſide over hell fire*;] The reaſon of which is ſaid to be, that they might be of a different nature and ſpecies from thoſe who are to be tormented, leſt they ſhould have a fellow feeling of, and compaſſionate their ſufferings; or elſe, becauſe of their great ſtrength, and ſeverity of temper [6].

[g] *For an occaſion of diſcord to the unbelievers*;] Or, *For a trial of them:* becauſe they might ſay this was a particular borrowed by *Mohammed* of the *Jews.*

[h] *They to whom the ſcriptures have been given*;] And eſpecially the *Jews*; this being conformable to what is contained in their books [7].

[i] *The armies of thy Lord*;] i. e. All his creatures; or particularly the number and ſtrength of the guards of hell.

[k] *This*;] The antecedent ſeems to be *hell.*

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.* [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.* [6] *Idem.* [7] JALLAL.

ly. By the moon, and the night when it retreateth, and the morning when it reddeneth, *I ſwear* that this *is* one of the moſt terrible *calamities*, giving warning unto men, as well unto him among you who deſireth to go forward, as *unto him who chooſeth* to remain behind. Every ſoul *is* given in pledge for that which it ſhall have wrought [a]: except the companions of the right hand [b]; *who ſhall dwell* in gardens, and ſhall aſk one another queſtions concerning the wicked, *and ſhall alſo aſk the wicked themſelves, ſaying*, What hath brought you into hell? They ſhall anſwer, We were not of thoſe who were conſtant at prayer, neither did we feed the poor; and we waded in vain diſputes, with the fallacious reaſoners; and we denied the day of judgment, until death [c] overtook us: and the interceſſion of the interceders ſhall not avail them. What aileth them, therefore, that they turn aſide from the admonition *of the* KORAN, as though they *were* timorous aſſes flying from a lion? But every man among them deſireth that he may have expanded ſcrolls delivered to him *from* GOD [d]. By no means. They fear not the life to come. By no means: verily this *is* a *ſufficient* warning. Whoſo is willing *to be warned*, him ſhall it warn: but they ſhall not be warned, unleſs GOD ſhall pleaſe. He *is* worthy to be feared; and he *is* inclined to forgiveneſs.

[a] See chap. 52. p. 424.

[b] *Except the companions of the right hand*;] i. e. The bleſſed [1].; who ſhall redeem themſelves by their good works. Some ſay theſe are the angels; and others, ſuch as die infants [2].

[c] *Death*;] Literally, *That which is certain.*

[d] *That he may have expanded ſcrolls delivered to him from* GOD;] For the infidels told *Mohammed* that they would never obey him as a prophet, till he brought each man a writing from heaven, to this effect, *viz.* *From* GOD *to ſuch a one: Follow* Mohammed [3].

[1] *See chap.* 56. *p.* 434. *not.* b. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*

CHAP. LXXV.

Intitled, The Reſurrection; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

VERILY I ſwear [a] by the day of reſurrection; and I ſwear by the ſoul which accuſeth *itſelf* [b]: doth man think that we will not gather his bones together? Yea: *we are* able to put together the *ſmalleſt* bones of his

fingers.

[a] *I ſwear*;] Or, *I will not ſwear.* See chap. 56. p. 436. not. f.

[b] *The ſoul which accuſeth itſelf*;] Being conſcious of having offended, and of failing of perfection, notwithſtanding its endeavours to do its duty: or, *the* pious *ſoul which ſhall blame others*, at the laſt day, for having been remiſs in their devotions, *&c.* Some underſtand the words of the ſoul of *Adam*, in particular; who is continually blaming himſelf for having loſt paradiſe by his diſobedience [1].

[1] *Idem.*

fingers. But man chooſeth to be wicked, *for the time which is* before him. He aſketh, When *will* the day of reſurrection *be?* But when the ſight ſhall be dazzled, and the moon ſhall be eclipſed, and the ſun and the moon ſhall be in conjunction [a]; on that day man ſhall ſay, Where *is* a place of refuge? By no means: *there ſhall be* no place to fly unto. With thy LORD *ſhall be* the ſure manſion of reſt on that day: on that day ſhall a man be told that which he hath done firſt and laſt [b]. Yea; a man *ſhall be* an evidence againſt himſelf: and though he offer his excuſes, *they ſhall not be received.* Move not thy tongue, O *MOHAMMED*, in *repeating the revelations brought thee by GABRIEL, before he ſhall have finiſhed the ſame*, that thou mayeſt quickly commit them to memory: for the collecting the *KORAN* in thy mind, and the *teaching thee the true* reading thereof *are incumbent* on us. But when we ſhall have read the ſame *unto thee by the tongue of the angel*, do thou follow the reading thereof: and afterwards *it ſhall be* our part to explain it *unto thee.* By no means *ſhalt thou be thus haſty for the future.* But ye love that which haſteneth away [c], and neglect the life to come. *Some* countenances, on that day, *ſhall be* bright, looking towards their LORD; and *ſome* countenances, on that day, *ſhall be* diſmal: they ſhall think that a cruſhing calamity ſhall be brought upon them. Aſſuredly. When *a man's ſoul* ſhall come up to his throat, *in his laſt agony*; and *the ſtanders-by* ſhall ſay, Who bringeth a charm *to recover him?* and ſhall think it *to be his* departure *out of this world*; and *one* leg ſhall be joined with *the other* leg [d]: on that day unto thy LORD ſhall he be driven. For he believed not [e], neither did he pray; but he accuſed *GOD's apoſtle* of impoſture, and turned back *from obeying him:* then he departed unto his family, walking with a haughty mien. Wherefore, wo be unto thee; wo! And again, Wo be unto thee; wo! Doth man think that he ſhall be left at full liberty, *without controul?* Was he not a drop of ſeed, which was emitted? Afterwards he became a little coagulated blood; and *GOD* formed him, and faſhioned him with juſt proportion: and made of him two ſexes, the male and the female. Is not he *who hath done this* able to quicken the dead?

[a] *And the ſun and the moon ſhall be in conjunction;*] Riſing both in the weſt [1]: which conjunction is no contradiction to what is mentioned juſt before, of the moon's being eclipſed; becauſe thoſe words are not to be underſtood of a regular eclipſe, but metaphorically, of the moon's loſing her light, at the laſt day, in a preternatural manner. Some think the meaning rather to be, that the ſun and the moon ſhall be *joined* in the loſs of their light [2].

[b] *That which he hath done firſt and laſt;*] Or the good which he hath done, and that which he hath left undone, *&c.*

[c] *Ye love that which haſteneth away;*] i. e. The fleeting pleaſures of this life. The words intimate the natural haſtineſs and impatience of man [3], who takes up with a preſent enjoyment, though ſhort, and bitter in its conſequences, rather than to wait for real happineſs in futurity.

[d] *And one leg ſhall be joined with the other leg;*] i. e. And when he ſhall ſtretch forth his legs together; as is uſual with dying perſons. The words may alſo be tranſlated, *And when one affliction ſhall be joined with another affliction.*

[e] *He believed not;*] Or, *He did not give alms;* or, *He was not a man of veracity.* Some ſuppoſe *Abu Jahl*, and others one *Adi Ebn Rabîa*, to be particularly inveighed againſt in this chapter.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 79. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *See chap.* 17. *p.* 228.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXVI.

Intitled, Man; *revealed at* MECCA[a].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

DID there not paſs over man a *long* ſpace of time; during which he was a thing not worthy of remembrance[b]? Verily we have created man of the mingled ſeed of both ſexes, that we might prove him: and we have made him to hear and to ſee[c]. We have ſurely directed him in the way; whether *he be* grateful, or ungrateful. Verily we have prepared for the unbelievers chains, and collars, and burning fire. But the juſt ſhall drink of a cup *of wine*, mixed with *the water of* CAFUR[d], a fountain whereof the ſervants of GOD ſhall drink; they ſhall convey the ſame by channels *whitherſoever they pleaſe. Theſe* fulfil *their* vow, and dread the day, the evil whereof will diſperſe itſelf far abroad; and give food unto the poor, and the orphan, and the bondman, for his ſake, *ſaying*, We feed you for GOD's ſake only: we deſire no recompenſe from you, nor any thanks: verily we dread, from our LORD, a diſmal *and* calamitous day[e]. Wherefore GOD ſhall deliver them from the evil of that day, and ſhall caſt on them brightneſs of countenance, and joy; and ſhall reward them, for their patient perſevering, with a garden, and ſilk *garments:* therein ſhall they repoſe themſelves on

 couches;

[a] It is ſomewhat doubtful, whether this chapter was revealed at *Mecca*, or at *Medina*.

[b] *Did there not paſs over man a long ſpace of time*, &c.] Some take theſe words to be ſpoken of *Adam*, whoſe body, according to the *Mohammedan* tradition, was at firſt a figure of clay, and was left forty years to dry, before GOD breathed life into it[1]: Others underſtand them of man in general, and of the time he lies in the womb.

[c] *We have made him to hear and to ſee;*] That he might be capable of receiving the rules and directions given by GOD for his guidance[2]; and of meriting reward or puniſhment for his obſervance or neglect of them.

[d] *Câfûr*] Is the name of a fountain in paradiſe, ſo called from its reſembling *camphire* (which the word ſignifies) in odour, and whiteneſs. Some take the word for an appellative, and think the wine of paradiſe will be mixed with *camphire*, becauſe of its agreeable coolneſs and ſmell[3].

[e] *Theſe fulfil their vow*, &c.] It is related that *Haſan* and *Hoſein*, *Mohammed*'s grandchildren, on a certain time being both ſick, the prophet, among others, viſited them; and they wiſhed *Ali* to make ſome vow to GOD for the recovery of his ſons: whereupon *Ali*, and *Fâtema*, and *Fidda*, their maid-ſervant, vowed a faſt of three days in caſe they did well; as it happened they did. This vow was performed with ſo great ſtrictneſs, that the firſt day, having no proviſions in the houſe, *Ali* was obliged to borrow three meaſures of barley of one *Simeon*, a *Jew* of *Khaibar*; one meaſure of which *Fatema* ground the ſame day, and baked five cakes of the meal; and they were ſet before them, to break their faſt with, after ſun ſet: but a poor man coming to them, they gave all their bread to him, and paſſed the night without taſting anything, except water. The next day, *Fâtema* made another meaſure into bread, for the ſame purpoſe; but an orphan begging ſome food, they

[1] *See the notes to chap.* 2. *p.* 4.

[2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

[3] *Idem.*

couches; they ſhall ſee therein neither ſun nor moon [a]; and the ſhades thereof *ſhall be* near *ſpreading* above them, and the fruits thereof ſhall hang low, ſo as to be eaſily gathered. And *their attendants* ſhall go round about unto them, with veſſels of ſilver, and goblets: the bottles ſhall be bottles of ſilver *ſhining like glaſs*; they ſhall determine the meaſure thereof *by their wiſh*. And therein ſhall they be given to drink of a cup *of wine*, mixed with *the water* of ZENJEBIL [b], a fountain in *paradiſe* named SALSABIL [c]: and youths, which ſhall continue *for ever in their bloom*, ſhall go round *to attend* them; when thou ſeeſt them, thou ſhalt think them *to be* ſcattered pearls: and when thou lookeſt, there ſhalt thou behold delights, and a great kingdom. Upon them *ſhall be* garments of fine green ſilk, and of brocades, and they ſhall be adorned with bracelets of ſilver: and their LORD ſhall give them to drink of a moſt pure liquor; *and ſhall ſay unto them*, Verily this is your reward: and your endeavour is gratefully accepted. Verily we have ſent down unto thee the KORAN, by a *gradual* revelation. Wherefore patiently wait the judgment of thy LORD; and obey not any wicked perſon or unbeliever among them. And commemorate the name of thy LORD, in the morning, and in the evening: and *during ſome part* of the night worſhip him, and praiſe him a long *part of the* night. Verily theſe *men* love the tranſitory *life*, and leave behind them the heavy day *of judgment*. We have created them, and have ſtrengthened their joints; and when we pleaſe, we will ſubſtitute *others* like unto them, in their ſtead. Verily this *is* an admonition: and whoſo willeth, taketh the way unto his LORD: but ye ſhall not will, unleſs GOD willeth; for GOD is knowing, *and* wiſe. He leadeth whom he pleaſeth into his mercy: but for the unjuſt hath he prepared a grievous puniſhment.

they choſe to let him have it, and paſſed that night as the firſt: and the third day they likewiſe gave their whole proviſion to a famiſhed captive. Upon this occaſion *Gabriel* deſcended with the chapter before us, and told *Mohammed* that GOD congratulated him on the virtues of his family [1].

[a] *They ſhall ſee therein neither ſun nor moon*;] Becauſe they ſhall not need the light of either [2]. The word *Zamharîr*, here tranſlated *moon*, properly ſignifies *extream cold*: for which reaſon ſome underſtand the meaning of the paſſage to be, that in paradiſe there ſhall be felt no exceſs either of *heat*, or of *cold*.

[b] *Zenjebil*;] The word ſignifies *ginger*, which the *Arabs* delight to mix with the water they drink; and therefore the water of this fountain is ſuppoſed to have the taſte of that ſpice [3].

[c] *Salſabil*]: Signifies water which flows gently and pleaſantly down the throat.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *See Revel.* xxi. 23. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXVII.

Intitled, Thoſe which are ſent; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the *angels* which are ſent *by* GOD, following one another in a continual ſeries; and thoſe which move ſwiftly, with a rapid motion; and by thoſe which diſperſe *his commands*, by divulging them *through the earth*; and by thoſe which ſeparate *truth from falſhood*, by diſtinguiſhing *the ſame*; and by thoſe which communicate *the divine* admonitions, to excuſe, or to threaten [a]: verily that which ye are promiſed [b] *is* inevitable. When the ſtars, therefore, ſhall be put out, and when the heaven ſhall be cloven in ſunder, and when the mountains ſhall be winnowed, and when the apoſtles ſhall have a time aſſigned them *to appear and bear teſtimony againſt their reſpective people*; to what a day ſhall *that appointment* be deferred! to the day of ſeparation: and what ſhall cauſe thee to underſtand what the day of ſeparation *is?* On that day, wo be unto them who accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture! Have we not deſtroyed the *obſtinate unbelievers* of old? We will alſo cauſe thoſe of the latter times to follow them. Thus do we deal with the wicked. Wo be, on that day, unto them who accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture! Have we not created you of a contemptible drop *of ſeed*, which we placed in a ſure repoſitory, until the fixed term *of delivery?* And we were able *to do this:* for we are moſt powerful. On that day, wo be unto thoſe who accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture! Have we not made the earth to contain the living and the dead, and placed therein ſtable *and* lofty *mountains*, and given you freſh water to drink? Wo be, on that day, unto thoſe who accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture! *It ſhall be ſaid unto them*, Go ye to the *puniſhment* which ye denied as a falſhood: go ye into the ſhadow *of the ſmoke of hell*, which *ſhall aſcend* in three columns, and ſhall not ſhade *you from the heat*, neither ſhall it be of ſervice againſt the flame; but it ſhall caſt forth ſparks *as big* as towers, reſembling yellow camels *in colour* [c]. Wo be, on that day, unto thoſe

[a] *By the angels which are ſent*, &c.] Some underſtand the whole paſſage of the *verſes* of the *Korân*; which *continued to be ſent down*, parcel after parcel, during the ſpace of ſeveral years, and which *reſcind* (for ſo the verb *áſafa* may alſo be tranſlated) and aboliſh all former diſpenſations, *divulging and making known* the ways of ſalvation, *diſtinguiſhing* truth from falſhood, and *communicating admonition*, &c. Some interpret the firſt three verſes of the *winds*, *ſent in a continual ſucceſſion, blowing with a violent guſt, and diſperſing* rain over the earth: and others give different explications.

[b] *That which ye are promiſed*;] Viz. The day of judgment.

[c] *Reſembling yellow camels*;] Being of a fiery colour. Others, however, ſuppoſe theſe ſparks will be of a duſky hue, like that of *black* camels, which always inclines a little to the yellow; the word tranſlated *yellow*, ſignifying ſometimes *black*. Some copies, by the variation of a vowel, have *cables*, inſtead of *camels*.

thoſe who accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture! This *ſhall be* a day whereon they ſhall not ſpeak *to any purpoſe*; neither ſhall they be permitted to excuſe themſelves. Wo be, on that day, unto thoſe who accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture! This *ſhall be* the day of ſeparation: we will aſſemble *both* you and your predeceſſors. Wherefore, if ye have any cunning ſtratagem, employ ſtratagems againſt me. Wo be, on that day, unto thoſe who accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture! But the pious *ſhall dwell* amidſt ſhades and fountains, and fruits of the *kinds* which they ſhall deſire: *and it ſhall be ſaid unto them*, Eat and drink with eaſy digeſtion, *in recompenſe* for that which ye have wrought; for thus do we reward the righteous doers. Wo be, on that day, unto thoſe who accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture! Eat, *O unbelievers*, and enjoy *the pleaſures of this life*, for a little while: verily ye *are* wicked men. Wo be, on that day, unto thoſe who accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture! And when it is ſaid unto them, Bow down; they do not bow down. Wo be, on that day, unto thoſe who accuſed *the prophets* of impoſture! In what new revelation will they believe, after this?

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Intitled, The News; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

XXX. * CONcerning what do *the unbelievers* aſk queſtions of one another? Concerning the great news *of the reſurrection*, about which they diſagree. Aſſuredly they ſhall hereafter know *the truth thereof*. Again, Aſſuredly they ſhall hereafter know *the truth thereof*. Have we not made the earth for a bed, and the mountains for ſtakes *to fix the ſame*[a]? And have we not created you of two ſexes; and appointed your ſleep for reſt; and made the night a garment *to cover you*; and deſtined the day to the gaining *your* livelihood; and built over you ſeven ſolid *heavens*; and placed *therein* a burning lamp? And do we not ſend down from the *clouds* preſſing forth rain, water pouring down in abundance, that we may thereby produce corn, and herbs, and gardens planted thick *with trees*? Verily the day of ſeparation is a fixed period: the day whereon the trumpet ſhall ſound, and ye ſhall come in troops *to judgment*; and the heaven ſhall be opened, and ſhall be *full of* gates *for the angels to paſs through*; and the mountains ſhall paſs away, and become *as* a vapour; verily hell ſhall be a place of ambuſh, a receptacle for the tranſgreſſors, who ſhall remain therein for ages: they ſhall not taſte any refreſhment therein, or any drink, except boiling water, and filthy corruption: a fit recompenſe *for their deeds!* For they hoped that they ſhould not be

[a] See chap. 16. p. 215. and chap. 31. p. 335.

be brought to an account, and they disbelieved our ſigns, accuſing them of falſhood. But every thing have we computed, and written down. Taſte, therefore: we will not add unto you *any other* than torment [a]. But for the pious *is prepared* a place of bliſs: gardens planted with trees, and vineyards, and *damſels* with ſwelling breaſts, of equal age *with themſelves*, and a full cup. They ſhall hear no vain diſcourſe there, nor any falſhood. *This ſhall be their* recompenſe from thy LORD; a gift *fully* ſufficient: *from* the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever *is* between them; the Merciful. *The inhabitants of heaven or of earth* ſhall not dare to demand audience of him: the day whereon the ſpirit *GABRIEL*, and the *other* angels ſhall ſtand in order, they ſhall not ſpeak *in behalf of themſelves or others*, except he *only* to whom the Merciful ſhall grant permiſſion, and who ſhall ſay that which is right. This *is* the infallible day. Whoſo, therefore, willeth, let him return unto his LORD. Verily we threaten you with a puniſhment nigh at hand: the day whereon a man ſhall behold *the good or evil deeds* which his hands have ſent before him; and the unbeliever ſhall ſay, Would to GOD I were duſt!

[a] *We will not add unto you any other than torment*;] This, ſay the commentators, is the moſt ſevere and terrible ſentence in the whole *Korân*, pronounced againſt the inhabitants of hell; they being hereby aſſured that every change in their torments will be for the worſe.

CHAP. LXXIX.

Intitled, Thoſe who tear forth; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the *angels* who tear forth *the ſouls of ſome* with violence; and by thoſe who draw forth *the ſouls of others* with gentleneſs [a]; by thoſe who glide ſwimmingly *through the air with the commands of* GOD; and thoſe who precede and uſher *the righteous to paradiſe*; and thoſe who ſubordinately govern the affairs *of this world:* on a *certain* day, the diſturbing *blaſt of the trumpet* ſhall diſturb *the univerſe*; and the ſubſequent *blaſt* ſhall follow it. On that day

[a] *By the angels who tear forth the ſouls of ſome with violence*, &c.] Theſe are the angel of death, and his aſſiſtants; who will take the ſouls of the wicked in a rough and cruel manner, from the inmoſt part of their bodies, as a man draggs up a thing from the bottom of the ſea; but will take the ſouls of the good in a gentle and eaſy manner, from their lips, as when a man draws a bucket of water at one pull [1].

There are ſeveral other interpretations of this whole paſſage; ſome expounding all the five parts of the oath of the *ſtars*, others of the *ſouls of men*, others of the *ſouls of warriors* in particular, and others of *war-horſes:* a detail of which, I apprehend, would rather tire than pleaſe.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI.

day *men*'s hearts ſhall tremble: their looks *ſhall be* caſt down. *The infidels* ſay, Shall we ſurely be made to return whence we came [a]? After we ſhall have become rotten bones, *ſhall we be again raiſed to life?* They ſay, This then *will be* a return to loſs. Verily it *will be* but one ſounding *of the trumpet* [b], and behold, they *ſhall appear alive* on the face of the earth [c]. Hath not the ſtory of MOSES reached thee? When his LORD called unto him in the holy valley TOWA [d], *ſaying*, Go unto PHARAOH; for he is inſolently wicked: and ſay, Haſt thou *a deſire* to become juſt and holy? and I will direct thee unto thy LORD, that thou mayeſt fear *to tranſgreſs*. And he ſhewed him the very great ſign *of the rod turned into a ſerpent:* but he charged *MOSES* with impoſture, and rebelled *againſt GOD*. Then he turned back haſtily; and he aſſembled *the magicians*, and cried aloud, ſaying, I *am* your ſupreme LORD. Wherefore GOD chaſtiſed him with the puniſhment of the life to come, and *alſo* of this preſent life. Verily herein *is* an example unto him who feareth *to rebel*. *Are* ye more difficult to create, or the heaven which *GOD* hath built? He hath raiſed the height thereof, and hath perfectly formed the ſame: and he hath made the night thereof dark, and hath produced the light thereof. After this he ſtretched out the earth [e], whence he cauſed to ſpring forth the water thereof, and the paſture thereof; and he eſtabliſhed the mountains, for the uſe of yourſelves, and of your cattle. When the prevailing, the great *day* ſhall come, on that day ſhall a man call to remembrance what he hath purpoſely done: and hell ſhall be expoſed to the view of the ſpectator. And whoſo ſhall have tranſgreſſed, and ſhall have choſen this preſent life; verily hell ſhall be his abode: but whoſo ſhall have dreaded the appearing before his LORD, and ſhall have refrained *his* ſoul from luſt; verily paradiſe ſhall be *his* abode. They will ask thee concerning the *laſt* hour, when *will be* the fixed time thereof. By what means *canſt* thou *give* any information of the ſame? Unto thy LORD *belongeth the knowledge of* the period thereof: and thou *art* only a warner, who feareſt the ſame. The day whereon they ſhall ſee the ſame, *it ſhall ſeem to them* as though they had not tarried *in the world longer* than an evening, or a morning thereof.

[a] *Shall we ſurely be made to return whence we came?*] i. e. Shall we be reſtored to our former condition?

[b] *One ſounding of the trumpet;*] Viz. The ſecond, or third blaſt, according to different opinions.

[c] *They ſhall appear alive on the face of the earth;*] Or, *They ſhall appear at the place of judgment.* The original word *al Sâhira* is alſo one of the names of hell.

[d] See chap. 20. p. 256.

[e] *After this he ſtretched out the earth,*] Which had been created before the heavens, but without expanſion [f].

[f] JALLAL.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXX.

Intitled, He frowned; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THE *prophet* frowned, and turned aſide, becauſe the blind *man* came unto him [a]: and how doſt thou know whether he ſhall peradventure be cleanſed *from his ſins*; or *whether* he ſhall be admoniſhed, and the admonition ſhall profit him? *The man* who is wealthy, thou receiveſt reſpectfully; whereas *it is* not *to be charged* on thee, that he is not cleanſed: but him who cometh unto thee earneſtly ſeeking *his ſalvation*, and who feareth GOD, doſt thou neglect. By no means *ſhouldeſt thou act thus.* Verily *the* KORAN is an admonition; (and he who is willing retaineth the ſame;) *written* in volumes honourable, exalted, *and* pure; by the hands of ſcribes honoured, *and* juſt [b] May man be curſed! What hath ſeduced him to infidelity? Of what thing doth GOD create him? Of a drop of ſeed doth he create him; and he formeth him with proportion; and then facilitateth *his* paſſage *out of the womb:* afterwards he cauſeth him to die, and layeth him in the grave; hereafter, when it ſhall pleaſe him, he ſhall raiſe him to life. Aſſuredly. He hath not hitherto fully performed what GOD hath commanded him. Let man conſider his food; *in what manner it is provided.* We pour down water by ſhowers; afterwards we cleave the earth in clefts, and we cauſe corn to ſpring forth therein, and grapes, and clover, and the olive, and the palm, and gardens planted thick with trees, and fruits, and graſs, for the uſe of yourſelves and of your cattle. When the ſtunning ſound *of the trumpet* ſhall be heard; on that day ſhall a man fly from his brother, and his mother, and his father, and his wife, and his children. Every man of them, on that day, ſhall have buſineſs *of his own* ſufficient to employ *his thoughts.* On that day *the* faces *of ſome ſhall be* bright, laughing, *and* joyful: and upon *the* faces *of others,* on

[a] *The prophet frowned, and turned aſide, becauſe the blind man came unto him,* &c.] This paſſage was revealed on the following occaſion. A certain blind man, named *Abdallah Ebn Omm Mactûm,* came and interrupted *Mohammed* while he was engaged in earneſt diſcourſe with ſome of the principal *Koreiſh,* whoſe converſion he had hopes of; but the prophet taking no notice of him, the blind man, not knowing he was otherwiſe buſied, raiſed his voice, and ſaid, O *apoſtle of* GOD, *teach me ſome part of what* GOD *hath taught thee:* but *Mohammed,* vexed at this interruption, frowned, and turned away from him; for which he is here reprehended. After this, whenever the prophet ſaw *Ebn Omm Mactûm,* he ſhewed him great reſpect, ſaying, *The man is welcome, on whoſe account my* LORD *hath reprimanded me;* and he made him twice governor of *Medina* [1].

[b] *Written in volumes honourable, exalted, and pure,* &c.] Being tranſcribed from the *preſerved table,* highly honoured in the ſight of GOD, kept pure and uncorrupted from the hands of evil ſpirits, and touched only by the angels. Some underſtand hereby the books of the prophets, with which the *Korân* agrees in ſubſtance [2].

[1] *Idem, Al* BEIDAWI.

[2] *Al* ZAMAKH.

on that day, *ſhall there be* duſt; darkneſs ſhall cover them. Theſe are the unbelievers, the wicked.

CHAP. LXXXI.

Intitled, The Folding up; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHEN the ſun ſhall be folded up[a]; and when the ſtars ſhall fall; and when the mountains ſhall be made to paſs away; and when the camels ten months gone with young ſhall be neglected[b]; and when the wild beaſts ſhall be gathered together[c]; and when the ſeas ſhall boil[d]; and when the ſouls ſhall be joined *again to their bodies*; and when the girl who hath been buried alive ſhall be aſked for what crime ſhe was put to death[e]; and when the books ſhall be laid open; and when the heaven ſhall be removed[f]; and when hell ſhall burn fiercely; and when paradiſe ſhall be brought near: *every* ſoul ſhall know what it hath wrought. Verily I ſwear[g] by the ſtars which are retrograde, which move ſwiftly, *and* which hide themſelves[h]; and by the night, when it cometh on; and by the morning, when it appeareth; that theſe *are* the words of an honourable meſſenger[i], endued with ſtrength, of eſtabliſhed dignity in the ſight of the poſſeſſor of the throne, obeyed *by the angels under his authority*, and faithful: and your companion *MOHAMMED* is not diſtracted. He had already ſeen him in the clear horizon[k]: and he ſuſpected not[l] the ſecrets *revealed unto him.* Neither

[a] *When the ſun ſhall be folded up*;] As a garment that is to be laid by.

[b] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 82.

[c] See ibid. p. 83, and 86.

[d] See ibid. p. 82.

[e] *The damſel who hath been buried alive*;] For it was cuſtomary among the ancient *Arabs* to bury their daughters alive, as ſoon as they were born; for fear they ſhould be impoveriſhed by providing for them, or ſhould ſuffer diſgrace on their account. See chap. 16. p. 218.

[f] *When the heaven ſhall be removed*,] Or plucked away from its place, as *the ſkin is plucked off* from a camel which is flaying; for that is the proper ſignification of the verb here uſed. *Marracci* fancies the paſſage alludes to that in the Pſalms[1], where, according to the verſions of the *Septuagint* and the *Vulgate*, GOD is ſaid to have *ſtretched out the heaven like a ſkin.*

[g] I ſwear;] Or, *I will not ſwear*, &c. See chap. 56. p. 436. not. f.

[h] *By the ſtars which are retrograde*, &c.] Some underſtand hereby the ſtars in general, but the more exact commentators, five of the planets, *viz.* the two which accompany the ſun, and the three ſuperior planets; which have both a retrograde and a direct motion, and hide themſelves in the rays of the ſun, or when they ſet.

[i] *An honourable meſſenger*;] i. e. *Gabriel.*

[k] See chap. 53. p. 426.

[l] *He ſuſpected not*;] Some copies, by a change of one letter only, inſtead of *dhanînin*, read *danînin*; and then the words ſhould be rendered *He is not tenacious of*, or grudges not to communicate to you, *the ſecret revelations* which he has received.

[1] *Pſalm* civ. 2.

ther *are* theſe the words of an accurſed devil [a]. Whither, therefore, are ye going? This *is* no other than an admonition unto all creatures; unto him among you who ſhall be willing to walk uprightly: but ye ſhall not will, unleſs GOD willeth, the LORD of all creatures.

[a] *Neither are theſe the words of an accurſed devil,*] Who has overheard, by ſtealth, the diſcourſe of the angels. The verſe is an anſwer to a calumny of the infidels, who ſaid the *Korân* was only a piece of divination, or magic: for the *Arabs* ſuppoſe the ſoothſayer, or magician, receives his intelligence from thoſe evil ſpirits, who are continually liſtening to learn what they can from the inhabitants of heaven.

CHAP. LXXXII.

Intitled, The Cleaving in ſunder; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHEN the heaven ſhall be cloven in ſunder; and when the ſtars ſhall be ſcattered; and when the ſeas ſhall be ſuffered to join their waters; and when the graves ſhall be turned upſide down: *every* ſoul ſhall know what it hath committed, and *what* it hath omitted. O man, what hath ſeduced thee againſt thy gracious LORD, who hath created thee, and put thee together, and rightly diſpoſed thee? In what form he pleaſed hath he faſhioned thee. Aſſuredly. But ye deny the *laſt* judgment as a falſhood. Verily *there are appointed* over you guardian *angels* [a], honourable *in the ſight of* GOD, writing down *your actions*; who know that which ye do. The juſt *ſhall* ſurely *be* in *a place of* delight: but the wicked *ſhall* ſurely *be* in hell; they ſhall be caſt therein to be burned, on the day of judgment, and they *ſhall* not *be* abſent therefrom *for ever*. What ſhall cauſe thee to underſtand what the day of judgment *is?* Again, What ſhall cauſe thee to underſtand what the day of judgment *is?* *It is* a day whereon one ſoul ſhall not be able to obtain any thing in behalf of *another* ſoul: and the command, on that day, *ſhall be* GOD's.

[a] See chap. 50. p. 420, and the Preliminary Diſc. §. iv. p. 72.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

Intitled, Thoſe who give ſhort meaſure or weight; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WO be unto thoſe who give ſhort meaſure or weight; who, when they receive by meaſure from *other* men, take the full; but when they meaſure

measure unto them, or weigh unto them, defraud! Do not these think they shall be raised again, at the great day; the day whereon mankind shall stand before the LORD of all creatures? By no means. Verily the register of *the actions of* the wicked *is* surely in SEJJIN[a]. And what shall make thee to understand what SEJJIN *is? It is* a book distinctly written. Wo be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture; who denied the day of judgment as a falshood! And none denieth the same as a falshood, except every unjust *and* flagitious person: who, when our signs are rehearsed unto him, saith, *They are* fables of the ancients. By no means: but rather their lusts have cast a vail over their hearts. By no means. Verily they *shall be* shut out from their LORD on that day; and they shall be sent into hell to be burned: then shall it be said *unto them, by the infernal guards,* This *is* what ye denied as a falshood. Assuredly. But the register of *the actions of* the righteous *is* in ILLIYYUN[b]: and what shall cause thee to understand what ILLIYYUN *is?* *It is* a book distinctly written: those who approach near *unto* GOD, are witnesses thereto[c]. Verily the righteous *shall dwell* among delights: *seated* on couches they shall behold *objects of pleasure*; thou shalt see in their faces the brightness of joy. They shall be given to drink of pure wine, sealed; the seal whereof *shall be* musk[d]: and to this let those aspire, who aspire *to happiness:* and the *water* mixed therewith *shall be* of TASNIM[e], a fountain whereof those shall drink who approach near *unto the divine presence*[f]. They who act wickedly laugh the true believers to scorn; and when they pass by them, they wink at one another: and when they turn aside to their people, they turn aside making scurrilous jests: and when they see them, they say, Verily these *are* mistaken men. But they are not sent *to be* keepers over them[g]. Wherefore one day the

[a] *Sejjîn*] Is the name of the general register, wherein the actions of all the wicked, both men and genii, are distinctly entred. *Sejn* signifies a *prison*; and this book, as some think, derives its name from thence, because it will occasion those whose deeds are there recorded, to be *imprisoned* in hell. *Sejjin*, or *Sajin*, is also the name of the dungeon beneath the seventh earth, the residence of *Eblis* and his host; where it is supposed, by some, that this book is kept, and where the souls of the wicked will be detained till the resurrection [1]. If the latter explication be admitted, the words, *And what shall make thee to understand what* Sejjin *is?* should be inclosed within a parenthesis.

[b] *Illiyyûn*;] The word is a plural, and signifies high places. Some say it is the general register wherein the actions of the righteous, whether angels, men, or genii, are distinctly recorded. Others will have it to be a place in the 7th heaven, under the throne of God; where this book is kept, and where the souls of the just, as many think, will remain till the last day [2]. If we prefer the latter opinion, the words, *And what shall make thee to understand what* Illiyyun *is?* should likewise be inclosed in a parenthesis.

[c] *Are witnesses thereto*;] Or, *are present with,* and keep *the same.*

[d] *The seal whereof shall be musk*;] i. e. The vessels containing the same shall be sealed with musk, instead of clay. Some understand by the *seal* of this wine, its farewel, or the flavour it will leave in the mouth after it is drank.

[e] *Tasnîm*] Is the name of a fountain in paradise, so called from its being conveyed to the highest apartments.

[f] *Whereof those shall drink who approach near unto the divine presence.*] For *they* shall drink the water of *Tasnîm* pure and unmixed, being continually and wholly employed in the contemplation of GOD; but the other inhabitants of paradise shall drink it mixed with their wine [3].

[g] *They are not sent to be keepers over them*;] i. e. The infidels are not commissioned by GOD to call the believers to account, or to judge of their actions.

[1] JALLAL. *Al* BEIDAWI. *See the prelim. Disc.* §. iv. *p.* 72. [2] JALLAL. *See the Prelim. Disc. ubi sup.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

the true believers, *in their turn*, ſhall laugh the infidels to ſcorn [a]: *lying* on couches they ſhall look down *upon them in hell.* Shall not the infidels be rewarded for that which they have done?

[a] *The believers ſhall laugh the infidels to ſcorn*;] When they ſhall ſee them ignominiouſly driven into hell. It is alſo ſaid, that a door ſhall be ſhewn the damned, opening into paradiſe, and they ſhall be bidden to go in; but when they come near the door, it ſhall be ſuddenly ſhut; and the believers within ſhall laugh at them [1].

[1] *Idem.*

CHAP. LXXXIV.

Intitled, The Rending in ſunder; *revealed at* MECCA [a].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHEN the heaven ſhall be rent in ſunder, and ſhall obey its LORD, and ſhall be capable *thereof*; and when the earth ſhall be ſtretched out [b], and ſhall caſt forth that which *is* therein [c], and ſhall remain empty, and ſhall obey its LORD, and ſhall be capable *thereof:* O man, verily labouring thou laboureſt to *meet* thy LORD, and thou ſhalt meet him [d]. And he who ſhall have his book given into his right hand, ſhall be called to an eaſy account, and ſhall turn unto his family [e] with joy: but he who ſhall have his book given him behind his back [f], ſhall invoke deſtruction *to fall upon him*, and he ſhall be ſent into hell to be burned; becauſe he rejoiced inſolently amidſt his family *on earth.* Verily he thought that he ſhould never return *unto GOD:* yea verily; but his LORD beheld him. Wherefore I ſwear [g] by the redneſs of the ſky after ſun-ſet, and by the night, and the *animals* which it driveth together, and by the moon when ſhe is at the full; ye ſhall ſurely be tranſferred *ſucceſſively* from ſtate to ſtate [h]. What *aileth* them, therefore, that they believe not *the reſurrection*; and that, when the KORAN is read unto them, they worſhip not [i]? Yea: the unbelievers accuſe *the ſame* of impoſture: but GOD well knoweth the *malice* which

[a] There are ſome who take this chapter to have been revealed at *Medina.*

[b] *When the earth ſhall be ſtretched out,*] Like a skin; every mountain and hill being levelled.

[c] *And ſhall caſt forth that which is therein*;] As the treaſures hidden in its bowels, and the dead bodies which lie in their graves.

[d] *And thou ſhalt meet him*;] Or, *And thou ſhalt meet thy labour*; whether thy works be good, or whether they be evil.

[e] *His family*;] *i. e.* His relations or friends who are true believers; or rather, to his wives and ſervants, of the damſels and youths of paradiſe, who wait to receive him [1].

[f] *Behind his back*;] That is, into his left hand; for the wicked will have that hand bound behind their back, and their right hand to their neck.

[g] *I ſwear*;] Or, *I will not ſwear.* See chap. 56. p. 436. not. f.

[h] *Ye ſhall ſurely be transferred from one ſtate to another*;] *i. e.* From the ſtate of the living, to that of the dead; and from the ſtate of the dead, to a new ſtate of life in another world.

[i] *They worſhip not,*] Or, *humble not themſelves.*

[1] *Idem.*

which they keep hidden *in their breaſts.* Wherefore denounce unto them a grievous puniſhment, except thoſe who believe and do good works: for them *is prepared* a never failing reward.

CHAP. LXXXV.

Intitled, The Celeſtial Signs; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the heaven *adorned* with ſigns [a]; by the promiſed day *of judgment*; by the witneſs, and the witneſſed [b]; curſed were the contrivers of the pit [c], of fire ſupplied with fewel; when they ſat round the ſame, and were witneſſes of what they did againſt the true believers [d]: and they afflicted them for no other reaſon, but becauſe they believed in the mighty, the glorious GOD, unto whom *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth: and GOD *is* witneſs of all things. Verily for thoſe who perſecute the true believers of either ſex, and afterwards repent not, *is prepared* the torment of hell; and they *ſhall ſuffer* the pain of burning [e]. But for thoſe who believe, and do that which is right, *are deſtined* gardens beneath which rivers flow: this *ſhall be* great felicity. Verily the vengeance of thy LORD *is* ſevere. He createth, and he reſtoreth *to life:*

[a] *Signs;*] The original word properly ſignifies *towers*; which ſome interpret of real towers [1], wherein it is ſuppoſed the angels keep guard [2]; and others, of the ſtars of the firſt magnitude: but the generality of expoſitors underſtand thereby the twelve ſigns of the zodiac, wherein the planets make their ſeveral ſtations [3].

[b] *By the witneſs, and the witneſſed.*] The meaning of theſe words is very uncertain, and the explications of the commentators conſequently vary. One thinks *the witneſs* to be *Mohammed*, and *that which is born witneſs of*, to be *the reſurrection*, or *the profeſſors of the* Mohammedan *faith*; or elſe that theſe latter are *the witneſs*, and the profeſſors of every other religion, thoſe who will be *witneſſed againſt* by them. Another ſuppoſes *the witneſs* to be the *guardian angel*, and his charge the perſon *witneſſed againſt*. Another expounds the words of the day of *Arafat*, the 9th of *Dhu'lhajja*, and of the day of ſlaying the victims, which is the day following; or elſe of *Friday*, the day of the weekly aſſembling of the *Mohammedans* at their moſques, and of the people who are aſſembled on thoſe days, *&c.* [4]

[c] *The contrivers of the pit;*] Literally, *the lords of the pit.* Theſe were the miniſters of the perſecution raiſed by *Dhu Nowâs*, king of *Yaman*, who was of the *Jewiſh* religion, againſt the inhabitants of *Najrân:* for they having embraced *Chriſtianity* (at that time the true religion, by the confeſſion of *Mohammed* himſelf) the bigotted tyrant commanded all thoſe, who would not renounce their faith, to be caſt into a pit, or trench, filled with fire, and there burnt to aſhes [5]. Others, however, tell the ſtory with different circumſtances [6].

[d] *And were witneſſes of what they did againſt the true believers;*] Or, as ſome chooſe to underſtand the words, *And ſhall be witneſſes againſt themſelves, at the day of judgment, of their unjuſt treatment of the true believers.*

[e] *They ſhall ſuffer the pain of burning;*] Which pain, it is ſaid, the perſecutors of the *Chriſtian* martyrs abovementioned felt in this life; the fire burſting forth upon them from the pit, and conſuming them [7].

[1] YAHYA. [2] *See chap.* 15. *p.* 24. [3] JALLAL. *Al* BEIDA WI, YAHYA. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.* V. POC. *Spec. p.* 62. ECCHELLENS. *Hiſt. Arab. part* 1. *c.* 10. *and* PRID. *Life of Mah. p.* 61. [6] V. D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abou Navas.* [7] *Al* BEIDAWI, YAHYA.

life: he *is* inclined to forgive, *and* gracious: the poſſeſſor of the glorious throne; who effecteth that which he pleaſeth. Hath not the ſtory of the hoſts, of PHARAOH [a], and of THAMUD [b], reached thee? Yet the unbelievers ceaſe not to accuſe *the divine revelations* of falſhood: but GOD encompaſſeth them behind, *that they cannot eſcape.* Verily *that which they reject* is a glorious KORAN; *the original whereof is written* in a table kept *in heaven* [c].

[a] See chap. 7. p. 128, &c.
[b] See ibid. p. 124, &c.
[c] *Kept in heaven;*] And preſerved from the leaſt change or corruption. See the Prelim. Diſc. §. III. p. 64, and §. IV. p. 75.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

Intitled, The Star which appeareth by night; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the heaven, and that which appeareth by night: but what ſhall cauſe thee to underſtand what that which appeareth by night *is? it is* the ſtar of piercing brightneſs [a]: every ſoul hath a guardian *ſet* over it. Let a man conſider, therefore, of what he is created. He is created of ſeed poured forth, iſſuing from the loins, and the breaſt-bones [b]. Verily *GOD is* able to reſtore him *to life,* the day whereon *all* ſecret thoughts and actions ſhall be examined into; and he ſhall have no power *to defend himſelf,* nor any protector. By the heaven which returneth *the rain* [c]; and by the earth which openeth *to let forth vegetables and ſprings:* verily this *is* a diſcourſe diſtinguiſhing *good from evil*; and it *is* not *compoſed* with lightneſs. Verily *the infidels* are laying a plot *to fruſtrate my deſigns:* but I will lay a plot *for their ruin.* Wherefore, O *prophet,* bear with the unbelievers: let them alone a while.

[a] *The ſtar of piercing brightneſs;*] Some take the words to ſignify any bright ſtar, without reſtriction: but others think ſome particular ſtar or ſtars to be thereby intended; which one ſuppoſes to be the morning ſtar, (peculiarly called *al Târek,* or *the appearing by night*;) another, *Saturn,* (that planet being by the *Arabs* ſurnamed *al Thakeb,* or *the piercing,* as it was by the *Greeks, Phænon,* or the *ſhining*;) and a third, the *Pleiades.*

[b] *From the loins, and the breaſt-bones*;] i. e. From the loins of the man, and the breaſt-bones of the woman [1].

[c] *Which returneth the rain*;] Or, as ſome expound it, *Which performeth its periodic motion, returning* to the point from whence it began the ſame. The words ſeem deſigned to expreſs the alternate returns of the different ſeaſons of the year.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, YAHYA.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

Intitled, The moſt High [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

PRAISE the name of thy LORD, the moſt high; who hath created, and compleatly formed *his creatures:* and who determineth *them to various ends* [b], and directeth *them to attain the ſame* [c]; and who produceth the paſture *for cattle,* and *afterwards* rendreth the ſame dry ſtubble of a duſky hue. We will enable thee to rehearſe *our revelations* [d]; and thou ſhalt not forget *any part thereof,* except what GOD ſhall pleaſe [e]; for he knoweth that which is manifeſt, and that which is hidden. And we will facilitate unto thee the moſt eaſy *way* [f]. Wherefore admoniſh *thy people,* if *thy* admonition ſhall be profitable *unto them.* Whoſo feareth GOD, he will be admoniſhed: but the moſt wretched *unbeliever* will turn away therefrom; who ſhall be caſt to be broiled in the greater fire *of hell,* wherein he ſhall not die, neither ſhall he live. Now hath he attained felicity who is purified *by faith,* and who remembreth the name of his LORD, and prayeth. But ye prefer this preſent life: yet the life to come *is* better, and more durable. Verily this *is written* in the ancient books, the books of ABRAHAM and MOSES.

[a] Some take the firſt word of this chapter, viz. *Praiſe,* for its title.

[b] *Who determineth them to various ends;*] Determining their various ſpecies, properties, ways of life, *&c.* [1]

[c] *And directeth them,* &c.] Guiding the rational by their reaſon and alſo by revelation, and the irrational by inſtinct [2], *&c.*

[d] See chap. 75. p. 474.

[e] *Except what* GOD *ſhall pleaſe;*] *i. e.* Except ſuch revelations as GOD ſhall think fit to abrogate, and blot out of thy memory. See chap. 2. p. 14, and chap. 75. p. 474.

[f] *We will facilitate unto thee the moſt eaſy way;*] To retain the relations communicated to thee by *Gabriel:* or, as ſome underſtand the words, *We will diſpoſe thee to the profeſſion and ſtrict obſervance of the moſt eaſy religion,* that is, of *Iſlâm.*

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] *Idem.*

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

Intitled, The Overwhelming [a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

HATH the news of the overwhelming *day of judgment* reached thee? The countenances *of ſome,* on that day, *ſhall be* caſt down; labouring *and*

[a] *The overwhelming;*] This is a name, or epithet, of the laſt day; becauſe it will ſuddenly *overwhelm* all creatures with fear and aſtoniſhment. It is alſo a name, or epithet, of hell-fire.

and toiling [a]: they ſhall be caſt into ſcorching fire to be broiled: they ſhall be given to drink of a boiling fountain: they ſhall have no food, but of dry thorns and thiſtles [b]; which ſhall not fatten, neither ſhall they ſatisfy hunger. *But* the countenances *of others*, on that day, *ſhall be* joyful; well pleaſed with their *paſt* endeavour: they *ſhall be placed* in a lofty garden, wherein thou ſhalt hear no vain diſcourſe: therein *ſhall be* a running fountain: therein *ſhall be* raiſed beds, and goblets placed *before them*, and cuſhions laid in order, and carpets ready ſpread. Do they not conſider the camels [c], how they are created; and the heaven, how it is raiſed; and the mountains, how they are fixed; and the earth, how it is extended? Wherefore warn *thy people*; for thou *art* a warner only: thou art not impowered to act with authority over them. But whoever ſhall turn back [d], and disbelieve, GOD ſhall puniſh him with the greater puniſhment *of the life to come*. Verily unto us ſhall they return: then ſhall it be our part to bring them to account.

[a] *Labouring and toiling*;] i. e. Dragging their chains, and labouring through hell-fire, as camels labour thro' mud, *&c.* Or, *Employing and fatiguing themſelves* in what ſhall not avail them [1].

[b] *Dry thorns and thiſtles*;] Such as the camels eat when green and tender. Some take the original word *al Darí* for the name of a thorny tree.

[c] *Do they not conſider the camels*, &c.] Theſe animals are of ſuch uſe, or rather neceſſity, in the eaſt, that the creation of a ſpecies ſo wonderfully adapted to thoſe countries, is a very proper inſtance, to an *Arabian*, of the power and wiſdom of GOD.

Some, however, think the *clouds* (which the original word *ibl* alſo ſignifies,) are here intended; *the heaven* being mentioned immediately after.

[d] *But whoever ſhall turn back*, &c.] Or, *Except him who ſhall turn back, and be an infidel: and* GOD *ſhall alſo puniſh him*, &c. By which exception ſome ſuppoſe that power is here given to *Mohammed* to chaſtiſe obſtinate infidels and apoſtates.

[1] *Idem.*

CHAP. LXXXIX.

Intitled, The Day-break; *revealed at* MECCA [a].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the day-break, and ten nights [b]; by that which is double, and that which is ſingle [c]; and by the night when it cometh on: *is there* not in this

[a] Some are of opinion this chapter was revealed at *Medina*.

[b] *The ten nights*;] That is, The ten nights of *Dhu'lhajja*, or the tenth of that month, (whence ſome underſtand the *day-break* mentioned juſt before, of the morning of that day, or of the preceding;) or the nights of the 10th of *Moharram*; or, as others rather think, the 10th, 11th, and 12th of *Dhu'lhajja*. All which are days peculiarly ſacred among the *Mohammedans*.

[c] *By that which is double, and that which is ſingle*:] Theſe words are variouſly interpreted. Some underſtand thereby all things in general; ſome, all created beings, (which are ſaid to have been created by pairs, or of two kinds [1],) and the Creator, who is ſingle; ſome, of the *primum mobile*, and the other orbs; ſome, of the conſtellations, and the planets; ſome, of the nights before mentioned, taken either together or ſingly; and ſome, of the day of ſlaying the victims, (the 10th of *Dhu'lhajja*,) and of the day of *Arafat*, which is the day before, *&c.* [2]

[1] *See chap.* 51. p. 423.

[2] *Al* ZAMAKH.

this an oath formed with underſtanding? Haſt thou not conſidered how thy LORD dealt with AD, *the people of* IREM [a], adorned with lofty buildings [b], the like whereof hath not been erected in the land [c]; and with THAMUD, who hewed the rocks in the valley [d] *into houſes*; and with PHARAOH, the contriver of the ſtakes [e]: who had behaved inſolently in the earth, and multiplied corruption therein? Wherefore thy LORD poured on them various kinds [f] of chaſtiſement: for thy LORD *is* ſurely in a watch-tower, *whence he obſerveth the actions of men.* Moreover man, when his LORD trieth him *by proſperity*, and honoureth him, and is bounteous unto him, ſaith, My LORD honoureth me: but when he proveth him *by afflictions*, and withholdeth his proviſions from him, he ſaith, My LORD deſpiſeth me. By no means [g]: but ye honour not the orphan, neither do ye excite *one another* to feed the poor; and ye devour the

[a] *Irem*] Was the name of the territory or city of the *Adites*, and of the garden mentioned in the next note; which were ſo called from *Irem*, or *Aram*, the grandfather of *Ad*, their progenitor. Some think *Aram* himſelf to be here meant, and his name to be added to ſignify the *ancient Adites*, his immediate deſcendants, and to diſtinguiſh them from the latter tribe of that name [1]: but the adjective and relative joined to the word are, in the original, of the feminine gender, which ſeems to contradict this opinion.

[b] *Adorned with lofty buildings*;] Or *pillars*. Some imagine theſe words are uſed to expreſs the great ſize and ſtrength of the old *Adites* [2]; and then they ſhould be tranſlated, *who were of enormous ſtature*. But the more exact commentators take the paſſage to relate to the ſumptuous palace and delightful gardens built and made by *Sheddâd* the Son of *Ad*. For they ſay *Ad* left two ſons, *Sheddâd* and *Sheddîd*, who reigned jointly after his deceaſe, and extended their power over the greater part of the world: but *Sheddîd* dying, his brother became ſole monarch; who, having heard of the *celeſtial paradiſe*, made a garden, in imitation thereof, in the deſarts of *Aden*, and called it *Irem*, after the name of his great grandfather: when it was finiſhed, he ſet out, with a great attendance, to take a view of it; but when they were come within a day's journey of the place, they were all deſtroyed by a terrible noiſe from heaven. *Al Beidawi* adds that one *Abdallah Ebn Kelâbah* (whom, after *D'Herbelot*, I have elſewhere named *Colabah* [3]) accidentally hit on this wonderful place, as he was ſeeking a camel.

[c] *The like whereof hath not been erected in the land*;] If we ſuppoſe the preceding words to relate to the vaſt ſtature of the *Adites*, theſe muſt be tranſlated, *The like of whom have not been created*, &c.

[d] *Who hewed the rocks in the valley*;] The learned *Greaves*, in his tranſlation of *Abu'lfeda's* deſcription of *Arabia* [4], has falſly rendered theſe words, which are there quoted, *Quibus petræ vallis reſponſum dederunt*, i. e. *To whom the rocks of the valley returned anſwer*: which ſlip being made by ſo great a man, I do not at all wonder that *la Roque*, and *Petis de la Croix*, from whoſe *Latin* verſion, and with whoſe aſſiſtance, *la Roque* made his *French* tranſlation of the aforeſaid treatiſe, have been led into the ſame miſtake, and rendered thoſe words, *A qui les pierres de la valée rendirent réponſe* [5]. The valley here meant, ſay the commentators [6], is *Wâdi 'lkora*, lying about one days journey [7], (not five and upwards, as *Abu'lfeda* will have it) from *al Hejr*.

[e] See chap. 38. p. 372.

[f] *Various kinds*;] The original word ſignifies a *mixture*, and alſo a *ſcourge* of platted thongs: whence ſome ſuppoſe the *chaſtiſement of this life* is here repreſented by a *ſcourge*, and intimated to be as much lighter than that of the next life, as *ſcourging* is lighter than death [8].

[g] *By no means*;] For worldly proſperity or adverſity is not a certain mark either of the favour or diſfavour of GOD.

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL. [2] *Idem. See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 7. [3] *Prelim. Diſc. p.* 6. [4] *Pag.* 43. *It was publiſhed by Dr.* HUDSON, *in the third Vol. of the Geographiæ veteris Scriptor. Gr. minor.* [5] *Deſcr. de l'Arabie, miſe à la ſuite du Voyage de la Paleſtine, par* LA ROQUE, *p.* 35. [6] JALLAL. *Al* BEIDAWI. [7] EBN HAWKAL, *apud* ABULF. *ubi ſupr. Geogr. Nub. p.* 110. [8] *Al* BEIDAWI.

the inheritance *of the weak* [a], with undiſtinguiſhing greedineſs; and ye love riches, with much affection. By no means *ſhould ye do thus.* When the earth ſhall be minutely ground to duſt; and thy LORD ſhall come, and the angels rank by rank; and hell, on that day, ſhall be brought nigh [b]: on that day ſhall man call to remembrance *his evil deeds*; but how *ſhall* remembrance *avail* him? He ſhall ſay, Would to GOD that I had heretofore done *good works* in my life-time [c]! On that day none ſhall puniſh with his puniſhment; nor ſhall any bind with his bonds [d]. O thou ſoul which art at reſt [e], return unto thy LORD, well pleaſed *with thy reward, and* well pleaſing *unto GOD:* enter among my ſervants; and enter my paradiſe.

[a] *Ye devour the inheritance of the weak*;] Not ſuffering women or young children to have any ſhare in the inheritance of their husbands or parents. See chap. 4. p. 61.

[b] *And hell ſhall be brought nigh*;] There is a tradition that at the laſt day hell will be dragged towards the tribunal by 70,000 halters, each halter being hawled by 70,000 angels; and that it will come with great roaring and fury [1].

[c] *In my life-time*;] Or, *For* this *my* latter *life.*

[d] *None ſhall puniſh with his puniſhment*, &c.] i. e. None ſhall be able to puniſh or to bind, as GOD ſhall then puniſh and bind the wicked [2].

[e] *O thou ſoul which art at reſt*;] Some expound this of the ſoul which having, by purſuing the concatenation of natural cauſes, raiſed it ſelf to the knowledge of that Being which produced them, and exiſts of neceſſity, *reſts* fully contented, or *acquieſces* in the knowledge of him, and the contemplation of his perfections. By this the reader will obſerve that the *Mohammedans* are no ſtrangers to *Quietiſm.* Others, however, underſtand the words of the ſoul which having attained the knowledge of the truth, *reſts* ſatisfied, and *relies ſecurely* thereon, undiſturbed by doubts; or of the ſoul which is *ſecure* of its ſalvation, and free from fear or ſorrow [3].

[1] *Idem*, JALLAL. [2] *Iidem.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. XC.

Intitled, The Territory; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

I Swear [a] by this territory [b], (and thou, *O prophet*, reſideſt in this territory [c],) and by the begetter, and that which he hath begotten [d]; verily we have created man in miſery [e]. Doth he think that none ſhall prevail

[a] *I ſwear*;] Or, *I will not ſwear*, &c. See chap. 56. p. 436. not. f.

[b] *This territory*;] *Viz.* The ſacred territory of *Mecca.*

[c] *And thou reſideſt in this territory*;] Or, *Thou ſhalt be allowed to do what thou pleaſeſt in this territory*; the words, in this ſenſe, importing a promiſe of that abſolute power which *Mohammed* attained, on the taking of *Mecca* [1].

[d] *By the begetter, and that which he hath begotten*;] Some underſtand theſe words generally; others of *Adam*, or *Abraham*, and of their offſpring, and of *Mohammed* in particular [2].

[e] *We have created man in miſery*;] Or, *to trouble.* This paſſage was revealed to comfort the prophet under the perſecutions of the *Koreiſh* [3].

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

over him [a]? He ſaith, I have waſted plenty of riches [b]. Doth he think that none ſeeth him? Have we not made him two eyes, and a tongue, and two lips; and ſhewn him the two highways *of good and evil?* Yet he attempteth not the cliff. What ſhall make thee to underſtand what the cliff *is? It is* to free the captive; or to feed, in the day of famine, the orphan who is of kin, or the poor man who lieth on the ground. *Whoſo doth this*, and is *one* of thoſe who believe, and recommend perſeverance unto each other, and recommend mercy unto each other; theſe *ſhall be* the companions of the right-hand [c]. But they who ſhall disbelieve our ſigns, ſhall be the companions of the left-hand [d]: above them *ſhall be* arched fire.

[a] *Doth he think that none ſhall prevail over him?*] Some expoſitors take a particular perſon to be here intended, who was one of *Mohammed*'s moſt inveterate adverſaries; as *Al Walid Ebn al Mogheira* [1]: others ſuppoſe *Abu'l Aſhadd Ebn Calda* to be the man; who was ſo very ſtrong, that a large skin being ſpread under his feet, and ten men pulling at it, they could not make him fall, though they tore the skin to pieces [2].

[b] *I have waſted plenty of riches;*] In a vain and oſtentatious manner; or, in oppoſing of *Mohammed* [3].

[c] See chap. 56. p. 434.

[d] See *ibid.*

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*

CHAP. XCI.

Intitled, The Sun; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the Sun, and its riſing brightneſs; by the moon, when ſhe followeth him [a]; by the day, when it ſheweth his ſplendor; by the night, when it covereth him with darkneſs; by the heaven, and him who built it; by the earth, and him who ſpread it forth; by the ſoul, and him who compleatly formed it, and inſpired into the ſame its *faculty of diſtinguiſhing, and power of chooſing*, wickedneſs and piety: now is he who hath purified the ſame, happy; but he who hath corrupted the ſame, is miſerable. THAMUD accuſed *their prophet* SALEH of impoſture, through the exceſs of their wickedneſs: when the wretch [b] among them was ſent *to ſlay the camel*; and the apoſtle of GOD ſaid unto them, *Let alone* the camel of GOD; and *hinder not* her drinking. But they charged him with impoſture; and they ſlew her. Wherefore their LORD deſtroyed them, for their crime, and made *their puniſhment* equal *unto them all*: and he feareth not the iſſue thereof,

[a] *When ſhe followeth him;*] i. e. When ſhe riſes juſt after him, as ſhe does at the beginning of the month; or when ſhe ſets after him, as happens when ſhe is a little paſt the full [1].

[b] *The wretch;*] Viz. *Kedâr Ebn Sâlef.* See chap. 7. p. 125. and chap. 54. p. 430.

[1] *Idem.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XCII.

Intitled, The Night; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the night, when it covereth *all things* with darkneſs; by the day, when it ſhineth forth; by him who hath created the male, and the female: verily your endeavour *is* different. Now whoſo is obedient, and feareth *GOD*, and profeſſeth the truth of that *faith* which is moſt excellent; unto him will we facilitate *the way* to happineſs: but whoſo ſhall be covetous, and ſhall be wholly taken up *with this world*, and ſhall deny the truth of that which is moſt excellent; unto him will we facilitate *the way* to miſery; and his riches ſhall not profit him, when he ſhall fall headlong *into hell*. Verily unto us *appertaineth* the direction *of mankind*: and ours *is* the life to come, and the preſent life. Wherefore I threaten you with fire which burneth fiercely, which none ſhall enter to be burned except the moſt wretched; who ſhall have disbelieved, and turned back. But he who ſtrictly bewareth *idolatry and rebellion*, ſhall be removed far from the ſame; who giveth his ſubſtance in alms, and by whom no benefit *is beſtowed* on any, that it may be recompenſed, but *who beſtoweth the ſame* for the ſake of his LORD, the moſt High [a]: and hereafter he ſhall be well ſatisfied *with his reward*.

[a] *By whom no benefit is beſtowed on any, that it may be recompenſed*, &c.] *Jallalo'ddin* thinks this whole deſcription belongs peculiarly to *Abu Becr*: for when he had purchaſed *Belâl*, the *Ethiopian* (afterwards the prophet's *Muedhdhin*, or cryer to prayers) who had been put to the rack on account of his faith, the infidels ſaid he did it only out of a view of intereſt; upon which this paſſage was revealed.

CHAP. XCIII.

Intitled, The Brightneſs; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the brightneſs *of the morning* [a]; and by the night, when it groweth dark:

thy

[a] *The brightneſs of the morning*;] The original word properly ſignifies the bright part of the day, when the ſun ſhines full out, three or four hours after it is riſen.

thy LORD hath not forſaken thee, neither doth he hate *thee* [a]. Verily the life to come *ſhall be* better for thee than this preſent life: and thy LORD ſhall give thee *a reward* wherewith thou ſhalt be well pleaſed. Did he not find thee an orphan, and hath he not taken care *of thee?* And did he not find thee wandring in error, and hath he not guided *thee into the truth?* And did he not find thee needy, and hath he not enriched *thee?* Wherefore oppreſs not the orphan; neither repulſe the beggar: but declare the goodneſs of thy LORD.

[a] *Thy* LORD *hath not forſaken thee*, &c.] It is related, that no revelation having been vouchſafed to *Mohammed* for ſeveral days, in anſwer to ſome queſtions put to him by the *Koreiſh*, becauſe he had confidently promiſed to reſolve them the next day, without adding the exception, *if it pleaſe* GOD [1], or becauſe he had repulſed an importunate beggar, or elſe becauſe a dead puppy lay under his ſeat, or for ſome other reaſon: his enemies ſaid that GOD had left him: whereupon this chapter was ſent down for his conſolation [2].

[3] *See chap.* 18. *p.* 241. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL.

CHAP. XCIV.

Intitled, Have we not opened; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

HAVE we not opened thy breaſt [a]; and eaſed thee of thy burthen [b], which galled thy back; and raiſed thy reputation for thee? Verily a difficulty *ſhall be attended* with eaſe. Verily a difficulty *ſhall be attended* with eaſe. When thou ſhalt have ended *thy preaching*, labour *to ſerve* GOD *in return for his favours* [c]; and make thy ſupplication unto thy LORD.

[a] *Have we not opened thy breaſt*;] By diſpoſing and enlarging it to receive the truth, and wiſdom, and prophecy; or, by freeing thee from uneaſineſs, and ignorance? This paſſage is thought to intimate the *opening* of *Mohammed*'s heart, in his infancy, or when he took his journey to heaven, by the angel *Gabriel*; who having wrung out the black drop, or ſeed of original ſin, waſhed and cleanſed the ſame, and filled it with wiſdom and faith [1]: but ſome think it relates to the occaſion of the preceding chapter [2].

[b] *And eaſed thee of thy burthen*;] i. e. Of thy ſins committed before thy miſſion; or of thy ignorance, or trouble of mind.

[c] *When thou ſhalt have finiſhed thy preaching, labour to ſerve* GOD, *&c.*] Or, *When thou ſhalt have finiſhed* thy prayer, *labour* in preaching the faith [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, YAHYA. *V.* ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 9. *&* 33. PRID. *Life of Mah. p.* 105, &c.
[2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XCV.

Intitled, The Fig: *where it was revealed is diſputed.*

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the fig, and the olive [a]; and by mount SINAI, and this territory of ſecurity [b]: verily we created man of a moſt excellent fabric; afterwards we rendred him the vileſt of the vile [c]: except thoſe who believe, and work righteouſneſs; for they ſhall receive an endleſs reward. What therefore ſhall cauſe thee to deny the *day of* judgment after *this* [d]? Is not GOD the moſt wiſe judge?

[a] *By the fig and the olive;*] GOD, ſay the commentators, ſwears by theſe two fruits, becauſe of their great uſes and virtues: for the fig is wholeſome and of eaſy digeſtion, and phyſically good to carry off phlegm, and gravel in the kidneys or bladder, and to remove obſtructions of the liver and ſpleen, and alſo cures the piles, and the gout, *&c.* the olive produces oil, which is not only excellent to eat, but otherwiſe uſeful for the compounding of ointments [1]; the wood of the olive-tree moreover is good for cleanſing the teeth, preventing their growing rotten, and giving a good odour to the mouth; for which reaſon the prophets and *Mohammed* in particular, made uſe of no other for tooth-picks [2].

Some, however, ſuppoſe that theſe words do not mean the fruits or trees above-mentioned, but two mountains in the holy land, where they grow in plenty; or elſe the temple of *Damaſcus* and that at *Jeruſalem* [3].

[b] *This territory of ſecurity;*] Viz. The territory of *Mecca* [4]. Theſe words ſeem to argue the chapter to have been revealed there.

[c] *We created man of a moſt excellent fabric; afterwards we rendred him the vileſt of the vile:*] i. e. as the commentators generally expound this paſſage, *We created man of comely proportion of body, and great perfection of mind; and yet we have doomed him, in caſe of diſobedience, to be an inhabitant of hell.* Some, however, underſtand the words of the vigorous conſtitution of man in the prime and ſtrength of his age, and of his miſerable decay when he becomes old and decrepit: but they ſeem rather to intimate the perfect ſtate of happineſs wherein man was originally created, and his fall from thence, in conſequence of *Adam*'s diſobedience, to a ſtate of miſery in this world, and becoming liable to one infinitely more miſerable in the next [5].

[d] *What ſhall cauſe thee to deny the day of judgment after this?*] Some ſuppoſe theſe words directed to *Mohammed*, and others to *man* in general, by way of apoſtrophe.

[1] *Idem, Al* ZAMAKH. [2] *Al* ZAMAKH. [3] *Idem,* YAHYA, *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL.
[4] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. [5] V. MARRACC. *in loc. p.* 809.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCVI.

Intitled, Congealed Blood; *revealed at* MECCA[a].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

READ, in the name of thy LORD, who hath created *all things*; who hath created man of congealed blood[b]. Read, by thy moſt beneficent LORD[c]; who taught the uſe of the pen; who teacheth man that which he knoweth not. Aſſuredly. Verily man becometh inſolent, becauſe he ſeeth himſelf abound in riches[d]. Verily unto thy LORD *ſhall be* the return *of all.* What thinkeſt thou *as to* him who forbiddeth *our* ſervant, when he prayeth[e]? What thinkeſt thou; if he follow the *right* direction; or command piety? What thinkeſt thou; if he accuſe *the divine revelations* of falſhood, and turn his back? Doth he not know that GOD ſeeth? Aſſuredly. Verily, if he forbear not, we will dragg him by the forelock[f], the lying, ſinful forelock. And let him call his council[g] *to his aſſiſtance:* we alſo will call the infernal guards *to caſt him into hell.* Aſſuredly. Obey him not: but *continue to* adore *GOD*; and draw nigh *unto him.*

[a] The firſt five verſes of this chapter, ending with the words, *Who taught man that which he knew not*, are generally allowed to be the firſt paſſage of the *Korân* which was revealed, tho' ſome give this honour to the 74th chapter, and others to the firſt, the next, they ſay, being the 68th.

[b] *Of congealed blood*;] All men being created of thick or concreted blood [1], except only *Adam*, *Eve*, and *Jeſus* [2].

[c] *Read, by thy moſt beneficent* LORD;] Theſe words, containing a repetition of the command, are ſuppoſed to be a reply to *Mohammed*, who in anſwer to the former words ſpoken by the angel, had declared that he could not read, being perfectly illiterate; and intimate a promiſe that GOD, who had inſpired man with the art of writing, would graciouſly remedy this defect in him [3].

[d] *Verily man becometh inſolent*, &c.] The commentators agree the remaining part of the chapter to have been revealed againſt *Abu Jahl*, *Mohammed*'s great adverſary.

[e] *He who forbiddeth our ſervant when he prayeth*;] For *Abu Jahl* threatened that if he catched *Mohammed* in the act of adoration, he would ſet his foot on his neck: but when he came and ſaw him in that poſture, he ſuddenly turned back as in a fright; and being asked what was the matter, ſaid, there was a ditch of fire between himſelf and *Mohammed*, and a terrible appearance of troops, to defend him [4].

[f] See chap. 11. p. 181. not. h.

[g] *Let him call his council*;] i. e. The council or aſſembly of the principal *Meccans*, the far greater part of whom adhered to *Abu Jahl.*

[1] *See chap. 22. p. 274.* [2] YAHYA. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XCVII.

Intitled, AL KADR; *where it was revealed is diſputed.*

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

VErily we ſent down *the* KORAN in the night of AL KADR [a]. And what ſhall make thee underſtand *how excellent* the night of AL KADR *is?* The night of AL KADR *is* better than a thouſand months. Therein do the angels deſcend, and the ſpirit *GABRIEL* alſo, by the permiſſion of their LORD, *with his decrees* concerning every matter [b]. It *is* peace, until the riſing of the morn.

[a] *The night of* al Kadr.] The word *al Kadr* ſignifies *power*, and *honour* or *dignity*, and alſo the *divine decree*; and the night is ſo named either from its *excellence* above all other nights in the year, or becauſe, as the *Mohammedans* believe, the *divine decrees* for the enſuing year are annually on this night fixed and ſettled, or taken from the *preſerved table* by GOD's throne, and given to the angels to be executed [1]. On this night *Mohammed* received his firſt revelations; when the *Korân*, ſay the commentators, was ſent down from the aforeſaid table, entire and in one volume, to the loweſt heaven, from whence *Gabriel* revealed it to *Mohammed* by parcels, as occaſion required.

The *Moſlem* doctors are not agreed where to fix the night of *al Kadr:* the greater part are of opinion that it is one of the ten laſt nights of *Ramadân*, and, as is commonly believed, the 7th of thoſe nights, reckoning backwards; by which means it will fall between the 23d and 24th days of that month [2].

[b] See the preceding note, and chap. 44. p. 401.

[1] *See chap.* 44. *p.* 401. [2] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL.

CHAP. XCVIII.

Intitled, The Evidence[a]; *where it was revealed is diſputed.*

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THE unbelievers among thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given, and *among* the idolaters, did not ſtagger [b], until the *clear* evidence [c] had come

[a] Some intitle this chapter, from the firſt words, *Did not.*

[b] *Did not ſtagger*;] i. e. Did not waver in their religion, or in their promiſes to follow the truth, when an apoſtle ſhould come unto them. For the commentators pretend that before the appearance of *Mohammed*, the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, as well as the worſhippers of idols, unanimouſly believed and expected the coming of that prophet, until which time they declared they would perſevere in their reſpective religions, and then would follow him: but when he came, they rejected him through envy [1].

[c] *The clear evidence*;] Viz. *Mohammed*, or the *Korân.*

[1] *Idem.*

come unto them: an apoſtle from GOD, rehearſing *unto them* pure books *of revelations*; wherein *are contained* right diſcourſes. Neither were they unto whom the ſcriptures were given divided among themſelves, until after the *clear* evidence had come unto them [a]. And they were commanded no other *in the ſcriptures* than to worſhip GOD, exhibiting unto him the pure religion, and being orthodox; and to be conſtant at prayer, and to give alms [b]: and this *is* the right religion. Verily thoſe who believe not, among thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, and among the idolaters, *ſhall be caſt* into the fire of hell, to remain therein *for ever*. Theſe are the worſt of creatures. But they who believe, and do good works; theſe are the beſt of creatures: their reward with their LORD *ſhall be* gardens of perpetual abode, through which rivers flow; they ſhall remain therein for ever. GOD will be well pleaſed in them; and they ſhall be well pleaſed in him. This *is prepared* for him who ſhall fear his LORD.

[a] *Were not divided among themſelves, until after the clear evidence had come unto them*;] But when the promiſed apoſtle was ſent, and the truth became manifeſt to them, they withſtood the cleareſt conviction, differing from one another in their opinions; ſome believing and acknowledging *Mohammed* to be the prophet foretold in the ſcriptures, and others denying it [1].

[b] *They were commanded no other than to worſhip* GOD, &c.] But theſe divine precepts in the law and the goſpel have they corrupted, changed, and violated [2].

[1] *Iidem.* [2] *Iidem.*

CHAP. XCIX.

Intitled, The Earthquake; *where it was revealed is diſputed.*

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHEN the earth ſhall be ſhaken by an earthquake [a]; and the earth ſhall caſt forth her burthens [b]; and a man ſhall ſay, What aileth her? On that day *the earth* ſhall declare her tidings, for that thy LORD will inſpire her [c]. On that day men ſhall go forward in diſtinct claſſes, that they may behold their works. And whoever ſhall have wrought good of the weight of an ant [d], ſhall behold the ſame. And whoever ſhall have wrought evil of the weight of an ant, ſhall behold the ſame.

[a] *When the earth ſhall be ſhaken*, &c.] This earthquake will happen at the firſt, or, as others ſay, at the ſecond blaſt of the trumpet [1].

[b] *Its burthens*;] Viz. The treaſures and dead bodies within it [2].

[c] *The earth ſhall declare her tidings*, &c.] i. e. Will inform all creatures of the occaſion of her trembling, and caſting forth her treaſures and her dead, by the circumſtances which ſhall immediately attend them. Some ſay the earth will, at the laſt day, be miraculouſly enabled to ſpeak, and will give evidence of the actions of her inhabitants [3].

[d] See chap. 4. p. 66. not. d.

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI. *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 82. [2] *See chap.* 84. *p.* 485.
[3] *Al* BEIDAWI. *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. p. 88.

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CHAP. C.

Intitled, The War-Horſes which run ſwiftly; *where it was revealed is diſputed.*

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

BY the *war-horſes* which run ſwiftly *to the battle,* with a panting noiſe; and by thoſe which ſtrike fire, by daſhing *their hoofs againſt the ſtones*; and by thoſe which make a ſudden incurſion *on the enemy* early in the morning, and therein raiſe the duſt, and therein paſs through the midſt of the *adverſe* troops [a]: verily man *is* ungrateful unto his LORD; and he *is* witneſs thereof: and he *is* immoderate in the love of *worldly* good. Doth he not know, therefore, when that which *is* in the graves ſhall be taken forth, and that which *is* in *men's* breaſts ſhall be brought to light, that their LORD *will,* on that day, *be* fully informed concerning them?

[a] *By the war-horſes which run ſwiftly,* &c.] Some will have it that not *horſes,* but the *camels* which went to the battle of *Bedr,* are meant in this paſſage [1]. Others interpret all the parts of the oath of the *human ſoul* [2]; but their explications ſeem a little forced, and therefore I chooſe to omit them.

[1] YAHYA, *ex trad. Ali Ebn Abi Taleb.* [2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. CI.

Intitled, The Striking; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THE ſtriking [a]! What *is* the ſtriking? And what ſhall make thee to underſtand how *terrible* the ſtriking *will be?* On that day men ſhall be like moths ſcattered abroad, and the mountains ſhall become like carded wool of various colours *driven by the wind.* Moreover he whoſe balance ſhall be heavy *with good works,* ſhall lead a pleaſing life: but *as to* him whoſe balance ſhall be light, his dwelling *ſhall be* the pit *of hell* [b]. What ſhall

[a] *The ſtriking!*] This is one of the names or epithets given to the laſt day, becauſe it will *ſtrike the hearts of all creatures with terror* [1].

[b] *The pit of hell;*] The original word *Hâwiyat* is the name of the loweſt dungeon of hell, and properly ſignifies a *deep pit* or *gulf.*

[1] *Idem,* JALLAL.

make thee to understand how *frightful* the pit *of hell is?* *It is* a burning fire.

CHAP. CII.

Intitled, The emulous Desire of multiplying; *where it was revealed is disputed.*

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

THE emulous desire of multiplying *riches and children* employeth you, until ye visit the graves [a]. By no means *should ye thus employ your time:* hereafter shall ye know *your folly.* Again, By no means: hereafter shall ye know *your folly.* By no means: if ye knew *the consequence hereof* with certainty of knowledge, *ye would not act thus.* Verily ye shall see hell: again, ye shall surely see it with the eye of certainty. Then shall ye be examined, on that day, concerning the pleasures *with which ye have amused yourselves in this life.*

[a] *The emulous desire of multiplying riches and children employeth you, until ye visit the graves;*] i. e. Until ye die. According to the exposition of some commentators, the words should be rendred thus; *The contending* or vying *in numbers wholly employeth you, so that ye visit even the graves,* to number the dead: to explain which, they relate that there was a great dispute and contention between the descendants of *Abd Menâf* and the descendants of *Sahm,* which of the two families were the more numerous; and it being found, on calculation, that the children of *Abd Menâf* exceeded those of *Sahm,* the *Sahmites* said that their numbers had been much diminished by wars in the time of ignorance, and insisted that the dead, as well as the living, should be taken into the account; and by this way of reckoning they were found to be more than the descendants of *Abd Menâf* [1].

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL.

CHAP. CIII.

Intitled, The Afternoon; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

BY the afternoon [a]; verily man *employeth himself* in *that which will prove of* loss: except those who believe, and do that which is right; and *who* mutually recommend the truth, and mutually recommend perseverance unto each other.

[a] *By the afternoon*;] Or the time from the sun's declination to his setting; which is one of the five appointed times of prayer. The original word also signifies, *The age,* or *time* in general.

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CHAP. CIV.

Intitled, The Slanderer; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WO unto every ſlanderer, *and* backbiter [a]: who heapeth up riches, and prepareth the ſame *for the time to come!* He thinketh that his riches will render him immortal. By no means. He ſhall ſurely be caſt into AL HOTAMA [b]. And what ſhall cauſe thee to underſtand what AL HOTAMA *is?* *It is* the kindled fire of GOD [c]; which ſhall mount above the hearts *of thoſe who ſhall be caſt therein.* Verily it *ſhall be as* an arched vault above them, on columns of vaſt extent.

[a] *Wo unto every ſlanderer and backbiter,* &c.] This paſſage is ſaid to have been revealed againſt *al Akhnas Ebn Shoreik,* or *al Walîd Ebn al Mogheira,* or *Omeyya Ebn Khalf,* who were all guilty of ſlandering others, and eſpecially the prophet [1].

[b] *Al Hotama;*] Is one of the names of hell, or the name of one of its apartments [2]; which is ſo called becauſe it will *break in pieces* whatever ſhall be thrown into it.

[c] *It is the kindled fire of* GOD;] And therefore ſhall not be extinguiſhed by any [3].

[1] *Iidem.* [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 92. [3] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. CV.

Intitled, The Elephant; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

HAST thou not ſeen how thy LORD dealt with the maſters of the elephant [a]? Did he not make their treacherous deſign an occaſion of drawing them into error; and ſend againſt them flocks of birds, which caſt down

[a] *How thy* LORD *dealt with the maſters of the elephant;*] This chapter relates to the following piece of hiſtory, which is famous among the *Arabs. Abraha Ebn al Sabâh,* ſurnamed *al Aſhram,* i. e. *the Slit-noſed,* king or vice-roy of *Yaman,* who was an *Ethiopian* [1], and of the *Chriſtian* religion, having built a magnificent church at *Sanáa,* with a deſign to draw the *Arabs* to go in pilgrimage thither, inſtead of viſiting the temple of *Mecca,* the *Koreiſh,* obſerving the devotion and concourſe of the pilgrims at the *Caaba* began conſiderably to diminiſh, ſent one

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 10.

down upon them ſtones of baked clay [a]; and render them like the leaves of corn eaten *by cattle?*

CHAP.

one *Nofail*, as he is named by ſome, of the tribe of *Kenânah*, who getting into the aforeſaid church by night, defiled the altar and walls thereof with his excrements. At this profanation *Abraha* being highly incenſed, vowed the deſtruction of the *Caaba*, and accordingly ſet out againſt *Mecca* at the head of a conſiderable army, wherein were ſeveral elephants, which he had obtained of the king of *Ethiopia*, their number being, as ſome ſay, thirteen, though others mention but one. The *Meccans*, at the approach of ſo conſiderable a hoſt, retired to the neighbouring mountains, being unable to defend their city or temple: but GOD himſelf undertook the protection of both. For when *Abraha* drew near to *Mecca*, and would have entred it, the elephant on which he rode, which was a very large one, and named *Mahmûd*, refuſed to advance any nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would riſe and march briskly enough if they turned him towards any other quarter: and while matters were in this poſture, on a ſudden a large flock of birds, like ſwallows, came flying from the ſea coaſt, every one of which carried three ſtones, one in each foot, and one in its bill; and theſe ſtones they threw down upon the heads of *Abraha*'s men, certainly killing every one they ſtruck. Then GOD ſent a flood, which ſwept the dead bodies, and ſome of thoſe who had not been ſtruck by the ſtones, into the ſea: the reſt fled towards *Yaman*, but periſhed by the way; none of them reaching *Sanaa*, except only *Abraha* himſelf, who died ſoon after his arrival there, being ſtruck with a ſort of plague or putrefaction, ſo that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piece-meal. It is ſaid that one of *Abraha*'s army, named *Abu Yacſûm*, eſcaped over the red ſea into *Ethiopia*, and going directly to the king, told him the tragical ſtory; and upon that prince's asking him what ſort of birds they were, that had occaſioned ſuch a deſtruction, the man pointed to one of them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head, when immediately the bird let fall the ſtone, and ſtruck him dead at the king's feet [1].

This remarkable defeat of *Abraha* happened the very year *Mohammed* was born, and as this chapter was revealed before the *Hejra*, and within 54 years, at leaſt, after it came to paſs, when ſeveral perſons who could have detected the lye, had *Mohammed* forged this ſtory out of his own head, were alive, it ſeems as if there was really ſomething extraordinary in the matter, which might, by adding ſome circumſtances, have been worked up into a miracle to his hands. *Marracci* [2] judges the whole to be either a fable, or elſe a feat of ſome evil ſpirits, of which he gives a parallel inſtance, as he thinks, in the ſtrange defeat of *Brennus*, when he was marching to attack the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi* [3]. Dr. *Prideaux* directly charges *Mohammed* with coining this miracle, notwithſtanding he might have been ſo eaſily diſproved, and ſuppoſes, without any foundation, that this chapter might not have been publiſhed till *Othman*'s edition of the *Korân* [4], which was many years after, when all might be dead who could remember any thing of the abovementioned war [5]. But *Mohammed* had no occaſion to coin ſuch a miracle himſelf, to gain the temple of *Mecca* any greater veneration: the *Meccans* were but too ſuperſtitiouſly fond of it, and obliged him, againſt his inclinations and original deſign, to make it the chief place of his new invented worſhip. I cannot, however, but obſerve Dr. *Prideaux*'s partiality on this occaſion, compared with the favourable reception he gives to the ſtory of the miraculous overthrow of *Brennus* and his army, which he concludes in the following words. "Thus was GOD pleaſed in a very "extraordinary manner to execute his vengeance upon thoſe ſacrilegious wretches for the "ſake of religion in general, how falſe and idolatrous ſoever that particular religion was, for "which that temple at *Delphos* was erected [6]". If it be anſwered, that the *Gauls* believed the religion, to the devotions of which that temple was conſecrated, to be true, (though that be not certain,) and therefore it was an impiety in them to offer violence to it, whereas *Abraha* acknowledged not the holineſs of the *Caaba*, or the worſhip there practiſed; I reply, That the doctor,

[1] *Al* ZAMAKH. *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL. ABULF. *Hiſt. Gen.* &c. *See* PRID. *Life of Mah. p.* 61. &c. *and* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abrahah.* [2] *Refut. in Alcor. p.* 823. [3] *See* PRID. *Connection, part* II. *book* I. *p.* 25. *and the authors there quoted.* [4] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. III. *p.* 46. [5] PRID. *Life of Mah. p.* 63, 64. [6] PRID. *Connection, in the place above cited.*

tor, on occaſion of *Cambyſes* being killed by a wound he accidentally received in the ſame part of the body where he had before mortally wounded the *Apis*, or bull worſhipped by the *Egyptians*, whoſe religion and worſhip that prince moſt certainly believed to be falſe and ſuperſtitious, makes the ſame reflection; "The "*Egyptians*, ſays he, reckoned this as an eſpe- "cial judgment from heaven upon him for that "fact, and perchance they were not much out "in it: for it ſeldom happening in an affront "given to any mode of worſhip, how errone- "ous ſoever it may be, but that religion is in "general wounded hereby, there are many "inſtances in hiſtory, wherein GOD hath very "ſignally puniſhed the prophanations of religi- "on in the worſt of times, and under the "worſt modes of heathen idolatry [1]".

[a] *Stones of baked clay*;] Theſe ſtones were of the ſame kind with thoſe by which the *Sodomites* were deſtroyed [2], and were no bigger than vetches, though they fell with ſuch force as to pierce the helmet and the man through, paſſing out at his fundament. It is ſaid alſo that on each ſtone was written the name of him who was to be ſlain by it.

[1] *Ibid. part* I. *book* III. *p.* 173. [2] *See chap.* 11. *p.* 184.

CHAP. CVI.

Intitled, KOREISH; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

FOR the uniting of *the tribe of* KOREISH [a]; their uniting in *ſending forth* the caravan *of merchants and purveyors* [b] in winter and ſummer: let them ſerve the LORD of this houſe; who ſupplieth them with food againſt hunger [c], and hath rendred them ſecure from fear [d].

[a] *For the uniting of the* Koreiſh;] Some connect theſe words with the following, and ſuppoſe the natural order to be, *Let them ſerve the* LORD *of this houſe, for the uniting*, &c. Others connect them with the laſt words of the preceding chapter, and take the meaning to be, that GOD had ſo deſtroyed the army of *Abraha, for the uniting of the* Koreiſh, &c. And the laſt opinion is confirmed by one copy, mentioned by *al Beidawi*, wherein this and the preceding make but one chapter. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the tribe of *Koreiſh*, the moſt noble among all the *Arabians*, and of which was *Mohammed* himſelf, were the poſterity of *Fehr*, ſurnamed *Koreiſh*, the ſon of *Malec*, the ſon of *al Nadr*, who was deſcended in a right line from *Iſmael*. Some writers ſay that *al Nadr* bore the ſurname of *Koreiſh*, but the more received opinion is, that it was his grandſon *Fehr*, who was ſo called becauſe of his intrepid boldneſs, the word being a diminutive of *Karſh*, which is the name of a ſea-monſter, very ſtrong and daring; though there be other reaſons given for its impoſition [1].

[b] *Their uniting in ſending forth the caravan*, &c.] It was *Hâſhem*, the great grandfather of *Mohammed*, who firſt appointed the two yearly caravans, here mentioned [2]; one of which ſet out in the winter for *Yaman*, and the other in ſummer for *Syria* [3].

[c] *Who ſupplyeth them with food againſt hunger*;] By means of the aforeſaid caravans of purveyors; or, *Who ſupplied them with food in time of a famine*, which thoſe of *Mecca* had ſuffered [4].

[d] *And hath rendred them ſecure from fear*;] By delivering them from *Abraha* and his troops; or, by making the territory of *Mecca* a place of ſecurity.

[1] V. GAGNIER, *Vie de Mah. t.* 1. *p.* 44, & 46. [2] *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 4. [3] *Al* ZAMAKH. JALLAL. *Al* BEIDAWI. [4] *Idem.*

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CHAP. CVII.

Intitled, Neceſſaries; *where it was revealed is diſputed.*

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHAT thinkeſt thou of him who denieth the *future* judgment as a falſhood? *It is* he who puſheth away the orphan [a]; and ſtirreth not up *others* to feed the poor. Wo be unto thoſe who pray, *and* who are negligent at their prayer; who play the hypocrites, and deny neceſſaries [b] *to the needy.*

[a] *Who puſheth away the orphan*;] The perſon here intended, according to ſome, was *Abu Jahl*, who turned away an orphan, to whom he was guardian, and who came to him naked, and asked for ſome relief out of his own money. Some ſay it was *Abu Sofiân*, who having killed a camel, when an orphan begged a piece of the fleſh, beat him away with his ſtaff; and others think it was *al Walîd Ebn al Mogheira*, &c.

[b] *Neceſſaries*;] The original word *al Maûn* properly ſignifies utenſils, or whatever is of neceſſary uſe, *as a hatchet, a pot, a diſh, and a needle*, to which ſome add *a bucket, and a hand-mill*; or, according to a tradition of *Ayeſha*, *fire, water, and ſalt*; and this ſignification it bore in the time of ignorance: but ſince the eſtabliſhment of the *Mohammedan* religion, the word has been uſed to denote *alms*, either legal, or voluntary; which ſeems to be the true meaning in this place.

CHAP. CVIII.

Intitled, AL CAWTHAR; *revealed at* MECCA [a].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

VERILY we have given thee AL CAWTHAR [b]. Wherefore pray unto thy

[a] There are ſome, however, who think it to have been revealed at *Medina*.

[b] *Al Cawthar*.] This word ſignifies *abundance*, eſpecially of *good*, and thence *the gift of wiſdom and prophecy*, the *Korân*, the *office of interceſſor*, &c. Or it may imply *abundance* of *children*, *followers*, and the like. It is generally, however, expounded of a river in paradiſe of that name, whence the water is derived into *Mohammed*'s pond, of which the bleſſed are to drink before their admiſſion into that place [1]. According to a tradition of the prophet's, this river, wherein his LORD promiſed him abundant good, is ſweeter than honey, whiter than milk, cooler than ſnow, and ſmoother than cream; its banks are of chryſolites, and the veſ-

ſels

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 95.

thy LORD; and ſlay *the victims* [a]. Verily he who hateth thee ſhall be childleſs [b].

ſels to drink thereout, of ſilver; and thoſe who drink of it ſhall never thirſt [1].

Euthymius Zigabenus [2], inſtead of *Cauthar*, reading *Canthar*, ſuppoſes the word to have the ſame ſignification in *Arabic* as in *Greek*, and tranſlates the two firſt verſes of the chapter thus; Ἡμεῖς δεδώκαμέν σοι τὸν κάνθαρον· καὶ ἔυξαι πρὸς τὸν κύριόν σου, καὶ σφάξον. i. e. *We have given thee the beetle; wherefore pray unto thy* LORD, *and ſlay* it: and then he cries out, *O wonderful and magnificent ſacrifice, worthy of the legiſlator!*

[a] *Pray unto thy* LORD, *and ſlay the victims*;] Which are to be ſacrificed, at the pilgrimage, in the valley of *Mina*. *Al Beidawi* explains the words thus: Pray with fervency and intenſe devotion, not out of hypocriſy; and ſlay the fatted camels and oxen, and diſtribute the fleſh among the poor: for he ſays this chapter is the counterpart of the preceding, exhorting to thoſe vertues which are oppoſite to the vices there condemned.

[b] *He who hateth thee, ſhall be childleſs.*] Theſe words were revealed againſt *al As Ebn Wayel*, who, on the death of *al Kâſem*, *Mohammed*'s ſon, called that prophet *Abtar*, which ſignifies one who has no children, or poſterity [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL. &c. [2] *In Panoplia dogmat. inter* SYLBURGII *Saracenic. p.* 29. [3] JALLAL.

CHAP. CIX.

Intitled, The Unbelievers; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

SAY: O unbelievers [a], I will not worſhip that which ye worſhip; nor will ye worſhip that which I worſhip. Neither do I worſhip that which ye worſhip; neither do ye worſhip that which I worſhip. Ye have your religion, and I my religion.

[a] *O Unbelievers*, &c.] It is ſaid that certain of the *Koreiſh* once propoſed to *Mohammed*, that if he would worſhip their gods for a year, they would worſhip his GOD for the ſame ſpace of time; upon which this chapter was revealed [1].

[1] *Idem, Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. CX.

Intitled, Aſſiſtance; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

WHEN the aſſiſtance of GOD ſhall come, and the victory [a]; and thou ſhalt ſee the people enter into the religion of GOD by troops [b]: celebrate the praiſe of thy LORD, and ask pardon of him [c]; for he is inclined to forgive.

[a] *When the aſſiſtance of* GOD *ſhall come, and the victory*;] i. e. When GOD ſhall cauſe thee to prevail over thy enemies, and thou ſhalt take the city of *Mecca*.

[b] *And thou ſhalt ſee the people enter into the religion of* GOD *by troops*;] Which happened in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, when, *Mohammed* having made himſelf maſter of *Mecca*, and obliged the *Koreiſh* to ſubmit to him, the reſt of the *Arabs* came in to him in great numbers, and profeſſed *Iſlam* [1].

[c] *Celebrate the praiſe of thy* LORD, &c.] Moſt of the commentators agree this chapter to have been revealed before the taking of *Mecca*, and ſuppoſe it gave *Mohammed* warning of his death: for they ſay that when he read it *al Abbâs* wept, and being asked by the prophet, what was the reaſon of his weeping, anſwered, *Becauſe it biddeth thee to prepare for death*; to which *Mohammed* replied, *It is as thou ſayeſt* [2]. And hence, adds *Jallalo'ddin*, after the revelation of this chapter, the prophet was more frequent in praiſing and asking pardon of GOD; becauſe he thereby knew that his end approached: for *Mecca* was taken in the 8th year of the *Hejra*, and he died in the beginning of the 10th.

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 55. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. CXI.

Intitled, ABU LAHEB; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THE hands of ABU LAHEB ſhall periſh [a], and he ſhall periſh [b]. His riches

[a] *The hands of* Abu Laheb *ſhall periſh*;] *Abu Laheb* was the ſurname of *Abd'al Uzza*, one of the ſons of *Abd'almotalleb*, and uncle to *Mohammed*. He was a moſt bitter enemy to his nephew, and oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of his new religion to the utmoſt of his power. When that prophet, in obedience to the command he had received to *admoniſh his near relations* [1], had called them all together, and told them that he was *a warner ſent unto them before a grievous chaſtiſement*, *Abu Laheb* cried out, *Mayeſt thou periſh! haſt thou called us together for this?* and took up a ſtone to caſt at him. Whereupon this paſſage was revealed [2].

By

[1] *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 43. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL. &c.

riches ſhall not profit him, neither that which he hath gained [a]. He ſhall go down to be burned into flaming fire [b]; and his wife *alſo* [c], bearing wood [d], *having* on her neck a cord of twiſted fibres of a palm-tree.

By the *hands* of *Abu Laheb* ſome commentators, by a ſynecdoche, underſtand his *perſon*; others, by a metonymy, his *affairs* in general, they being tranſacted with thoſe members; or his hopes in this world, and the next.

[b] *And he ſhall periſh*;] He died of grief and vexation at the defeat his friends had received at *Bedr*, ſurviving that misfortune but 7 days [1]. They add, that his corpſe was left aboveground three days, till it ſtank, and then ſome negro's were hired to bury him [2].

[a] *His riches ſhall not profit him*, &c.] And accordingly his great poſſeſſions, and the rank and eſteem in which he lived at *Mecca*, were of no ſervice to him, nor could protect him againſt the vengeance of GOD. *Al Beidawi* mentions alſo the loſs of his ſon *Otba*, who was torn to pieces by a lion, in the way to *Syria*, though ſurrounded by the whole caravan.

[b] *Flaming fire*;] Arab. *nâr dhât laheb*; alluding to the ſurname of *Abu Laheb*, which ſignifies the *father of flames*.

[c] *His wife*;] Her name was *Omm Jemîl*: ſhe was the daughter of *Harb*, and ſiſter of *Abu Sofiân*.

[d] *Bearing wood*;] For fewel in hell; becauſe ſhe fomented the hatred which her huſband bore to *Mohammed*; or, *bearing a bundle of thorns and brambles*, becauſe ſhe carried ſuch, and ſtrewed them by night in the prophet's way [3].

[1] ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 57. [2] *Al* BEIDAWI. [3] *Idem*, JALLAL.

CHAP. CXII.

Intitled, The Declaration of GOD's Unity [a]; *where it was revealed is diſputed.*

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

SAY, *GOD* is one GOD; the eternal GOD: he begetteth not, neither is he begotten: and there is not any one like unto him.

[a] This chapter is held in particular veneration by the *Mohammedans*, and declared, by a tradition of their prophet, to be equal in value to a third part of the whole *Korân*. It is ſaid to have been revealed in anſwer to the *Koreiſh*, who asked *Mohammed* concerning the diſtinguiſhing attributes of the GOD he invited them to worſhip [1].

[1] *Idem.*

CHAP. CXIII.

Intitled, The Day-break; *where it was revealed is diſputed.*

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

SAY, I fly for refuge unto the LORD of the day-break [a], *that he may deliver*

[a] *The day-break*;] The original word properly ſignifies a *cleaving*, and denotes, ſays *al Beidawi*, the production of all things in general from the darkneſs of privation to the light of

lover me from the miſchief of *thoſe things* which he hath created [a]; and from the miſchief of the night, when it cometh on [b]; and from the miſchief of *women* blowing on knots [c]; and from the miſchief of the envious, when he envieth.

of exiſtence, and eſpecially of thoſe things which proceed from others, as ſprings, rain, plants, children, *&c.* and hence it is uſed more particularly to ſignify the breaking forth of the light from darkneſs, which is a moſt wonderful inſtance of the divine power.

[a] *From the miſchief of thoſe things which he hath created*;] i. e. From the miſchiefs proceeding either from the perverſeneſs and evil choice of thoſe beings which have a power to chooſe, or the natural effects of neceſſary agents, as fire, poiſon, *&c.* the world being good in the whole, though evils may follow from thoſe two cauſes [1].

[b] *From the miſchief of the night, when it cometh on*;] Or, as the words may be rendred, *From the miſchief of the moon, when ſhe is eclipſed.*

[c] *From the miſchief of women blowing on knots*;] That is, of witches, who uſed to tie knots in a cord, and to blow on them, uttering at the ſame time certain magical words over them, in order to work on, or debilitate the perſon they had a mind to injure. This was a common practice in former days [2]: what they call in *France Nouër l'eguillette*, and the knots which the wizards in the northern parts tie, when they ſell mariners a wind, (if the ſtories told of them be true,) are alſo relics of the ſame ſuperſtition.

The commentators relate, that *Lobeid*, a *Jew*, with the aſſiſtance of his daughters, bewitched *Mohammed*, by tying eleven knots on a cord, which they hid in a well; whereupon *Mohammed* falling ill, GOD revealed this chapter and the following, and *Gabriel* acquainted him with the uſe he was to make of them, and of the place where the cord was hidden: according to whoſe directions the prophet ſent *Ali* to fetch the cord, and the ſame being brought, he repeated the two chapters over it, and at every verſe (for they conſiſt of eleven) a knot was looſed, till on finiſhing the laſt words, he was entirely freed from the charm [3].

[1] *Al* BEIDAWI. [2] V. VIRGIL. *in Pharmaceutria.* [3] *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLAL.

CHAP. CXIV.

Intitled, Men; *where it was revealed is diſputed* [a].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

SAY, I fly for refuge unto the LORD of men, the king of men, the GOD of men, *that he may deliver me* from the miſchief of the whiſperer who ſlily withdraweth, who whiſpereth evil ſuggeſtions into the breaſts of men; from genii and men.

[a] This chapter was revealed on the ſame occaſion, and at the ſame time with the former.

[b] *The whiſperer who ſlily withdraweth*;] i. e. The devil; who withdraweth when a man mentioneth GOD, or hath recourſe to his protection.

FINIS.

A

TABLE

OF THE

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FINIS.